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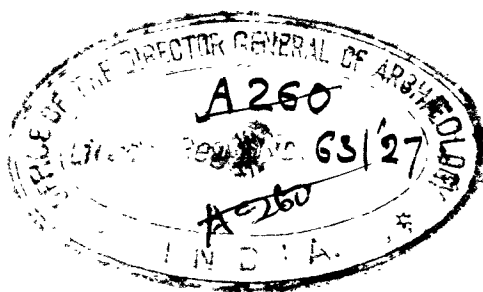
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland



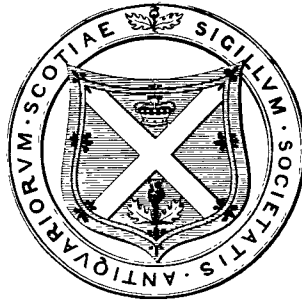
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

SESSION
MCMXXV.-MCMXXVI.

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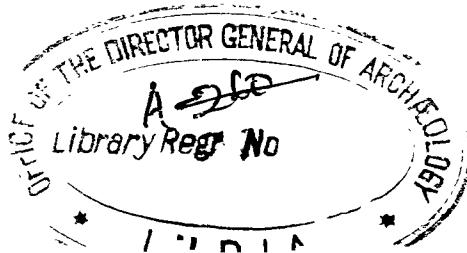
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MCMXXVII.



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LAW S
AND
LIST OF FELLOWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND

L A W S

OF THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

INSTITUTED NOVEMBER 1780 AND INCORPORATED BY
ROYAL CHARTER 6TH MAY 1783.

(Revised and adopted November 30, 1901.)

1. The purpose of the Society shall be the promotion of ARCHÆOLOGY, especially as connected with the investigation of the ANTIQUITIES AND HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

2. The Society shall consist of Fellows, Honorary Fellows, Corresponding Members, and Lady Associates.

3. Candidates for admission as Fellows must sign the Form of Application prescribed by the Council, and must be proposed by a Fellow and seconded by two members of the Council. Admission shall be by ballot.

4. The Secretaries shall cause the names of the Candidates and of their Proposers to be inserted in the billet calling the Meeting at which they are to be balloted for. The Ballot may be taken for all the Candidates named in the billet at once; but if three or more black balls appear, the Chairman of the Meeting shall cause the Candidates to be balloted for singly. Any Candidate receiving less than two-thirds of the votes given shall not be admitted.

5. Honorary Fellows shall consist of persons eminent in Archaeology, who must be recommended by the Council, and balloted for in the same way as Fellows; and they shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual subscriptions. The number of Honorary Fellows shall not exceed twenty-five.

6. Corresponding Members must be recommended by the Council and balloted for in the same way as Fellows, and they shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual subscriptions.

7. Ladies who have done valuable work in the field of Archæology may be admitted as Lady Associates. The number of Lady Associates shall not exceed twenty-five. They shall be proposed by the Council and balloted for in the same way as Fellows, and shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual subscriptions.

8. Before the name of any person is added to the List of Fellows, such person shall pay to the funds of the Society Two Guineas as an entrance fee and One Guinea for the current year's subscription, or may compound for the entrance fee and all annual subscriptions by the payment of Twenty Guineas at the time of admission. Fellows may compound for future annual subscriptions by a single payment of Fifteen Guineas after having paid five annual subscriptions; or of Ten Guineas after having paid ten annual subscriptions.

9. The subscription of One Guinea shall become due on the 30th November in each year for the year then commencing; and if any Fellow who has not compounded shall fail to pay the subscription for three successive years, due application having been made for payment, the Treasurer shall report the same to the Council, by whose authority the name of the defaulter may be erased from the list of Fellows.

10. Every Fellow not being in arrears of the annual subscription shall be entitled to receive the printed Proceedings of the Society from the date of election.

11. None but Fellows shall vote or hold any office in the Society.

12. Subject to the Laws and to the control of the Society in General Meetings, the affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council elected and appointed as hereinafter set forth. Five Members of the Council shall be a quorum.

13. The Office-Bearers of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries for general purposes, two Secretaries for Foreign Correspondence, a Treasurer, two Curators of the Museum, a Curator of Coins, and a Librarian. The President shall be elected for a period of five years, and the Vice-Presidents for a period of three years.

One of the Vice-Presidents shall retire annually by rotation and shall not again be eligible for the same office until after the lapse of one year. All the other Office-Bearers shall be elected for one year and shall be eligible for re-election.

14. In accordance with the agreement subsisting between the Society and the Government, the Board of Manufactures (now the Board of Trustees) shall be represented on the Council by two of its Members (being Fellows of the Society) elected annually by the Society. The Treasury shall be represented on the Council by the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer (being a Fellow of the Society).

15. The Council shall consist of the Office-Bearers, the three representative Members above specified, and nine Fellows, elected by the Society.

16. Three of the nine elected Members of Council shall retire annually by rotation, and shall not again be eligible till after the lapse of one year. Vacancies among the elected Members of Council and Office-Bearers occurring by completion of term of office, by retirement on rotation, by resignation, by death or otherwise, shall be filled by election at the Annual General Meeting. The election shall be by Ballot, upon a list issued by the Council for that purpose to the Fellows at least fourteen days before the Meeting.

17. The Council may appoint committees or individuals to take charge of particular departments of the Society's business.

18. The Annual General Meeting of the Society shall take place on St Andrew's Day, the 30th of November, or on the following day if the 30th be a Sunday.

19. The Council shall have power to call Extraordinary General Meetings when they see cause.

20. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Monday of each month, from December to May inclusive.

21. Every proposal for altering the Laws must be made through the Council ; and the Secretaries, on instructions from the Council, shall cause intimation thereof to be made to all the Fellows at least one month before the General Meeting at which it is to be determined on.

FORMS OF BEQUEST.

Form of Special Bequest.

I, A. B., do hereby leave and bequeath to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland incorporated by Royal Charter, my collection of and I direct that the same shall be delivered to the said Society on the receipt of the Secretary or Treasurer thereof.

General Form of Bequest.

I, A. B., do hereby leave and bequeath to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland incorporated by Royal Charter, the sum of £ sterling [*to be used for the general purposes of the Society*] [*or, to be used for the special purpose or object, of*], and I direct that the said sum may be paid to the said Society on the receipt of the Treasurer for the time being.

LIST OF THE FELLOWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,

NOVEMBER 30, 1926.

PATRON :
HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1899. AGNEW, Sir ANDREW N., Bt., Lochnaw Castle, Stranraer,— <i>Vice-President</i> . | 1920. ANDERSON, Rev. ROBERT S. G., B.D., Minister of the United Free Church, Isle of Whithorn, Wigtownshire. |
| 1917. AGNEW, STAIR CARNEGIE, M.A., LL B., Barrister-at-Law, 8 Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3. | 1923. ANDREWS, MICHAEL CORBET, M.R.I.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.G.S., F.R.S.A.I., Orsett, Derryvolgie Avenue, Belfast. |
| 1892. AILSA, The Most Hon. The Marquess of, Culzean Castle, Maybole. | 1913. ANGUS, Miss MARY, Immeriach, 354 Blackness Road, Dundee. |
| 1905. ALEXANDER, R. S., Grant Lodge, 18 Lomond Road, Trinity. | 1921. ANGUS, WILLIAM, Curator of the Historical Department, Record Office, H.M. General Register House. |
| 1909. ALISON, JAMES PEARSON, F.R.I.B.A., 45 Bridge Street, Hawick. | 1910. ANNAN, J. CRAIG, Glenbank, Lenzie. |
| 1922. ALLAN, JAMES H., 143 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. | 1900. ANSTRUTHER, Sir RALPH W., Bt., Balcaskie, Pittenweem. |
| 1926. ALLAN, WILLIAM, M.B.F., 10 Howieshall Road, Cambuslang. | 1897. ANSTRUTHER-GRAY, WILLIAM, Lieut.-Col., Royal Horse Guards, Kilmany, Fife. |
| 1918. ALLAN, WILLIAM KINLOCH, Erngath, 2 Wester Coates Avenue. | 1918.*ARGYLL, His Grace The Duke of, Inveraray Castle. |
| 1925. ALLEN, JOHN SCOTT, F.R.S.A., Chapel Place, Lisnore, Co. Waterford. | 1914. ARMITAGE, Captain HARRY, late 15th Hussars, The Grange, North Berwick. |
| 1925. ANDERSON ALEXANDER HUTTON, M.A., Donaldson's Hospital. | 1910. ARMSTRONG, A. LESLIE, M.C., F.S.I., F.S.A., 14 Swaledale Road, Millhouses, Sheffield. |
| 1922. ANDERSON, ARTHUR R., 8 Westbourne Terrace, Glasgow, W. | 1921. ARNOTT, JAMES ALEXANDER, F.R.I.B.A., 13 Young Street. |
| 1922. ANDERSON, ERIC S., 5 Eildon Street. | 1901.*ARTHUR, ALEXANDER THOMSON, M.B., C.M., Ingleside, West Cults, by Aberdeen. |
| 1907. ANDERSON, JAMES LAWSON, 45 Northumberland Street. | 1910. ASHER, JOHN, 13 Pitcullen Crescent, Perth. |
| 1897. ANDERSON, Major JOHN HAMILTON, 2nd East Lancashire Regiment, c/o Messrs Cox & Co., 16 Charing Cross, London, S.W. 1. | 1924. ASHWORTH, Mrs, 69 Braid Avenue. |
| 1902.*ANDERSON, Major ROBERT DOUGLAS, c/o The Manager, Lloyd's Bank, Paignton, Devon. | 1917.*ATHOLL, His Grace The Duke of, K.T., C.B., M.V.O., D.S.O., LL.D., Blair Castle, Blair Atholl,— <i>President</i> . |

An asterisk (*) denotes Life Members who have compounded for their Annual Contributions.

1922. BAIN, REV. JOHN, Minister of St Paul's United Free Church, 13 Dryden Place, Newington.
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1925. BAIRD, JAMES, 81 Meadowpark Street, Dennistoun, Glasgow.
1913. BAIRD, Major WILLIAM A., Lennoxlove, Haddington.
1922. BAIRD, WILLIAM MACDONALD, F.F.S., 50 George Street.
1923. BALFOUR, Miss, Whittingehame, Prestonkirk, East Lothian.
1918. BALFOUR, Lieut.-Col. FREDERICK ROBERT STEPHEN, M.A., D.L., Dawyck, Stobo, Tweeddale.
- 1915.*BALLANTINE, JAMES, 24 Hill Street.
1921. BANERJEE, RASBIHARI, M.B., F.I.A. Sc., c/o Messrs Hamlyn & Co., Pharma-Chemists, Benares City, India.
1926. BANNERMAN, JOHN, Junr., St Margaret's, Elgin.
1890. BANNERMAN, WILLIAM, M.A., M.D., 22 Rubislaw Terrace Aberdeen.
- 1897.*BARNETT, Rev. T. RATCLIFFE, 7 Corrennie Gardens.
1922. BARRIE, JOHN ALEXANDER, 15 Abbey Road, Eskbank.
1910. BARRON, Rev. DOUGLAS GORDON, O.B.E., V.D., D.D., Ardchoille, Abertoyle.
1923. BARRON, EVAN MACLEOD, Proprietor and Editor of *The Inverness Courier*, Oaklands, Inverness.
1909. BARTHOLOMEW, JOHN, O.B.E., of Glenorchard, Sheriff-Substitute of Ayrshire, Crookedholm House, Hurlford, Ayrshire.
1922. BARTON, Dr SAMUEL SAXON, O.B.E., F.R.F.P.S. (Glas.), L.R.C.P. (Edin.), The Beach, St Michael's Hamlet, Liverpool.
1925. BAXTER, Rev. Professor J. H., B.D., St Mary's College, St Andrews.
- 1891.*BAYNE, THOMAS (no address).
- 1884.*BEATON, Major ANGUS J., C.M.G., V.D., Trouville, Evesham Road, Pittville, Cheltenham.
1908. BELL, WALTER LEONARD, M.D., 123 London Road, Lowestoft, Suffolk.
1924. BELL, WILLIAM EDMUND, Solicitor, 13 Whitehall Terrace, Aberdeen.
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1924. BENTINCK, Rev. CHARLES D., D.D., The Manse, Dornoch, Sutherland.
- 1923.*BEST, JOHN, Warriston House, Edinburgh.
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1919. BINNIE, R. B. JARDINE, Old Place, Hampton Court.
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1882. BLACK, WILLIAM GEORGE, C.B.E., LL.D., Ramoyle, Dowanhill Gardens, Glasgow.
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1926. BLAIR, GEORGE, 4 Kinnoul Place, Glasgow, W. 2.
1909. BLUNDELL, Rev. Odo, O.S.B., St Anne's Priory, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
1885. BOMPAS, CHARLES S. M., 121 Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, London, W. 2.
1917. BONAR, JOHN JAMES, Eldinbrae, Lasswade.
1923. BONNAR, JAMES, Glendura, Cupar, Fife.
1919. BORLAND, JOHN, Auchencarm, Thornhill, Dumfriesshire.
- 1903.*BORTHWICK, HENRY, of Borthwick Castle, Midlothian, 122 Gt. Western Road, Glasgow.
1920. BOYD, JAMES STIRLING, L.R.I.B.A., "The Field," Glenea Road, Eltham, London, S.E. 9.
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1910. BROWN, JOHN ARTHUR, Redholm, Kilmaurs, Ayrshire.
1912. BROWN, J. T. T., LL.D., Writer, Ashfield, Cambuslang.
1921. BROWN, THOMAS, Lecturer and Chief Assistant, Department of Architecture and Building, The Royal Technical College, Glasgow, 35 Don Street, Riddrie, Glasgow.
1923. BRUCE, ARTHUR NICOL, W.S., 10 Coates Gardens.
1893. BRUCE, JOHN, Inverallan, Helensburgh.—*Vice-President*.
1907. BRUCE, Mrs. Sumburgh, Shetland.
- 1922.*BRUNWIN, GEORGE EUSTACE, Haverings, Rayne, Braintree, Essex.

1908. BRYCE, PETER ROSS, 33 Craigmillar Park.
1902. BRYCE, THOMAS H., M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Professor of Anatomy, No. 2 The University, Glasgow,—*Vice-President*.
1922. BRYDEN, ROBERT LOCKHART, B.L., Curator of Glasgow Art Galleries and Museum. Archaeological and Historical Department, 12 Selborne Road, Jordanhill, Glasgow.
1901. BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY, His Grace The Duke of, K.T., Dalkeith House, Midlothian.
1924. BUCHAN-HEPBURN, SIR ARCHIBALD, Bt., D.L., Smeaton-Hepburn, Prestonkirk, East Lothian.
1905. BURGESS, FRANCIS, 11 Clement's Inn Passage, London, W.C. 2.
- 1887.*BURGESS, PETER, View Ville, Diunnadrocht, Inverness.
1882. BURNET, SIR JOHN JAMES, LL.D., R.A., R.S.A., Architect, 239 St Vincent Street, Glasgow.
1923. BURNET, J. R. WARDLAW, Advocate, 60 Northumberland Street.
1892. BURNETT, Rev. J. B., B.D., The Manse, Fetteresso, Stonehaven.
1911. BURNETT, Rev. WILLIAM, B.D., Restalrig Manse, 31 Lisimore Crescent.
1925. BURNS, JOHN GEORGE, Advocate, 72 Northumberland Street.
1887. BURNS, Rev. THOMAS, D.D., Croston Lodge, 3a Chalmers Crescent.
1925. BURNSIDE, Rev. JOHN W., M.A., Livingston U.F. Manse, Malcadder.
- 1901.*BUTE, The Most Hon. The Marquess of, K.T., Mount Stuart, Rothesay.
1923. CADELL, F. C. B., 6 Ainslie Place.
1908. CADELL, HENRY M., B.Sc., F.R.S.E., Grange, Linlithgow.
- 1898.*CADENHEAD, JAMES, R.S.A., R.S.W., 15 Inverleith Terrace.
1921. CALDER, CHARLES S. T., Assistant Architect, Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments (Scot.), 122 George Street.
- 1919.*CALLANDER, ALEXANDER D., Nanthupana, Neboda, Ceylon.
- 1898.*CALLANDER, JOHN GRAHAM, 11 Osborne Terrace,—*Director of Museum*.
1908. CAMERON, Rev. ALLAN T., M.A., 21 Noel Street, Nottingham.
1910. CAMERON, SIR D. Y., R.A., R.S.A., R.S.W., LL.D., Dun Eaglais, Kippen.
1922. CAMERON, Lieut.-Colonel DONALD C., C.B.E., M.A., R.A.S.C., c/o Messrs Cox & Co., 16 Charing Cross, London, S.W. 1.
1905. CAMERON-SWAN, Captain DONALD, Strathmore, Kalk Bay, Cape Province, South Africa.
1923. CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER, Commercial Bank of Scotland, Ltd., Abington.
1899. CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, J.P., Argyll Lodge, 62 Albert Drive, Pollokshields, Glasgow.
1906. CAMPBELL, DONALD GRAHAM, M.B., C.M., Auchinellan, Elgin.
1924. CAMPBELL, DUNCAN, Kilbride, Chichester Avenue, Belfast.
1922. CAMPBELL, DUNCAN JOHN FORBES, 12 Dornton Road, Bedford Hill, Balham, London, S.W. 12.
1923. CAMPBELL, EDWARD MALFLAND, B.A. (Cantab.), 25 Moray Place.
1917. CAMPBELL, J. H. MAYNE, Broxmore Park, Romsey, Hants.
- 1923.*CAMPBELL, JOHN DOUGLAS-BOSWELL, 25 Ainslie Place.
1922. CAMPBELL, JOHN MACLEOD, The Captain of Saddell Castle, Glen Saddell, by Carradale, Argyll.
1922. CAMPBELL, Sheriff JOHN MACMASTUR, Norwood, Campbelltown Argyll.
1909. CAMPBELL, Mrs M. J. C. BURNLEY Ormidale, Colintrave.
1901. CARFRAE, GEORGE, 77 George Street.
1906. CARMICHAEL, EVELYN G. M., O.B.E., Barrister-at-Law, Meretown House, Newport, Salop.
1891. CARMICHAEL, JAMES, of Arthurstone, Ardler, Meigle.
1919. CARNEGIE, The Lady HELENA M., Roballion, Murthly, Perthshire.
1923. CARNEGIE-ARBUTHNOTT, Lieut.-Col., Bahnamoon, Brechin.
1922. CARRUTHERS, ARTHUR STANLEY, A.C.A., Naworth House, 28 Foxley Hill Road, Purley, Surrey.
1896. CAW, JAMES L., Director of the National Galleries of Scotland, 14 Cluny Place.
1925. CHALMERS, DONALD McARTHUR, 57 St Andrew's Road Pollokshields, Glasgow.
1919. CHALMERS, Rev. HENRY REID, Abernethy Manse, Inchture, Perthshire.
1901. CHRISTIE, Miss, Cowden Castle, Dollar.
1910. CHRISTISON, JAMES, J.P., F.L.A., Librarian, Public Library, Montrose.
1902. CLARK, ARCHIBALD BROWN, M.A., Professor of Political Economy, University of Manitoba Winnipeg, Canada.
1913. CLARK, JOHN R. W., Westbank, Arbroath.
1921. CLARK, WILLIAM FORDYCE, Hillsgarth, 12 Woodhall Terrace, Juniper Green.
1923. CLARKE, JOHN SMITH, 5 George Drive East, Linthouse, Glasgow.

1906. CLAY, ALEXANDER THOMSON, W.S., 18 South Learmonth Gardens.
1924. CLAYTON, BRIAN C., "Wycland," Ross, Herefordshire.
1916. CLOUSTON, ERIC CROSBY TOWNSEND, M.R.C.S.(Eng.), L.R.C.P.(Lond.), Lavenham, Suffolk.
1917. CLOUSTON, J. STORER, Smoogro House, Orphir, Orkney.
1922. CLOUSTON, RONALD GILLAN, L.R.C.P. (Edin.), L.R.C.S. (Edin.), 32 Barrington Drive, Glasgow, W.
- 1921.*CLOUSTON, THOMAS HAROLD, O.B.E., Langskaill, 33 St Mary's Road, Wimbledon, Surrey.
1905. CLYDE, The Right Hon. LORD, LL.D., Lord Justice-General and Lord President of the Court of Session, 27 Moray Place.
- 1916.*COATES, HENRY, Corarder, Perth.
- 1901.*COCHRAN-PATRICK, Mrs, Woodside Beith.
- 1898.*COCHRAN-PATRICK, NEIL J. KENNEDY, of Woodside, Advocate, Ladyland, Beith.
1923. COCHRANE, RICHMOND INGLIS, 26 Abercromby Place.
- 1919.*COCKBURN, Captain ARCHIBALD FREDERICK, R.E. (T.F.), 32 St Andrew Square.
- 1920.*COLLINGWOOD, R. G., M.A., F.S.A., Pembroke College, Oxford.
1924. COLLINS, GEORGE N. M., Aulnachie House, Sycamore Terrace, Corstorphine.
1908. COLLINS, Major HUGH BROWN, Craigmarloch, Kilmacalm.
1924. COLT, H. DUNCOMBE, Cavendish Club, 119 Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
1924. COLT, RONALD S. H., of Gartsherrie and Northfield, B.A. (Oxon.), Northfield House, St Abbs, Berwickshire.
- 1921.*COLVILLE, Captain NORMAN R., M.C., Penheale Manor, Egloskerry, Cornwall.
1909. COMRIE, JOHN D., M.A., B.Sc., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., Lecturer on the History of Medicine, University of Edinburgh, 25 Manor Place.
1925. CONACHER, PETER A., Director of Education, Forfarshire Education Authority, Newtonbank, Forfar.
1918. COOK, DAVIDSON, 16 Pollitt Street, Barnsley, Yorkshire.
1924. COOK, JOHN, W.S., 61 Castle Street.
1925. COOPER, WILLIAM, F.S.A., Langholm, South Drive, Harrogate.
1923. COPEMAN, WILLIAM SYDNEY CHARLES, M.A., M.B., B.C. (Cantab.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.), 76 Regent's Park Road, London, N.W. 1.
1920. CORNELIUS, Rev. WILLIAM J. J., D.Litt., M.A., B.D., A.K.C., F.R.Hist.S., C.F., etc., All Saints' Vicarage, Sumner Road, North Peckham, London, S.E. 15.
1911. CORRIE, JOHN, Burnbank, Moniaive, Dumfriesshire.
1913. CORRIE, JOHN M., Archaeologist to the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 122 George Street.
- 1920.*CORSAR, KENNETH CHARLES, of Rosely, Rosely, Arbroath.
1918. COOPER, Rev. W. J., M.A., D.D., 26 Circus Drive, Dennistoun, Glasgow.
1891. COUTTS, Rev. ALFRED, Ph.D., B.D., Temple U.F. Manse, Midlothian.
1920. COWAN, FRANCIS, C.A., Wester Lea, Murrayfield.
1887. COWAN, JOHN, W.S., St Roque, Grange Loan.
- 1920.*COWAN, ROBERT CRAIG, Eskhill, Inveresk, Midlothian.
1888. COWAN, WILLIAM, 47 Braid Avenue.
- 1893.*COX, ALFRED W., Glendoick, Glencarse, Perthshire.
- 1901.*COX, DOUGLAS H (no address).
1882. CRABBE, GEORGE, 8 Rothesay Terrace.
1925. CRAIG-BROWN, Brigadier-General E., D.S.O., 9 Anshie Place.
1900. CRAN, JOHN, Backhill House, Musselburgh.
- 1911.*CRAW, JAMES HEWAT, West Foulden, Berwick-on-Tweed.
1922. CRAWFORD, JAMES, 129 Fotheringay Road, Maxwell Park, Glasgow.
1923. CRAWFORD, JOHN, M.A., Dungoyne, 10 Corrennie Drive.
1909. CRAWFORD, ROBERT, Ochilton, 36 Hamilton Drive, Maxwell Park, Glasgow.
1908. CRAWFORD, Rev. THOMAS, B.D., Ochertyrie, Crichton, Perthshire.
- 1901.*CRAWFORD, The Right Hon. The Earl of, K.T., LL.D., Balcarres, Colinsburgh, Fife.
1920. CRAWFORD, W. C., Carrad, Hillend, Loanhead, Midlothian.
1905. CREE, JAMES EDWARD, Tusculum, North Berwick.
- 1925.*CRICHTON-STUART, The Lord COLUM, M.P., 22 Mansfield St., London, W. 1.
1919. CROCKETT, THOMAS, M.A., D.Litt., Edgewood, Hartburn Lane, Stockton-on-Tees.
1925. CROSS, A. ROBERTSON, M.C., B.A., LL.B., 13 Moray Place.
1886. CROSS, ROBERT, 13 Moray Place.
1924. CRUICKSHANK, JAMES, Westwood, Bucksburn, Aberdeenshire.
1922. CRUNDALL, ALEXANDER, Royal Societies Club, St James's Street, London, S.W. 1.

1924. CULLEN, ALEXANDER, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.I., 88 Cadzow Street, Hamilton.
1922. CULLEN, WILLIAM JOHNSTONE, Editor, *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory*, 7 Howard Street.
1907. CUMMING, ALEXANDER D., Headmaster, Public School, Callander.
1919. CUMMING, ALEXANDER S., M.D., 18 Ainslie Place.
1893. CUNNINGTON, Captain B. HOWARD, 33 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire.
1922. CUNYNGHAME, EDWIN BLAIR, Broomfield, Moniaive, Dumfriesshire.
- 1893.*CURLE, ALEXANDER O., F.S.A., 8 South Learmonth Gardens,—*Librarian*.
- 1889.*CURLE, JAMES, LL.D., F.S.A., Priorwood, Melrose,—*Curator of Museum*.
- 1886.*CURRIE, JAMES, Larkfield, Wardie Road.
1922. CURRIE, JOHN, 5 Gilmore Place.
- 1879.*CURSITER, JAMES WALLS, 56 Broad Road.
1924. DALGLEISH, Rev. GEORGE W., M.A., United Free Church Manse, Culsalmond, Inch, Aberdeenshire.
1888. DALRYMPLE, The Hon. HEW HAMILTON, Lochinch, Wigtownshire.
1913. DALYELL, Major Sir JAMES, Bt., The Binns, Linlithgow.
1925. DALZIEL, Mrs FRANK, Streatham, Canaan Lane.
1924. DAVEY, HARRY LEONARD, Fern Villa, Stoke Park, Coventry.
1920. DAVIDSON, ALFRED ROBERT, Invermahaven, Abernethy, Perthshire.
1924. DAVIDSON, GEORGE, 8 Thistle Street, Aberdeen.
1925. DAVIDSON, GEORGE M., Architect and Surveyor, Thorndon, Dunblane.
1924. DAVIDSON, HUGH, Braedale, Lanark.
1910. DAVIDSON, JAMES, Summerville, Dumfries.
1920. DAVIDSON, JAMES, Treasurer, The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, 59 Morningside Park.
1924. DAVIES, Rev. EDWARD J. F., F.Ph.S., F.Z.S.Scot., F.B.S.A., 20 Trinity Place, Bingley, Yorkshire.
1925. DAWSON, A. BASHALL, 33 Royal Terrace.
1922. DEAS, GEORGE BROWN, Architect and Civil Engineer, 78 Nicol Street, Kirkcaldy.
1915. DE LATOUR, Countess VINCENT BAILLET, The Beehive, Uignish, Dunvegan, Skye.
1925. DE ROBECK, Admiral Sir JOHN MICHAEL, Bt., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., The Lee, Lanark.
1901. DICK, Rev. JAMES, Linburn House, Kirknewton, Midlothian.
- 1923.*DICKSON, ARTHUR HOPE DRUMMOND, 5 Lennox Street.
1923. DICKSON, HEATLEY, C.E., F.R.P.S., 6 Eglinton Crescent.
1923. DICKSON, WALTER, Lynedoch, Elcho Terrace, Portobello.
1895. DICKSON, WILLIAM K., LL.D., Advocate, 8 Gloucester Place.
1919. DINWOODIE, JOHN, Union Bank House, Crieff.
1910. DIXON, RONALD AUBLEY MARTINEAU, F.R.S.E., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Thearne Hall, near Beverley, Yorkshire.
1923. DOBBIE, Sir JOSEPH, 10 Learmonth Terrace.
1925. DOBBIE, Lady, 10 Learmonth Terrace.
1926. DOBIE, Colonel WILLIAM FRASER, V.D., J.P., Edgemont, Paisley.
1919. DONALD, ALEXANDER GRAHAM, M.A., F.F.A., 18 Carlton Terrace.
1919. DONALD, JAMES S., 16 Scott Street, Perth.
1895. DONALDSON, HENRY T., British Linen Bank, Naam.
1910. DONN, ROBERT, 20 Franklin Street, Dalmore, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- 1911.*DOUGLAS, JOHN, 6 St Mary's Grove, Barnes Common, London, S.W. 13.
1913. DOUGLAS, LOUDON M., F.R.S.E., Newpark, West Calder, Midlothian.
1924. DOUGLAS, Major ROBERT E., Cavers, 114 Polwarth Terrace.
1916. DOUGLAS, WILLIAM, 39 Inverleith Row.
1924. DOUGLAS, Brigadier-General W. C., C.B., D.S.O., J.P. and D.L. for the County of Forfar, Brighton, Douglastown, by Forfar.
- 1900.*DRUMMOND, JAMES W., Westerlands, Stirling.
- 1896.*DRUMMOND, ROBERT, O.B.E., Forneth, Castlehead, Paisley.
- 1895.*DRUMMOND-MORAY, Capt. W. H., of Abercairney, Crieff.
1924. DUDGING, JOHN W. M., L.S.A., A.I.Arch. (Scot.), 6 Old Queen Street, Westminster, London, S.W. 1.
1902. DUFF-DUNBAR, Mrs L., of Ackergill, Ackergill Tower, Wick, Caithness.
1920. DUNCAN, ALEXANDER MACLAUCHLAN, A.R.I.B.A., c/o Engineer-in-Chief, Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai, China.
1909. DUNCAN, Rev. DAVID, North Esk Manse, Musselburgh.
1917. DUNCAN, DAVID, J.P., Parkview, Balgay Road, Dundee.
1924. DUNCAN, GEORGE, Advocate, 60 Hamilton Place, Aberdeen.
1920. DUNCAN, Rev. JOHN GARROW, The Manse, Kirkmichael, Ballindalloch, Banffshire.

1921. DUNDAS, R. H., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
 1923. DUNLOP, Miss. of Shieldhill, Biggar.
 1923. DUNLOP, Rev. WILLIAM, M.A., St David's Manse, Buckhaven, Fife.
 1922. DWELLY, EDWARD, 36 Pemberton Road, East Molesey, Surrey.
 1904. DYER, EDMUND EUSTACE, M.B., C.M., Gladstone House, Alloa.
1924. EADES, GEORGE E., M.A., L.C.P., 209 Peckham Rye, London, S.E. 15.
 1913. EDGAR, Rev. WILLIAM, B.A., B.D., 14 St Andrew's Drive, Pollokshields, Glasgow.
 1923. EDINGTON, ARCHIBALD MAXWELL, 275 Marcell Avenue, Notre Dame de Grâce, Montreal, Canada.
 1909. EDINGTON, GEORGE HENRY, M.D., 20 Woodside Place, Glasgow.
 1921. EDWARDS, ARTHUR J. H., Assistant Keeper, National Museum of Antiquities, 24 Glenorchy Terrace.
 1892.*EDWARDS, JOHN, LL.D., F.R.S.E., 4 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.
 1904. EELES, FRANCIS CAROLUS, F.R.Hist.S., 43 Grosvenor Road, London, S.W. 1.
 1921. EGGLETON, JAMES, Curator of Kelyingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Lochbank, Lennoxton, Glasgow.
 1913. ELLIOT, Lieut.-Col The Hon. FITZWILLIAM, 16 Royal Terrace.
 1923.*ELPHINSTONE, The Right Hon. LORD, Carberry Tower, Musselburgh.
 1920. EVANS, CHARLES, Collingwood, 69 Edward Road, Balsall Heath, Birmingham.
 1909. EWEN-WATSON, GEORGE J., W.S., c/o Standard Bank of South Africa, Johannesburg.
 1925. EYRE-TODD, GEORGE, J.P., Auchenlarich, by Balloch.
1926. FAIRBAIRN, ARCHIBALD, Wellwood, Muirkirk, Ayrshire.
 1923. FAIRLIE, REGINALD F., A.R.S.A., Architect, 7 Ainslie Place.
 1912. FAIRWEATHER, WALLACE, D.L., Mearns Castle, Renfrewshire.
 1919. FALCONER, JOHN IRELAND, M.A., LL.B., W.S., Lynwilg, Juniper Green, Midlothian.
 1925. FALCONER, Rev. W. A., 2 Middleton Terrace, Ibrox, Glasgow, S.W.
 1921. FARMER, HENRY GEORGE, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., 2 Blythwood Drive, Glasgow.
1925. FARQUHAR, JAMES SIMPSON, 36 Bridge Street, Strichen, Aberdeenshire.
 1922. FARQUHAR, LUDOVIC GORDON, Architect, 4 Lynedoch Crescent, Glasgow.
 1922. FAVELL, RICHARD VERNON, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Penberth, St Buryan, S.O., Cornwall.
 1926. FERGUSON, FREDERIC SUTHERLAND, Dunedin, 4 St George's Road, Palmers Green, London, N. 13.
 1904. FERGUSON, JAMES ARCHIBALD, Banker, Norwood, 78 Inverleith Place.
 1899.*FINDLAY, JAMES LESLIE, Architect, 10 Eton Terrace.
 1892.*FINDLAY, Sir JOHN R., Bt., K.B.E., LL.D., D.L., Hon. R.S.A., F.R.S.E., 3 Rothesay Terrace.
 1911. FINLAY, JOHN, 7 Belgrave Crescent.
 1921. FINLAYSON, Rev. WILLIAM HENRY, The Rectory, Framingham Pigot, Norwich.
 1925.*FISH, THOMAS WILSON, J.P., M.Inst.N.A., Kirklands, Dunbar.
 1924. FLEMING, ALEXANDER MacKENZIE, 1 Madeira Street, Dundee.
 1884. FLEMING, D. HAY, LL.D., 4 Chamberlain Road.
 1909. FLEMING, Rev. D. W. B., Culross Park, Culross.
 1922.*FLEMING, JOHN ARNOLD, Locksley, Helensburgh.
 1926. FLOOD, Rev. P. J., D.D., Sacred Heart Rectory, Old Dalmarock Road, Bridgeton, Glasgow.
 1925. FORRESTER, Lieut.-Commander HENRY, D.S.C., R.N. (retired), 35 Snowdon Place, Stirling.
 1917. FORSYTH, HUGH ALEXANDER, J.P., Violet Bank, Wormit, Fife.
 1911.*FORSYTH, WILLIAM, F.R.C.S. Ed., c/o Messrs Livingstone & Dickson, 54 Queen Street.
 1923. FORTEVOT, The Right Hon. LORD, of Dupplin, Dupplin Castle, Perth.
 1906.*FOULKES-ROBERTS, ARTHUR, Solicitor, Bron-y-parc, Denbigh, N. Wales.
 1923. FRANKLIN, CHARLES A. H., M.D. (Laus.), M.B., B.S. (Lond.), M.A. (Ill.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (Lond.), Membre de la Société Suisse d'Héraldique, Kidbrooke, 56 Southborough Road, Bickley, Kent.
 1902. FRASER, EDWARD D., 4 The Highlands, St Leonards-on-Sea.
 1921. FRASER, GEORGE MACKAY, Solicitor and Banker, Summerlea House, Portree, Skye.
 1918. FRASER, HUGH ALEXANDER, M.A., Glen Urquhart Higher Grade School, Drumnadrochit, Inverness-shire.
 1922. FRASER, Captain The Rev. JOSEPH R., F.R.S.E., United Free Church Manse, Kinneff, Bervie.

1917. FRASER, WILLIAM, 35 Palmerston Place.
 1922. FYFE, WILLIAM, F.S.Sc., 139 Guildford Road, Portsmouth.
1924. GALLOWAY, A. RUDOLF, O.B.E., M.A., M.B., C.M., 250 Union Street, Aberdeen.
 1912. GALLOWAY, Mrs LINDSAY, Kilchrist, Campbelltown.
 1920.*GALLOWAY, THOMAS L., Advocate, Auchendrane, by Ayr.
 1918. GARDEN, WILLIAM, Advocate in Aberdeen, 4 Rubislaw Terrace, Aberdeen.
 1908. GARDNER, ALEXANDER, Publisher, Dunrod, Paisley.
 1925. GARDNER, GEORGE, M.C., Oakbank School, Aberdeen.
 1917. GARDNER, GEORGE ALEXANDER, C.A., Calle Callao, 194, Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic.
 1915. GARDNER, JAMES, Solicitor, Clunie, Paisley.
 1923. GARDNER, JOHN, Woodend, Houston.
 1926. GARDNER, JOHN C., B.L., Solicitor, Cardowan, Stonehaven.
 1921. GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, F.S.A., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, North Wales.
 1923. GARRETT, MATTHEW LAURIE, 1 Wester Coates Gardens.
 1916.*GARSON, JAMES W.S., 4 Chester Street.
 1919. GASS, JOHN, M.A., Olig, Carluke, Lanarkshire.
 1926. GAULD, H. DRUMMOND, Allandale, Corstorphine.
 1911. GAWTHORP, WALTER E., 96 and 98 High Road, East Finchley, London, N. 2.
 1926. GEBBIE, JAMES, Bank Agent, The British Linen Bank, Anderson Branch, 468 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C. 2.
 1923. GIBB, JOHN TAYLOR, High Street, Mauchline, Ayrshire.
 1923. GIBSON, ANDREW, J.P., M.B., F.R.C.S. (Edn.), St Brimans, Baillieston, near Glasgow.
 1912. GIBSON, JOHN, Bank Agent, 110 Queen Street, Glasgow.
 1920. GIBSON, JOHN, F.S.A., F.C.S., 15 Tynedale Terrace, Hexham, Northumberland.
 1924. GIBSON, JOHN, 19 Pilrig Street, Leith.
 1903.*GIBSON, WILLIAM, M.A., 44 Piazza Farnese, Rome.
 1924. GILES, ALEXANDER FALCONER, M.A. (Edin. and Oxon.), Lecturer in Ancient History, University of Edinburgh, 5 Palmerston Road.
 1922. GILLESPIE, JOHN, F.R.S.A., 56 Kenniure Street, Pollokshields, Glasgow.
 1896. GILLIES, PATRICK HUNTER, M.D., Monzie, Connel Ferry, Argyll.
 1916. GILLIES, WILLIAM, LL.D., 23 University Gardens, Glasgow.
1924. GILLIES, Rev. WILLIAM A., B.D., The Manse, Kenmore, Perthshire.
 1924. GILLON, STAIR AGNEW, Advocate, Solicitor of Inland Revenue, 14 Carlton Terrace.
 1926. GILMOUR, JOHN, Willowdene, Auchmann, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow.
 1883. GILMOUR, Brigadier-General Sir ROBERT GORDON, Bt., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O. of Craigmillar, The Inch, Liberton. — *Vice-President*.
 1922. GILRUTH, JAMES DAVIE, M.A., M.D., Hyde Park House, Arbroath.
 1922. GIRVAN, RITCHIE, M.A., University Lecturer, 3 Derby Crescent, Kelvinside N., Glasgow.
 1912.*GLADSTONE, HUGH S., M.A., F.R.S.E., Capenoch, Thornhill, Dumfriesshire.
 1904. GLENARTHUR, The Right Hon. LORD, of Carlung, LL.D., Carlung, Fullarton, Troon.
 1926. GOLLAN, Rev. DONALD C. CAMPELLE, United Free Manse, Fort William.
 1921. GORDON, Rev. JAMES BRYCE, The Manse, Ollhamstocks, Cockburnspath.
 1909. GORDON, JAMES TENNANT, O.B.E., Chief Constable of Fife and Kinross, Sandilands, Cupar, Fife.
 1913.*GRAHAM, ANGUS, Skipness, Argyll.
 1917. GRAHAM, JAMES GERARD, Captain, 4th Battalion The Highland Light Infantry, Quinta Real, Senhora da Hora, Portugal.
 1920. GRAHAM, JAMES MAXTONE, C.A., 14 Randolph Crescent.
 1909. GRAHAM, JAMES NOBLE, of Carfin and Stonebyres, Carluke.
 1924. GRAHAME, Lieut.-Col. GEORGE CAMPBELL, of Over Glenly, Ingleholm, North Berwick.
 1888. GRANT, F. J., W.S., *Rothsaying Herald*, Lyon Office, H.M. General Register House.
 1926. GRAY, LOUIS SINCLAIR, Superintendent, H.M. Stationery Office, 47A George Street, and Caledonian United Service Club.
 1915. GRAY, WILLIAM FORBES, F.R.S.E., 8 Mansionhouse Road.
 1924. GREGORY, GEORGE, Architect, Green Den, Stonehaven.
 1910. GRIERSON, Sir PHILIP J. HAMILTON, LL.D., Advocate, 7 Palmerston Place.
 1921. GRIEVE, Rev. ALEXANDER J., M.A., D.D., Principal of Lancashire Independent College, Whalley Range, Manchester.
 1922. GRIEVE, JAMES, 51 Terregles Avenue, Pollokshields, Glasgow.
 1880. GRIEVE, SYMINGTON, 11 Lauder Road.
 1922. GRIEVE, WILLIAM GRANT, 10 Queensferry Street.

1926. GRIMSTON, EDWARD R. T., M.A., 5 Bellevue Street.
1909. GRUNDY-NEWMAN, S.A., F.R.Hist.S., 55 Bradford Street, Walsall.
1909. GUILD, JAMES, B.A. (Lond.), L.C.P., F.E.I.S., 36 Hillend Road, Arbroath.
1920. GUILD, JAMES HARROWER, W.S., 5 Coates Gardens.
1910. GUNN, GEORGE, F.E.I.S., Craigmarten, Wick.
1911. GUNSON, Rev. ERNEST SHERWOOD, M.A., The Manse of New Monkland, by Airdrie.
- 1907.*GUTHRIE, CHARLES, W.S., 1 N. Charlotte Street.
1924. GUTHRIE, Miss HELEN LINGARD, Carnoustie House, Carnoustie.
1904. GUTHRIE, Sir JAMES, R.S.A., H.R.A., LL.D., Rowmore, Row, Dumbartonshire.
1905. GUTHRIE, THOMAS MAULE, Solicitor, Royal Bank of Scotland, Brechin.
1907. GUY, JOHN C., Advocate, Carsaig House, Tayvallich, by Lochgilphead.
1921. HALL, Mrs J. MACALISTER, of Killean, Killean House, Tayinloan, Argyll.
1925. HAMILTON, JAMES, J.P., Mossbank Industrial School, Glasgow.
1926. HAMILTON, Major JAMES ALEXANDER FREDERICK HENRY, 47 Castle Street.
- 1922.*HAMILTON, JOHN, Punta Loyola, Patagonia, South America.
- 1901.*HAMILTON OF DALZELL, The Right Hon. LORD, K.T., C.V.O., Dalzell Motherwell.
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 1920. JOHNSTONE, JAMES F. K., LL.D., 67 Forest Avenue, Aberdeen.
 1898. JONAS, ALFRED CHARLES, Locksley, Tennyson Road, Bognor, Sussex.
 1922. JOPP, PETER, Cabaach, by Huntly.
 1923. JORDAN, Rev. ALBERT, D.D., LL.D., M.A., The Rectory, Llanbadarn-fawr, Penybont, Radnorshire.
 1922. JOUBERT, FELIX, Architect, La Bastide de Beauvine, Chemin des Rastmes, Antibes, A.M., France.
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 1910. KAY, ARTHUR, J.P., F.S.A., 11 Regent Terrace.
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 1893. KAYE, WALTER JENKINSON, M.A., F.S.A., Pembroke, Park View, Harrogate.
 1922.*KELLER, ALEXANDER, of Morven, Ballater, Aberdeenshire.
 1870.*KELTIE, Sir JOHN S., LL.D., F.R.G.S., F.S.S., 88 Brondesbury Road, London, N.W. 6.
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 1889.*KERMODE, PHILIP M. C., Advocate, The Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man.
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- 1911.*KETCHEN, W. T., W.S., Keeper of the General Register of Sasines, H.M. General Register House.
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- 1912.*KING, Sir JOHN WESTALL, Bt., Beaurepaire Park, Basingstoke, Hants
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1926. KINNEAR, WILLIAM FRASER ANDERSON, Colebrooke, Milngavie.
- 1900.*KINTORE, The Right Hon. The Earl of, K.T., G.C.M.G., LL.D., Keith Hall, Inverurie.
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- 1924.*KNOX, WILLIAM BARR, Redheugh, Killbirnie, Ayrshire.
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- 1910.*LAIDLER, PERCY WARD, District Surgeon, East London, South Africa.
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- 1910.*LEIGH, Captain JAMES HAMILTON, Bindon, Wellington, Somerset.
1926. LEITCH, JAMES, Craufurigs, Lenzie.
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- 1902.*LEVESON-GOWER, F. S., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, London.
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- 1919.*LINDSAY, Mrs BROUN, of Colstoun and Muirkirk, 51 Cadogan Place, London.
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- 1881.*LITTLE, ROBERT, R.W.S., The Cottage, Hackenden, East Grinstead.
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1925. MACCORQUODALE, HUGH, Inverlochty, Hillhead Road, Crookston, Glasgow.
- 1924.*M'COSH, JAMES, Solicitor, Swinness, Dalry, Ayrshire.

- 1925.*MACCOWAN, REV. RODERICK, Free Church Manse, Kiltarlity, Inverness-shire.
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- 1890.*MACDONALD, JOHN MATHESON, Moor Hill, Farnham, Surrey.
- 1872.*MCDOWALL, THOMAS W., M.D., Burwood, Wadhurst, Sussex.
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1918. MACGREGOR, REV. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, Manse of Covington, Thankerton.
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- 1923.*MACLAGAN, Miss MORAG, 28 Heriot Row.
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- 1925.*MATHESON, NEIL, 6 Nevill Street, Canonfield, Dundee.
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- 1892.*MAXWELL, Sir JOHN STIRLING, Bt., LL.D., H.R.S.A., Pollok House, Pollokshaws.
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1882. MILLAR, ALEXANDER H., LL.D., Albert Institute, Dundee.
1896. MILLER, ALEXANDER C., M.D., Craig Linnhe, Fort-William.
1925. MILLER, FRANK, Cumberland House, Annan, Dumfriesshire.
- 1878.*MILLER, GEORGE ANDERSON, W.S., Knowehead, Perth.
- 1907.*MILLER, ROBERT SCHAW, W.S., 11 Douglas Crescent.
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- 1890.*MITCHELL, SYDNEY, Architect, The Pleasance, Gullane.
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1919. MUNRO, ALEXANDER, Craggie, Rogart, Sutherland.
1922. MUNRO, NEIL, LL.D., Cromalt, Helensburgh.
- 1911.*MURCHIE, JAMES, Penrloch, Kingcase, Prestwick, Ayrshire.
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- 1901.*PORTLAND, His Grace The Duke of, K.G., Welbeck Abbey, Notts.
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1918. PRAIN, HENRY, J.P., Helenbank, Longforgan, by Dundee.
- 1911.*PRESTON, FRANK A. B., M.R.S.I., M.S.A., Druimdarroch, 27 Ferguson Avenue, Milngavie.
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- 1897.*REID, The Right Rev. EDWARD T. S., M.A., D.D., Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, Ravelston, 994 Great Western Road, Glasgow.
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- 1872.*ROSEBURY and MIDLOTHIAN, The Right Hon. The Earl of, K.G., K.T., D.C.L., LL.D., Dalmeny Park.
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- 1910.*SCOBIE, Major IAIN H. MACKAY, 1st Seaforth Highlanders, 1 Coates Place.
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- 1921.*SCOTT, R. L., 11 Newark Street, Greenock.
1889. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, W. G., M.A., Honorary Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, Whitechurch Rectory, Edgware, Middlesex.
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1917. SHIELLS, COURTENAY JOHN, C.A., 17 Melville Street.
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1907. SKERRINGTON, The Hon. LORD, 12 Randolph Crescent.
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1920. SLEIGH, THOMAS MILLAR, J.P., 38 Queen's Crescent.
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- 1910.*SPENCER, Colonel CHARLES LOUIS, C.B.E., D.S.O., 5 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.
- 1910.*SPENCER, JOHN JAMES, 5 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.
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- 1905.*USHER, Sir ROBERT, Bt., of Norton and Wells, Wells, Hawick.
- 1920.*VARMA, Professor S. P., M.A., of Robertson College, Jubbulpore, C.P., India, c/o Messrs Thomas Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus, London, E.C. 4.
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1924. WEBSTER, MARTYN C., 5 Newton Terrace, Charming Cross, Glasgow, W.
1879. WEDDERBURN, J. R. M., M.A., W.S., 3 Glencairn Crescent.
1925. WEIR, JAMES MULLO, S.S.C., 21 Mayfield Terrace.
- 1884.*WHITE, CECIL, 23 Drummond Place.
1914. WHITE, GEORGE DUNCAN, Castle Garden, Crail.
1904. WHITE, JAMES, St Winnin's, Bearsden, Dumbartonshire.
1925. WHITE, WILLIAM, Shore Road. Anstruther, Fife.
1903. WHITELAW, ALEXANDER, Gartshore, Kirkintilloch.
- 1902.*WHITELAW, CHARLES EDWARD, I.A., The Laurels, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire.
1907. WHITELAW, HARRY VINCENT, Fair Lawn, Southfield Road, Paignton, Devon.
1909. WHITTAKER, CHARLES RICHARD, F.R.C.S., F.R.S.E., Lynwood, 27 Hatton Place.
1913. WHITTAKER, EDMUND T., M.A., LL.D., Hon. D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Mathematics, University of Edinburgh, 35 George Square.
1923. WHYTE, WILLIAM, P.O. Box 1831, Johannesburg, S. Africa.
1921. WILKIE, ALEXANDER, 14 Ravelston Park.
1908. WILKIE, JAMES, B.L., S.S.C., 108 George Street.
1895. WILLIAMS, Rev. GEORGE, Minister of Norrieston U.F. Church, Thornhill, Stirling.
1897. WILLIAMS, H. MALLAM, Tilehurst, Southern Road, Southbourne, Hants.
1926. WILLIAMS, LESLIE BERNARD, 23 Belmont Street, Glasgow, W. 2.
1926. WILLIAMSON, JOHN W., of West-Edwood, Lanarkshire; Athole Lodge, 7 Spylaw Road.
1908. WILSON, ANDREW ROBERTSON, M.A., M.D., 23 Hoseside Road, Wallasey, Cheshire.
- 1923.*WILSON, Rev. S. GORDON F. M.A., B.Litt., A.K.C., F.R.Hist.S., St Nicholas' Rectory, Canterbury.
1913. WILSON, Rev. THOMAS, B.D., The Manse, Stow, Midlothian.
1921. WILSON, WILLIAM, Regius Professor of Public Law, The University, Edinburgh.
1912. WILSON, Rev. W. B. ROBERTSON, Strathdevon, Dollar.
1916. WINDUST, Mrs ESTHER, Sidi-Bou-Said, near Tunis, N. Africa.
1920. WISHART, DAVID, Pittarow, Abernethy, Perthshire.
1922. WOOD, J. R., 51 Montgomerie Street, Kelvinside N., Glasgow.
1907. WOOD, WILLIAM JAMES, J.P., 5 Bogton Avenue, Cathcart, Glasgow.
1925. WYNESS, J. FENTON, 45 Salisbury Terrace, Aberdeen.
1926. YOUNG, EDWARD DRUMMOND, 27 Nile Grove.
1913. YOUNG, THOMAS E., W.S., Auchterarder.
1924. YOUNGER, HARRY J., 21 Douglas Crescent.
- 1912.*YULE, THOMAS, W.S., 16 East Claremont Street.

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES, ETC.

American Philosophical Society.	New York Public Library, New York.
Baillie's Institution, Glasgow.	Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
Birmingham Public Libraries—Reference Department.	Public Library, Aberdeen.
Chicago University Library, Chicago, U.S.A.	Public Library, Dundee.
*Columbia University.	Public Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
Concordia College, Moorhead, Minn., U.S.A.	Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W. 1.
Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities, British Museum.	State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
Detroit Public Library, Detroit, U.S.A.	University College, Dublin.
*Faculty of Procurators' Library, Glasgow.	University Library, Leeds.
Falkirk Natural History and Archæological Society.	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
Free Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
Harvard College, U.S.A.	Victoria University of Manchester.
Institute of Accountants and Actuaries in Glasgow.	Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
John Rylands Library, Manchester.	
National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.	

LIST OF THE CORRESPONDING MEMBERS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

NOVEMBER 30. 1926.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1923. BLACK, GEORGE F., Ph.D., New York Public Library, New York City, U.S.A. | 1915. MORRISON, MURDO, Lakefield, Bragar. Lewis. |
| 1913. FRASER, JOHN, 68 Restalrig Road, Leith. | 1924. MUIR, WILLIAM T., Brenda, Evie, Orkney. |
| 1911. GOUDIE, JAS. M., J.P., Lerwick, Shetland. | 1911. NICOLSON, JOHN, Nybster, Auchengill, by Wick. Caithness. |
| 1913. LEVY, Mrs N., Red Gables, Carson College, Flourtown, Pa., U.S.A. | 1921. URQUHART, ANDREW, M.A., J.P., The School-house, Bonar Bridge, Sutherland. |
| 1915. MATHIESON, JOHN, F.R.S.E., 42 East Claremont Street. | |

LIST OF HONORARY FELLOWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,
NOVEMBER 30, 1926.

[According to the Laws, the number is limited to TWENTY-FIVE.]

1897.

Sir W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., LL.D., F.B.A., F.R.S., Edwards Professor of Egyptology in University College, London, W.C. 1.

Dr SOPHUS MÜLLER, Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, and Director of the National Museum, Copenhagen.

1908.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, M.A., D.C.L., Youlbury, near Oxford.

SALOMON REINACH, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities of France, St Germain-en-Laye.

5 Professor H. DRAGENDORFF, Freiburg i. Baden, Johan von Weirhstrasse 4.

Professor E. RITTERLING, Director of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Dotzheimerstrasse 38^{II} Wiesbaden.

1919.

LÉON COUTIL, Correspondant du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, etc., etc., Les Andelys, Eure, France.

RENÉ CAGNAT, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Professeur au Collège de France, Palais de l'Institut (3 rue Mazarine), Paris.

1921.

The Right Rev. Bishop G. F. BROWNE, 2 Campden House Road, Kensington, London, W. 8.

1923.

- 10 M. L'ABBÉ H. BREUIL, D.L.C., Professeur à l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, Paris, 110 Rue Demours, Paris.
 Professor FRANZ CUMONT, 19 Corso d'Italia, Rome.
 G. F. HILL, M.A., F.B.A., LL.D., Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
 Dr BERNHARD SALIN, State Antiquary-in-Chief, Stockholm.
 FRANK GERALD SIMPSON, M.A., 45 Fern Avenue, Jesmond, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- 15 Mrs ARTHUR STRONG, Litt.D., LL.D., F.S.A., Life-Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, and Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, 35 Via Balbo, Rome (22).
 A. M. TALLGREN, Professeur Universitetet, Helsingfors, Finland.

1926.

- MARCELLIN BOULE, Professor in the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, and Director of the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, 1 rue René Panhard, boulevard Saint-Marcel, Paris 13^e.
 Professor Dr philos A. W. BRØGGGER, Bestyrer av Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Tullinløkken, Oslo, Norway.
 O. M. DALTON, M.A., F.B.A., Keeper of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- 20 Professor Dr ERNST FABRICIUS, Geheimer Rat, Goethestrasse 44, Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany.
 Sir ARTHUR KEITH, M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.R.S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England; Past-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Anatomical Society.
 Senator RODOLFO LANCIANI, K.C.V.O., D.C.L., 17 Via Antonio Guattani, Rome.
 Dr R. PARIBENI, Director of the Institute of Archæology of Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

LIST OF THE LADY ASSOCIATES
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,
NOVEMBER 30, 1926.

[*According to the Laws, the number is limited to TWENTY-FIVE.*]

1894.

Miss EMMA SWANN, Walton Manor, Oxford.

1900.

Miss M. A. MURRAY, Edwards Library, University College, London, W.C. 1.
3 Mrs E. S. ARMITAGE, Westholm, Rawdon, Leeds.

SOCIETIES, INSTITUTIONS, &c., EXCHANGING PUBLICATIONS.

Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society of Chester and North Wales.	Royal Historical Society.
Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.	Royal Irish Academy.
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.	Royal Numismatic Society.
British Archæological Association.	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Buchan Field Club.	Scottish Ecclesiological Society.
Buteshire Natural History Society.	Shropshire Archæological Society.
Cambrian Archæological Association.	Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.	Society of Antiquaries of London.
Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society.	Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.	Society of Architects.
Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Association.	Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
Dumfriesshire Natural History and Antiquarian Society.	Stirling Natural History and Archæological Society.
Edinburgh Architectural Association.	Surrey Archæological Society.
Elgin Literary and Scientific Society.	Sussex Archæological Society.
Essex Archæological Society.	Thoresby Society.
Gaelic Society of Inverness.	Viking Club.
Geological Society of Edinburgh.	Wiltshire Archæological Society.
Glasgow Archæological Society.	Yorkshire Archæological Society.
Hampshire Field Club and Archæological Society.	Archæological Survey of India.
Hawick Archæological Society.	British School at Rome.
Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.	Colombo Museum, Ceylon.
Institute of Archæology, Liverpool.	Provincial Museum, Toronto, Canada.
Kent Archæological Society.	Royal Canadian Institute, Toronto.
New Spalding Club.	University Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand.
Perthshire Society of Natural Science.	
Royal Anthropological Institute.	
Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.	
Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.	
Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Wales and Monmouthshire.	

FOREIGN SOCIETIES, UNIVERSITIES, MUSEUMS, &c.

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris.
 Alterthumsgesellschaft, Königsberg.
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.
 Antiquarische Gesellschaft, Zürich.
 Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches
 Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt
 am Main.

Bosnisch-Herzegovinisches Landes-Museum, Sarajevo.
 Bureau of Ethnology, Washington.
 California University.
 Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.
 Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York.
 Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris.
 Faculté des Sciences de Lyon.
 Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
 Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminde-merkere Bevaring.
 Gesellschaft für Nützliche Forschungen, Trier.
 Göteborg och Bohusläns Fornminnesföreningen.
 Göttingen University.
 Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft, Basel.
 Historische Verein für Niedersachsen.
 Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, Paris.
 Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades, Madrid.
 Junta Para Ampliación de Estudios—Comision de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas, Madrid.
 Kiel University.
 Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab, Trondhjem.
 Leipzig University.
 Musée Guimet, Paris.
 Musée National Suisse à Zürich.
 Museum, Bergen, Norway.
 Museum of Northern Antiquities, Oslo.
 National Bohemian Museum, Prague, Czechoslovakia.
 National Museum, Zagreb, Yugoslavia.
 Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.
 Norsk Folkemuseum, Oslo, Norway.
 Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin.
 Oslo University, Norway.
 Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 Prähistorische Kommission der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.
 Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome.
 Rijks-Museum van Oudheden, Leiden.
 Royal Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm.
 Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A.
 Societa Romana di Antropologia, Rome.
 Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.
 Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.

Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie.
 Société Archéologique de Constantine, Algeria.
 Société Archéologique du Midi de la France.
 Société Archéologique de Montpellier.
 Société Archéologique de Moravie.
 Société Archéologique de Namur.
 Société des Bollandistes, Brussels.
 Société des Sciences de Semur (*Pro Alesia*).
 Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie, Helsingfors.
 Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand.
 Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
 Société Préhistorique Polonaise.
 Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.
 Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig.
 University Library, Tartu, Esthonia.
 Upsala University.
 Verein für Nassauische Alterthumskunde, Wiesbaden.
 Verein von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande, Bonn.
 Wiener Præhistorische Gesellschaft.

PERIODICALS.

L'Anthropologie, Paris.
Bulletin archéologique polonais, Warsaw.

LIBRARIES, BRITISH.

Athenæum Club Library, London.
 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 British Museum Library.
 Chetham's Library, Manchester.
 Free Library, Edinburgh.
 Free Library, Liverpool.
 Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
 National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
 National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
 Ordnance Survey Library, Southampton.
 Public Record Office Library, London.
 Royal Library, Windsor.
 Royal Scottish Museum Library, Edinburgh.
 Scottish National Portrait Gallery Library.
 Scottish Record Office, Historical Department.
 Signet Library, Edinburgh.
 Trinity College Library, Dublin.
 United Free Church College Library, Edinburgh.

University Library, Aberdeen.
 University Library, Cambridge.
 University Library, Edinburgh.
 University Library, Glasgow.
 University Library, St Andrews.
 Victoria and Albert Museum Library, London.

LIBRARIES, FOREIGN.

Bayerische Staats-bibliothek, Munich, Bavaria.

Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, Université de
 Paris.
 National Library, Paris.
 National Library, Vienna.
 Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A.
 Preussische Staats-bibliothek, Berlin.
 Public Library, Hamburg.
 Royal Library, Copenhagen.
 Royal Library, Stockholm.
 Sächsische Landes-bibliothek, Dresden.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND

HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1925-1926

ANNIVERSARY MEETING, 30th November 1925.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T., President,
in the Chair.

The Chairman referred to the death of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, and it was remitted to His Grace to write a letter to His Majesty the King conveying the condolence and sympathy of the Society with His Majesty.

Mr John W. M. Loney and Mr J. Hewat Craw were appointed Scrutineers of the Ballot for Office-Bearers.

The Ballot having been concluded, the Scrutineers found and declared the List of the Council for the ensuing year to be as follows:—

President.

His Grace The DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T., C.B., M.V.O., D.S.O., LL.D.
VOL. LX. 1

Vice-Presidents.

Sir ANDREW N. AGNEW, Bart.

JOHN BRUCE.

Brigadier-General R. G. GORDON-GILMOUR of Craigmillar, C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O.

Councillors.

Sir JOHN R. FINDLAY, Bart., K.B.E., LL.D.	} <i>Representing the Board of Trustees.</i>	Professor THOMAS H. BRYCE, M.D., F.R.S.
The Hon. HEW HAMILTON DALRYMPLE.		GEORGE MACKAY, M.D.
Sir JAMES ADAM, C.B.E.	} <i>Representing the Treasury.</i>	ROBERT CROSS.
JAMES GARSON, W.S.		Major WILLIAM A. BAIRD of Lennox-love.
THOMAS YULE, W.S.		WILLIAM K. DICKSON, LL.D.
VICTOR A. NOEL PATON, W.S.		STUART N. MILLER, M.A.

Secretaries.

G. P. H. WATSON. | DOUGLAS P. MACLAGAN, W.S.

For Foreign Correspondence.

The Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE, M.A., LL.D., D.D. | Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN, LL.D.

Treasurer.

J. BOLAM JOHNSON, C.A.

Curators of the Museum.

JAMES CURLE, LL.D., W.S. | JAMES S. RICHARDSON.

Curator of Coins.

GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., D.Litt.

Librarian.

ALEXANDER O. CURLE.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows:—

JOHN SCOTT ALLEN, F.R.S.A., Chapel Place, Lismore, Co. Waterford.

JAMES BAIRD, 81 Meadowpark Street, Dennistoun, Glasgow.

Rev. ALEXANDER LYON BENNET, B.A., Norwood, Lambhill, Glasgow.

Rev. LIONEL BRANFORD, B.A., 8 Muir Street, Renfrew.

JOHN GEORGE BURNS, Advocate, 44 Howe Street.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

3

DONALD MCARTHUR CHALMERS, 57 St Andrew's Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow.
 Brig.-Gen. E. CRAIG-BROWN, D.S.O., 9 Ainslie Place.
 Admiral Sir JOHN MICHAEL DE ROBECK, Bart., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., The Lee, Lanark.
 Rev. W. A. FALCONER, 2 Middleton Terrace, Ibrox, Glasgow, S.W.
 JAMES SIMPSON FARQUHAR, 36 Bridge Street, Strichen, Aberdeenshire.
 Lieut.-Commndr. HENRY FORRESTER, D.S.C., R.N. (Retired), 35 Snowdon Place, Stirling.
 The Right Hon. Lord HOWARD DE WALDEN, Seaford House, London, S.W.1.
 Sheriff JOHN DEAN LESLIE, 16 Victoria Place, Stirling.
 ARTHUR LING, 103 Ashkirk Drive, Mosspark, Glasgow.
 JOHN R. LITTLE, 5 Dalrymple Crescent.
 HUGH MACCORQUODALE, Inverloch, Hillhead Road, Crookston, Glasgow.
 Mrs MACINTOSH, 23A Dick Place.
 Rev. MALCOLM MACLENNAN, D.D., 6 Polwarth Terrace.
 Rev. WILLIAM MACLEOD, B.D., 35 Hillhead Street, Glasgow.
 JOHN MOWAT, 24 Dunearn Street, Glasgow, C.1.
 ALEXANDER POLSON, 17 Ardconnel Street, Inverness.
 W. ALISTER RICHARDSON, 20 Caledonian Road.
 JAMES RITCHIE, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., 20 Upper Gray Street.
 WALTER MUIR ROBERTSON, M.B., Ch.B., Struan, Westerton Avenue, Drumchapel, Dumbartonshire.
 GEORGE GUTHRIE ROGER, M.A., B.Sc., 3 Myrtle Terrace, Newport, Fife.
 IVER R. S. SALVESEN, 6 Rothesay Terrace.
 LESLIE P. SHIRRES, 15 Bonaccord Crescent, Aberdeen.
 Rev. FREDERICK ALEXANDER STEUART, M.A., B.D., The Manse, Inchinnan, Renfrewshire.
 His Grace THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland.
 FRED. A. TURNER, F.R.Hist.S., Librarian and Curator, Public Library and Museum, Brentford, Middlesex.
 WILLIAM WHITE, Shore Road, Anstruther, Fife.

The Secretary read the following list of Members deceased since the last Annual Meeting:—

Honorary Fellows.

	Elected.
Dr ERNEST CHANTRE, the Museum, Lyons	1885
Professor LUIGI PIGORINI, Director of the Royal Archæological Museum, Rome	1892

Corresponding Members.

	Elected.
ALEXANDER MACKIE, Pitressie, Abernethy	1904
JAMES RITCHIE, Hawthorn Cottage, Port Elphinstone, Inverurie	1903

Fellows.

	Elected.
FRANK ADAM, c/o The Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore	1896
JAMES WATSON ALLAN, M.B., C.M., F.R.F.P.S. (Glas.), The Lodge, Broughton, Peeblesshire	1921
LEWIS BILTON, W.S., 5 Abinger Gardens	1877
CHARLES BROWN, Seagate, Gullane	1902
EDWARD A. CHISHOLM, 42 Great King Street	1903
JAMES DAVIDSON, Solicitor, Kirriemuir	1886
Rev. WILLIAM DEY FYFE, B.D., The Manse, Broughty Ferry	1922
JOHN LEASK, North of Scotland Bank Buildings, Forres	1919
JOSEPH M. LEIGHTON, Librarian, Public Library, Greenock	1907
DAVID J. MACKENZIE, Honorary Sheriff Substitute for Inverness, Elgin, and Nairn, Deansford, Bishopmill, Elgin	1887
JAMES MACKENZIE, J.P., 2 Rillbank Crescent	1891
DAVID MACRITCHIE, C.A., 4 Archibald Place	1882
ALAN KEITH ROBERTSON, Viewpark, 12 Russell Place, Trinity	1916
EDWARD RODGER, 1 Clairmont Gardens, Glasgow	1916
ALEXANDER ROSS, LL.D., F.R.I.B.A., Queensgate Chambers, Inverness	1876
Rev. JAMES C. RUSSELL, D.D., 9 Coates Gardens	1906
Sir JAMES SCOTT, J.P., Rock Knowe, Tayport	1892
Sir JOHN STRUTHERS, K.C.B., LL.D., 31 Sloane Gardens, London, S.W.	1910
J. MAXWELL WOOD, M.B., C.M., 3 Comely Bank	1922

The meeting resolved to record their sense of the loss the Society had sustained in the death of these members.

The Secretary read the following Report by the Council on the affairs of the Society:—

The Council have the honour to submit to the Society their Report for the year from 30th November 1924 to 30th November 1925.

Fellowship.—The total number of Fellows on the roll at 30th November 1924 was 856
At 30th November 1925 the number was 900
being an increase of 44

There were 75 new Fellows added to the roll during the year, and 1 who had resigned withdrew his resignation, while 19 died, 9 resigned, and 4 allowed their fellowship to lapse.

The Council view with satisfaction this growth in the Fellowship, but they feel that a still further increase might be possible if Fellows were to make a point of suggesting to those who care for the history and archæology of Scotland the desirability of joining. With an

augmented membership, the Society might hope to extend its activities and to give a greater stimulus to public interest in archaeological research. That this is being aroused is shown by the foundation of local societies; one such, the Council are glad to note, was formed last year in East Lothian, sponsored by Fellows of the Society. The recent publication of the Report on the Ancient Monuments of that county will provide a mass of material for local antiquaries to work on.

The Council regret the loss which archæology has sustained through the death of two of our Honorary Fellows—Dr Ernest Chantre, of the Museum, Lyons, who was elected in 1885, and Professor Luigi Pigorini, Director of the Royal Archæological Museum, Rome, elected in 1892.

Conspicuous among the names of the Ordinary Fellows who have died during the year is that of Mr David MacRitchie, who was elected in 1882, appointed to the Council in 1914, and held office as a Vice-President from 1917 until 1920. An enthusiastic Scot, as became a founder of the St Andrew Society, Mr MacRitchie was a man of many interests, chiefly in the direction of ethnology and folk-lore. Among his contributions to the *Proceedings* were "The Aberdeen Kayak and its Congeners," "The Survival of Early Celtic Numerals in Counting-Out Rhymes," and "On Earth-houses and their Occupants." Other notable names are those of Mr Alexander Ross, LL.D., F.R.I.B.A., of Inverness, who became a Fellow as far back as 1876, and who was keenly interested in the mediæval architecture and antiquities of the North of Scotland; and of Mr James Ritchie and Mr Alexander Mackie, who were elected Corresponding Members in 1903 and 1904. Mr Ritchie was an indefatigable local correspondent. About Aberdeenshire and its neighbourhood he had contributed many papers to the Society, among which may be mentioned those on Stone Circles at Raedykes, on old Crosses and unlettered Sepulchral Monuments, and on devices to prevent body-snatching. All his papers, it will be remembered, were admirably illustrated by his own photographs. Mr Mackie, who with Mr James Marr excavated the Castle Law Fort, Abernethy, a report of which appears in the *Proceedings*, acted as Clerk of Works on the Society's excavations of the native forts on the Poltalloch estate and on Roman Stations, including those at Camelon and Newstead.

Representation on Committees, etc.—The Council reappointed Mr Alexander O. Curle as the Society's representative on the Ancient Monuments Advisory Board for Scotland. Mr Victor A. Noel Paton, W.S., was appointed to give evidence before the Committee on Sheriff Court Records. In response to an invitation given by the President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Mr J. Graham Callander,

Director of the Museum, was selected to deliver an address on recent archæological research in Scotland to that Society.

Proceedings.—An advance copy of the *Proceedings* lies upon the table. A glance at the Table of Contents will indicate the wide area of research covered by the contributions. As in former volumes, archæological papers outnumber those dealing with historic subjects.

The Director of the Museum, Mr J. Graham Callander, gives an account of long cairns and other prehistoric monuments in Aberdeenshire, and of a short cist at Bruceton, Alyth, and records a Bronze Age grave near Beaully, in which implements of flint and bronze were found associated with cremated human bones. Mr Callander also describes a beaker urn and a food-vessel of rather uncommon shape, both from Aberdeenshire; in another paper he deals with two seventeenth-century Scottish spoons and a cane-top, all of silver, now in the Museum. An account of an interesting shafted implement from Bogancloch, in the parish of Rhynie, Aberdeenshire, is contributed by Dr James Curle. The Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland, Mr James S. Richardson, gives details of the hoard of bronze implements and trinkets from Wester Ord, Ross-shire, which he presented to the Museum last year. Mr Richardson also describes an early Iron Age burial at Blackness Castle.

The excavation of the "Mutiny Stones," the only long cairn known in the south-east of Scotland, certain constructive details of which suggest an affinity with the neolithic long cairns in the north, is described by Mr J. Hewat Craw. Excavations of other prehistoric sites are described by Mr Lethbridge, Mr Edwards, and Mr Ludovic M. Mann. Mr Edwards's paper is devoted partly to a description of two interesting earth-houses which he examined with the help of the spade at Freswick Links, Caithness, and partly to an account of a mound at Ham, in the same county, while Mr Mann, who deals with recent discoveries in Arran, includes a description of a round cairn containing peculiar structural features and of a hoard of bronze palstaves. Mr F. C. Diack's paper on the Auquhollie Stone, Kincardineshire, is of much interest to the philologist; he gives a new reading of the inscription, and marshals arguments for a Scottish origin of Ogam writing.

In "Further Discoveries on the Line of the Antonine Wall" Dr George Macdonald summarises fresh information which he has been able to gather since 1915. *Inter alia*, he has succeeded in laying down the line of the Wall from Inveravon to Bridgeness, and in definitely locating the position of the fort on Croy Hill. Reference must also be made to the brief interim report by Dr Macdonald and Mr A. O. Curle on the

excavations which are being conducted on the Roman fort situated at Mumrills, near Falkirk. This report covers two seasons' work. As the site is valuable agricultural land, and is only available for excavation when not in use by the farmer, a considerable period must elapse before the work can be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Despite these difficulties and limitations, very substantial results have already been obtained.

To turn to the papers dealing with historical subjects, Dr W. Douglas Simpson sketches the architectural history of Bothwell Castle, while in another paper he recalls the forgotten Priory of Monymusk. Mr Charles E. Whitelaw describes variations of the Dog-lock found in Scottish firearms of the seventeenth century, and traces the evolution of this intermediary form of lock. Certain burials in Kirkwall Cathedral, discovered during recent alterations, form the subject of a paper by Mr John Mooney. The late Mr James Ritchie, in "Whin-mills in Aberdeenshire," has placed on record a now obsolete agricultural process, and Mr Stanley Carruthers gives an account of twelve old Scottish dances.

The Museum.—The Council are glad to be able to state that the Comparative Gallery will be ready for opening to the public at an early date, substantial progress having been made with the supply of new cases and with the rearrangement and remounting of the collections.

Additions to the collections have been satisfactory in number and quality, 184 objects having been acquired by donation and 60 by purchase. Among the accessions may be mentioned the shafted implement referred to above, which was found at Bogancloch, and which has been secured for the Museum by Dr James Curle: a cinerary urn, found near St Andrews about 40 years ago, presented by Dr Hay Fleming; an important hoard of bronze objects, found in 1866 at the Braes of Gight, near Methlick, Aberdeenshire, presented by Mr John Hamilton; a gold ring and a bronze armlet, presented by H.M. Office of Works; a number of pigmy flints from Dryburgh, presented by Mr John M. Corrie; a bronze axe from Dumfriesshire, presented by Mr John Corrie, Burnbank, Moniaive; a bronze axe, likewise from Dumfriesshire, presented by Mr Symington; a club-like stone from Kingsteps Quarry, Nairn, presented by Mr A. A. MacGillivray; a slab of sandstone bearing the incised figure of a bull, from the fort on East Lomond Hill, Fife, presented by Mr W. E. Strudley, Falkland; a number of fragments of Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery from Malta, presented by Mr G. G. Sinclair; a tally stick, presented by the King's Remembrancer; a set of bagpipes said to have been played at Waterloo and at the entry of George IV. into Edinburgh, presented by Mrs Younger, Melrose; two Scottish broad-

swords, bequeathed by Mr Theodore Napier; an ivory snuff-mull in the form of a Highlander of the 1715 period, fully accoutred, presented by Mr Charles E. Whitelaw; and a toddy ladle, two teaspoons, and a salt-spoon, all of silver, presented by Mr William Brook. A number of objects found in a grave at Craigsorry, near Beaully, were secured through the King's Remembrancer.

Excavations.—The only excavation undertaken by the Society during last season was that on the Roman fort at Mumrills, already mentioned. The difficulties under which the work is proceeding have already been explained, and, in the circumstances, it is fortunate that the fort lies in two fields, so that when one is not available access can be had to the other. Thanks to the long spell of uninterrupted dry weather in the late autumn and early part of the winter, considerable progress was made in the investigation of the central buildings of the Antonine fort. These were located without difficulty as the result of the previous year's work. The foundations of the Principia were exposed, together with those of the granaries which lie on either side, and the dimensions of these buildings indicate that the fort must have been one of unusual importance. Although progress may be slow, it is sincerely to be hoped that means may be forthcoming to enable the work to be continued annually. In comparison with the wonderful collection of relics which the Roman fort at Newstead produced, the finds at Mumrills have been meagre. This fact is perhaps not without historical significance. Does it imply that Mumrills was evacuated in a leisurely fashion, while from Newstead the departure was hurried, accompanied, perhaps, by disaster? The Council desire to express their indebtedness to the owner of the site, Mr Forbes of Callendar, for permission to continue the excavations, and to the tenant, Mr Samuel Smith, for much help and hospitality extended to the Committee throughout the season.

The Council at the same time desire to express their indebtedness and thanks to the Carnegie Trustees for a grant up to a limit of £100, towards the cost of these excavations, and to the Haverfield Trust for a similar donation.

The Library.—The additions to the Library amount to 89 by donation and 28 by purchase. Besides these, a considerable number of publications of learned societies, etc., have been received by way of exchange and by subscription. To the collection of manuscripts there have been three additions.

The Rhind Lectureship.—Mr Eric Maclagan, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, has been appointed Rhind Lecturer for 1926, and

Dr George Macdonald for 1927, Mr MacLagan's lectures to be on Italian Renaissance Sculpture, and Dr Macdonald's on a subject dealing with Roman Britain. Mr W. M. Mackenzie, Secretary of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments (Scotland), the lecturer for 1925, will deliver his course, on The Mediaeval Castle in Scotland, in February next.

The Gunning Fellowship.—The Gunning Fellowship for 1925 was awarded to Mr A. J. H. Edwards, Assistant Keeper of the Museum, to enable him to make certain excavations in Caithness. Several graves of a very unusual type were discovered.

Chalmers-Jervise Prize.—The County of Dumfries was chosen as the district for the Chalmers-Jervise Prize Essay for 1925. Although the competition was extensively advertised, only one essay was received, but as it was not considered of sufficient archæological or historical value the prize was not awarded.

ATHOLL,
President.

The Report was adopted on the motion of Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., LL.D., seconded by Mr Alexander O. Curle.

Mr J. Bolam Johnson, Treasurer, read the annual statement of the Society's Funds, which was ordered to be printed and circulated among the members. On the motion of the Chairman a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr Johnson for his gratuitous services.

MONDAY, 14th December 1925.

ALEX. O. CURLE in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows:—

J. R. WARDLAW BURNET, Advocate, 60 Northumberland Street.

A. ROBERTSON CROSS, M.C., B.A., LL.B., 13 Moray Place.

GEORGE GARDNER, M.C., Oakbank School, Aberdeen.

The following Donations to the Museum, received during the recess, 11th May to 30th November 1925, were intimated, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By JAMES S. DONALD, F.S.A.Scot.

Communion Token, Inverness United Associated Congregation, 1821.

(2) By J. BOYD JAMIESON, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., F.S.A.Scot.

Bellarmino, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, with a bearded mask on the front of the neck, found under the foundations of 218 Canongate.

(3) By JOHN DUNCAN, Summerhill Terrace, Berwick, through J. HEWAT CRAW, F.S.A.Scot.

Two Communion Tokens of Moffat.

(4) By A. J. H. EDWARDS, F.S.A.Scot., Assistant Keeper.

Bone Comb, and fragment of another, Bone Whorl, Bronze Ring, and Splinter of Calcite showing half of a perforation, from kitchen-middens on Freswick Links, Caithness.

(5) By A. SYMINGTON, Allanton, Auldgrith, through J. M. CORRIE, F.S.A.Scot.

Flanged Bronze Axe, measuring $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, $2\frac{9}{16}$ inches across the cutting edge, and $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch across the flanges, found in a fort on Springfield Hill, Dunscore, Dumfriesshire. (See subsequent communication by Mr CORRIE.)

(6) By LUDOVIC M'L. MANN, F.S.A.Scot.

Cast of Stone Axe-hammer, measuring $2\frac{13}{16}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. It is wedge-shaped, has a rounded butt, and expands slightly towards the cutting edge, which is $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in length. The perforation

is countersunk from both sides. The original axe-hammer was picked up on the farm of Glengyre, Wigtownshire. (See *Proceedings*, vol. lvii., p. 102, fig. 2.)

(7) By Rev. R. S. G. ANDERSON, B.D., F.S.A.Scot.

Six Communion Tokens—Milnathort U.P. Church, 1850; Orwell Associate Congregation, 1807; Brampton English Presbyterian Church, 1853; Perth, St Paul's, 1807; Liverpool, Canning Street, Presbyterian Church, 1846; one unidentified.

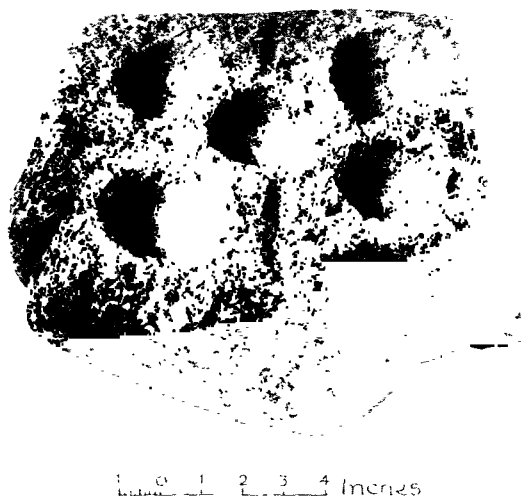


Fig. 1. Cresset-stone from Newtonhill, Kirkinner, Wigtownshire.

Cresset formed of a rough block of stone (fig. 1), measuring 11 inches by 10 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Five cup-shaped cavities, ranging from $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and 1 inch in depth, are cut on the upper side, one being placed in the centre and four round it at irregular intervals; in three of the spaces between the outer cups there is a shallow groove, radiating from near the central cavity towards the edges of the stone. From Newtonhill Farm, Kirkinner, Wigtownshire.

(8) By Rev. JAMES MEIKLE, B.D., F.S.A.Scot.

Stone Implement, oval, encircled by a deep wide groove round the middle (fig. 2), measuring $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length and $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch

in cross diameters at the bottom of the groove. The stone has not been used as a hammer or maul, as the rounded ends are not abraded or pitted by percussion. It was found by Mr Angus, schoolmaster, on Bargrennan Hill, Penninghame, Wigtownshire, many years ago. In accordance with the tradition that a local Covenanter had used a stone attached to a handle as a weapon, and that this weapon had been lost on Bargrennan Hill, Mr Angus believed that this was the veritable

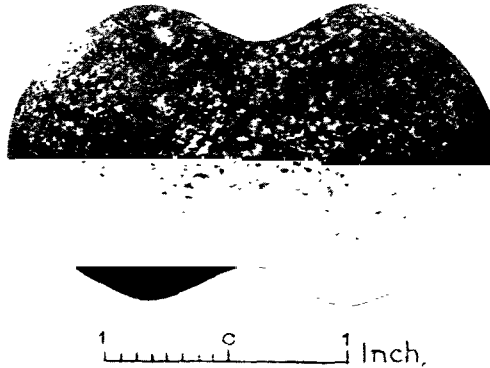


Fig. 2. Grooved Implement of Stone found on Bargrennan Hill, Wigtownshire.

stone. However, Sir Herbert Maxwell says that such stones were used as net-sinkers in the river Cree.

Pair of old Handcuffs of Iron, with their Screw Key, found in Smailholm Tower, Roxburghshire.

(9) By The Hon. HEW HAMILTON DALRYMPLE, F.S.A.Scot.

Iron Key, $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, from the Old Tolbooth, Edinburgh.

(10) By A. A. MACGILLIVRAY, Nairn, through GEORGE BAIN, F.S.A.Scot.

Implement of Stone resembling a Club or Pestle, measuring $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in cross diameters at the thick end, and tapering to about $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch in diameter at the other. It curves slightly to one side near the thin end. Found in tiring ground at Kingsteps Quarry, 1 mile east of Nairn, in May 1925.

(11) By JAMES SMITH, Tayport, through J. M. CORRIE, F.S.A.Scot.

Rim fragments of a Cinerary Urn, with heavy overhanging rim, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep, thinning towards the lip, which is rounded on the top, of reddish ware with a black core; it is decorated with rudely scored, crossed oblique lines.

Two small rim fragments of very dark-coloured pottery, probably parts of a Cinerary Urn; the top of the rim is flat, and immediately below is a band of ornamentation formed by groups of three incised oblique lines between double marginal lines.

Rim fragment of a hand-made Pottery Vessel, the rim slightly everted, of dark ware, showing a trace of red on the exterior of the wall, probably Iron Age.

All from the Shanwell and Garpet Links, Tents Muir, Fife.

(12) By Mrs GORDON, Creich Farm, through J. M. CORRIE, F.S.A.Scot.

Perforated Waterworn Stone, of irregularly triangular form, measuring $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in greatest diameter, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in thickness, the hole countersunk from both sides, from Creich Farm, Creich, Fife.

(13) By JOHN M. CORRIE, F.S.A.Scot.

Stone Whorl, measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, and $\frac{5}{16}$ inch in thickness, from the south-west corner of the fort on East Lomond Hill, Fife.

(14) By H.M. OFFICE OF WORKS, Edinburgh.

Sixteenth-century Finger-ring of Gold (fig. 3), measuring $\frac{13}{16}$ inch in diameter, and weighing 57.4 grs. The sides of the hoop are chased and the shoulders of foliaceous form; the quatrefoil bezel has the sides cut to resemble drooping petals, and contains an uncut ruby. Found outside the wall of the north aisle of the nave, Dunkeld Cathedral.

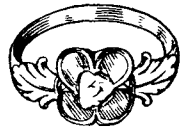


Fig. 3. Finger-ring from Dunkeld Cathedral. ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

Penannular Armlet of Bronze, measuring $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in cross diameters externally, from an Early Iron Age grave at Blackness Castle. Two fragments of bone, stained green, through lying in contact with the armlet, are preserved. (See *Proceedings*, vol. lix. p. 118.)

(15) By W. E. STRUDLEY, Bruce Arms Hotel, Falkland, through J. M. CORRIE, F.S.A.Scot.

Irregularly-shaped Slab of Yellow Sandstone, measuring 17 inches by 12 inches diagonally, and 3 inches in thickness, bearing on its upper part the incised figure of a bull walking; from the inside of the outer rampart on the south side of the fort on East Lomond Hill, Fife. Found

about five years ago by the donor. (See subsequent communication by Mr Corrie.)

(16) By Captain A. M. SIMPSON, The Towers, Goring-on-Thames.
Wooden Bismar, from Gloup House, North Yell, Shetland.

(17) By Miss MORAG MACLAGAN, F.S.A.Scot.

Iron Deer Trap with square jaws and two springs, measuring 2 feet $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in total length, from Newhall House, Midlothian, where it is said to have been preserved for more than 100 years.

(18) By WILLIAM BANNERMAN, M.D., F.S.A.Scot.

Bronze Nest of Weights, from Gamrie, Banffshire.

Copper Belt Plate of the Banffshire Local Militia, of convex oval form, measuring $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, bearing on front the star of the Order of the Thistle with a crown above it, and BANFFSHIRE LOCAL MILITIA round the edge, worn by William Dockar, Findon, Gamrie, an officer in the regiment, and grandfather of the donor.

Old Linen Tablecloth, showing a crowned Scottish thistle in the centre, surrounded with other national emblems, and NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET and LES ARMES D'ECOSSE round the border, which belonged to Mrs Dockar, grandmother of the donor.

(19) By JAMES S. RICHARDSON, F.S.A.Scot.

Brass Belt Plate of the Perthshire Highland Fencibles, of convex oval form, measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches, bearing on the front two sprays of Scottish thistles with a crown above and PHF in an oval panel below.

Brass Belt Plate of the 21st Regiment (now Royal Scots Fusiliers), of convex oval form, bearing on the front a Scottish thistle crowned and NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT XXI round the edge.

(20) By JAMES CURLE, LL.D., W.S., F.S.A.Scot.

Old Brass Fishing Reel from Bemersyde, Berwickshire.

(21) Bequeathed by the late THEODORE NAPIER, F.S.A.Scot.

Two Andrea Ferrara Highland Broadwords, the blades measuring $33\frac{3}{4}$ inches and $35\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length respectively.

(22) By JAMES GRANT, 11 High Street, Grantown-on-Spey.

Mould of Mica Schist for casting brooches, buttons, and other objects, measuring $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches by $2\frac{7}{16}$ inches by $\frac{9}{16}$ inch, imperfect. It

bears on one side matrices for two crowned heart-shaped brooches, a quatrefoil ornament, and a button, and on the other matrices for a somewhat similar brooch, a button, and another circular ornament. Part of the matrix for the button on one side and of the matrix for the ornament on the other side are broken off. From a field at Dreggie, near Grantown-on-Spey.

(23) By CHARLES E. WHITELAW, F.S.A.Scot.

Snuff Mull of Ivory (figs. 4 and 5), measuring $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, carved



Figs. 4 and 5. Snuff-mull of Ivory. Front and back views.

in the form of a three-quarter length figure of a Highlander of the 1715 period, fully accoutred, dressed in a coat, belted plaid, sporran, and flat bonnet, with a basket-hilted broadsword in his right hand and a targe on his left arm, a dirk hanging in front, and a scroll-butt pistol at the left side. (See *Proceedings*, vol. xxxviii. p. 15.)

(24) By O. G. S. CRAWFORD, H.M. Ordnance Survey.

Part of a Glass Ball (about two-thirds), measuring $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, of blue colour with yellow inlay, found on the site of an earthwork at Auchtertyre, Newtyle, Forfarshire.

- (25) By WILLIAM WHITE, Shore Road, West Anstruther, through J. M. CORRIE, F.S.A.Scot.

Massive Stone Axe-hammer, measuring $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and having a chip broken off the cutting edge; the perforation narrows slightly at the centre. From the east of Fife.

- (26) By THOMAS D. BATHGATE, Gersa Schoolhouse, Watten.

Seven Flint Implements, found in the Gersa district, Watten, Caithness.

Cylindrical Object of white Quartz, measuring $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch in length and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter, the ends smoothed probably by polishing, found near Gersa Schoolhouse.

- (27) By D. MURRAY, 3 Craigie Crescent, Perth.

Four Communion Tokens—Kettins; Dunblane, 1753; Edinburgh Dissenting Congregation, 1810; Tannadice, 1800.

- (28) By Major ARCHIBALD STIRLING, F.S.A.Scot.

Old Clay Tobacco-pipe, stem broken, with a human face moulded on the back of the bowl facing the stem, from Edinburgh.

- (29) By JOHN W. M. LONEY, F.S.A.Scot.

Fire Plate of the Norwich Union Office, of tinned Iron, gilded, which was affixed to the front of the house of the donor at 6 Carlton Street.

- (30) By ALEXANDER M'LAGGAN, 191 Ferry Road, Leith.

Sugar Chopper of Iron for breaking up the old conical sugar-loaves.

- (31) By WILLIAM BROOK, F.S.A.Scot.

Silver Toddy Ladle, with Perth hall-mark, date 1810, maker JOHN SID.

Silver Teaspoon, Old English, with Edinburgh hall-mark, maker WILLIAM DAVIE (admitted 1740).

Teaspoon with feather edge and Saltspoon, of Silver, both with Dundee hall-mark, maker ED. LIVINGSTON (admitted 1809).

- (32) By Miss E. HILSON, 45 Moray Place, through GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., LL.D.

Communion Token, Coupar-Angus, 1744.

- (33) By Mrs L. Duff-Dunbar of Ackergill, F.S.A.Scot.

Part of a Sculptured Slab of Clay Slate, bearing on one face a horizontal rectangular figure or symbol. Below the rectangle is a short

section of a curved line, showing that there had been at least one other figure on the stone.

Polished Disc of micaceous sandstone, measuring $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, and $\frac{3}{16}$ inch in thickness.

Both from the surface of a burial mound at Ackergill, Caithness.

Bronze Chain, measuring $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, found in a grave in the above mound. (See subsequent communication by A. J. H. Edwards, F.S.A.Scot.)

It was announced that the following objects had been purchased for the Museum:—

Highland Flat Ring Brooch of Silver, measuring $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, the front ornamented with a zig-zag line, forming a voided six-pointed star, between two marginal lines, all inlaid with niello, within the points of the star being an engraved scale pattern, and, in the angles outside, engraved floral designs. The head of the pin is solid, not split, and the bar of the hinge is soldered on to the front of the ring.

Socketed Bronze Axe, measuring $4\frac{1}{16}$ inches long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch across the cutting edge, the mouth of the socket, which measures $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch by $1\frac{7}{16}$ inch in diameter, being oblong with rounded corners, and encircled by a slight moulding; the loop is complete, but there is a crack in one side of the socket. The axe has been covered with a green patina, but much of it has been scraped off. It was found at the southern base of North Berwick Law, East Lothian.

Socketed Bronze Axe, measuring $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the cutting edge. The mouth of the socket, which is oval in the inside and vesica-shaped outside, measures $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch by $1\frac{9}{16}$ inch externally, and is surrounded by two mouldings, the upper of which tapers off into an acute angle at the lip. Found on Benachie, Aberdeenshire.

Flanged Bronze Axe, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches across the cutting edge, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across the flanges. The cutting edge is crescentic, with recurved points. The axe has a slight stop-ridge, behind which, on the top and bottom edges, are slight projections, abrupt at the back and running in a regular curve into the cutting part. The axe is ornamented by a curved ridge and a mid-rib in front of the stop-ridge, the curve bordered on each side by a row of punctulations, the outer row being carried round the back of the projections on the edges. This axe was found at Fyvie, Aberdeenshire.

From the Haughton House Sale:—

Beaker (fig. 6) of red clay, measuring $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height, 6 inches in diameter across the mouth, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches at the neck, $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches at the

bulge, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the base, the wall being about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, ornamented by four bands of upright and crossed lines between marginal and divisional lines, some formed with a toothed stamp and others with a blunt-pointed tool; from Leggat's Den, Chapel of Garioch, Aberdeenshire.

Beaker (fig. 7) of buff clay, measuring $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at the mouth, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the neck, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches at the bulge, and $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches across the base, the wall $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick; the top of the rim is flat, and the wall decorated by three bands of herring-bone and lattice

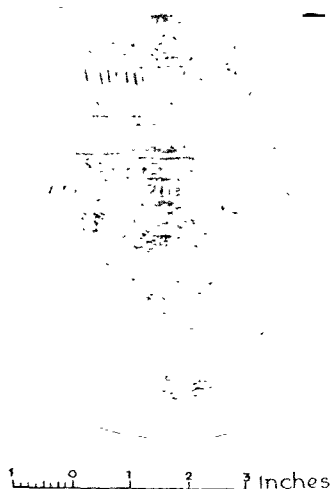


Fig. 6. Beaker from Leggat's Den, Chapel of Garioch, Aberdeenshire.



Fig. 7. Beaker from Broomhill, Tough, Aberdeenshire.

patterns between marginal and divisional lines made by a toothed stamp and pointed tool. A small piece of the rim extending from under the neck to the lip is wanting. The urn was found in a sand-pit at Broomhill, Tough, Aberdeenshire.

Flat Bronze Axe, measuring 5 inches long, $2\frac{9}{16}$ inches across the cutting edge, and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick, with a fine, green, glossy patina which has been scraped off in places.

Flat Bronze Axe with very slight flanges, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches across the cutting edge, and $\frac{7}{16}$ inch thick.

Flanged Bronze Axe, measuring $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches across the

cutting edge, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch across the flanges, with a slight transverse ridge on the top and bottom edges at the front of the wings, a faint mid-rib on each side, and traces of a fine, dark-green patina in parts.

Flanged Bronze Axe, measuring $5\frac{3}{16}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across cutting edge, and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch across the flanges, with a small stop, formed by a thickening of the front part of the axe, a slight indication of a mid-rib in front of the stop, and remains of a dark-green patina in places.

Bronze Sword, measuring $23\frac{3}{8}$ inches in total length, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch across the widest part of the blade, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch at the narrowest part near the hilt: a small piece of the top of the hilt plate is wanting, but, in the remaining part, there are six rivet holes (two in the centre of the hilt and two on each haunch of the hilt plate), three of which still retain their rivets. The sword has a thin, light-green patina.

Bronze Sword, measuring $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches in total length, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in greatest width, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch at narrowest part of blade, with five rivet holes in the hilt plate (two in each of the haunches and one in the centre).

One flange of a Stone Mould for casting Bronze Spear-heads and Knives (fig. 8), measuring

$5\frac{5}{16}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch broad, and 1 inch thick, bearing on one side a matrix for a looped spear-head and on the other one for a leaf-shaped blade; a small hole is drilled through the centre near one end.

Axe of grey Flint, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch by $\frac{9}{16}$ inch, flaked all over and ground at the cutting edge.

Stone Axe, measuring $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch by $1\frac{9}{16}$ inch by $\frac{13}{32}$ inch, very small and finely ground.

Knife of translucent grey Flint, measuring $3\frac{3}{16}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch broad at the butt, leaf-shaped, the point turned slightly to one side.

Pointed Implement of grey Flint, measuring $2\frac{7}{16}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch,



Fig. 8. Mould for casting Spear-heads and Blades of Bronze.

nicely flaked towards the point on one face, but with slight flaking on the other.

Point of a Spear-head of grey Flint, measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.

Central part of an oval Knife or Spear-head of red Flint, measuring $1\frac{13}{16}$ inch by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch.

Triangular Implement (Knife or Scraper), measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch, finely dressed all over one side, but showing no flaking on the other.

Stone Object of discoidal form, ground to lenticular section, measuring $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in cross diameters, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick.

Whetstone of rectangular section, tapering slightly towards the ends, one of which is broken off, measuring $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch.

Six perforated Stones, the holes nearly all countersunk on both sides:—
(1) 3 inches in diameter, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch thick; (2) $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter and $\frac{7}{16}$ inch thick; (3) of mica schist, imperfect, $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches in diameter and $\frac{7}{16}$ inch thick; (4) of slate, $1\frac{11}{16}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick; (5) a waterworn pebble, $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick; (6) $1\frac{13}{16}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick.

Stone Cup with an imperforate handle, the bowl, which measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{7}{16}$ inches in external diameters at the mouth and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, being surrounded at the lip and half way up the wall by raised mouldings decorated with vertically incised lines, and the handle, which projects $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, and measures $1\frac{13}{16}$ inch in breadth and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in thickness, being also decorated round the sides and end by vertical lines.

Stone Cup with a short vertically perforated handle projecting 1 inch; the bowl, which measures $3\frac{7}{16}$ inches in diameter externally and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height, is encircled by a band of incised herring-bone pattern about the middle, and is grooved under the brim.

Stone Cup with a vertically perforated handle projecting 2 inches; the bowl, measuring $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter and $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches in height, is encircled (1 inch below the rim) by a raised moulding decorated with vertical incised lines about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch apart; it has been broken, and repaired with cement.

Whorl of Lead, measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{5}{16}$ inch thick, ornamented by a series of raised circles with a pellet in the centre on one side, and radiating lines on the other.

These relics came from Haughton House, Alford, Aberdeenshire, and probably were found in Aberdeenshire; possibly many of them came from the Alford district.

Bronze Pin, measuring $3\frac{1}{16}$ inches in length, with an oval discoidal head, $\frac{5}{16}$ inch in breadth, and a slight projection on either side below it; on the front and back of the head is an incised cross; the stem is bent.

Five fragments of hand-made Pottery of black ware with a buff-coloured skin inside and outside.

Both the pin and the pottery were found in a field near the farm steading at Mid Town, Freswick, Caithness.

Two Discs of Shale, measuring $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches and $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches in greatest diameters and $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch and $\frac{9}{16}$ inch in greatest thickness respectively, the first showing tool-marks round the periphery and on the upper side, and the second round the periphery only; from Ackergill Links, Caithness.

Pair of joiner's or mason's Compasses of Brass, with the extremities of the legs and the quadrant formed of iron, measuring $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length; the name WILLIAM SCOT 1650 is engraved on one leg and GEORGE SCOTT 16 . . on the other; from a house in the Canongate.

Food-vessel (fig. 9), measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches in external diameter across the mouth, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches at the shoulder, and $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches across the base, of yellowish-brown ware. Round the shoulder is a double moulding with eight lugs, unpierced but with slight indentations on the sides suggestive of perforations, placed at irregular intervals; the neck is constricted, and the mouth is slightly everted at the lip, which is obliquely bevelled towards the interior; the tapering lower part of the vessel expands slightly at the base to form a foot. The top of the rim is decorated by four lines of twisted cord impressions; the wall, from the lip to the base, is covered with upright zig-zags of the so-called maggot pattern, formed by the impressions of a thin cord twisted tightly round a core, and the base shows some crossed incised lines made by a pointed tool; found in a cist, about five years ago, on the farm of Beley (Belie), parish of Dunino, Fife.

Carved Stone Ball, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, with 154 small bosses, from Aberdeenshire; probably from the Rhynie district.

Flattened spheroidal Stone Object with large indented hollow on each of the flat sides, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch in thickness, from Cloister Seat, Udny, Aberdeenshire.

Water-rolled Plate of Shale, measuring $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches by



Fig. 9. Food-vessel from Beley, Dunino, Fife.

1 inch, with the two flat sides and one edge ground smooth by polishing; found at Shankston, Aberdeenshire, April 1863.

Fragment of Axe of grey Flint, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, the greater part of the cutting edge remaining, the top and bottom sides ground flat, from Morayshire.

Bead of amber-coloured Glass streaked obliquely with yellow bands, of flattened discoidal form, measuring $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{9}{32}$ inch in thickness, from Aberdeenshire.

Donations to the Library :—

(1) By Miss E. GOURLAY HUTCHESON, F.S.A.Scot.

Broughty Ferry and District. Guide to its Places of Historical Interest.

(2) By Dr CARL FRED. KOLDERUP, Director, The Museum, Bergen.
Bergen's Museum, 1925 (publié à l'occasion du centenaire de Bergen).

(3) By W. K. DICKSON, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

The Genealogy of the Finns: the Finno-Ugrian Peoples. By U. T. Sirelius. Helsingfors, 1923.

(4) By Rev. A. McNEILL HOUSTON, J.P., M.A., B.D., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Auchterderran, Fife: a Parish History.

(5) By NORWICH CASTLE MUSEUM COMMITTEE.

City of Norwich. The Report of the Castle Museum Committee to the Council, 1924.

(6) By THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

A Guide to the Pottery and Porcelain of the Far East in the Departments of Ceramics and Ethnography, 1924.

A Map of the World, designed by Gio. Matteo Contarini, engraved by Fran. Roselli, 1506. London, 1924.

Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum. Vol. i. Part i.—Prehistoric Ægean Pottery. London, 1925.

(7) By THOMAS SHEPPARD, M.Sc., F.G.S., F.S.A.Scot., the Editor.

Hull Museum Publications, No. 139. Record of Additions, No. lxxvii.
No. 140—Numismatic Notes.

(8) By Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN, LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

The Arts in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Architecture. London, 1925.

(9) By Rev. ANDREW BAIRD, B.D., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Annals of a Tweeddale Parish: Broughton, Glenholm, and Kilbucho. Glasgow, 1924.

(10) By ROBERT MURDOCH LAWRENCE, F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

William Smith, Printer and Publisher, 1840-1921: An Appreciation. Aberdeen, 1922.

Recent Progress of the Doric. Aberdeen, 1924.

Some Remarks on the Doric. Aberdeen, 1922.

Rhymed Lore: a Miscellaneous Collection. Aberdeen, 1923.

Two Burns Vignettes. Aberdeen, 1922.

An Old Book-Selling Firm--Alexander Angus & Son. Aberdeen, 1923.

Aberdeen Musical Bibliography, 1814-40. Aberdeen, 1925.

Gavin Greig and his Work. By Alexander Keith, M.A. Aberdeen, 1924.

(11) By WILLIAM BANNERMAN, Ch.M., M.D., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

On the Extinction of Gaelic in Buchan and Lower Banffshire. Banff, 1895.

(12) By HENRY GEORGE FARMER, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

The Band of H.M. Scots Guards (Historical Notes). *Musical Standard*, 20th May 1922.

Clues for the Arabian Influence on European Musical Theory. Glasgow, 1925.

Arabic Musical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Glasgow, 1925.

(13) By HUGH MARWICK, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society. Vol. iii. 1924-5.

(14) By VICTOR T. HODGSON, F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

West Highland Museum. Exhibition Catalogue. Prince Charles Edward and the '45 Campaign. Held at Fort William, July-September 1925.

24 PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER 14, 1925.

- (15) By T. W. WOODHEAD, Ph.D., M.Sc., F.L.S., Technical College, Huddersfield, the Editor.

The Tolson Memorial Museum Publications. Handbook IV.—Huddersfield in Roman Times. By Ian A. Richmond, B.A.(Oxon.). Huddersfield, 1925.

- (16) By MAG. ART. SIGURD GRIEG, Underbestyrer ved Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo, Norway.

Oldtiden Tidskrift for Norsk Forhistorie. Vols. iii.-ix. Norske Oldfund, I. and III. Christiania, 1916 and 1920.

- (17) By ALEXANDER O. CURLE, F.S.A.Scot.

The Monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum. By H. C. Lawlor, M.A., M.R.I.A. Belfast, 1925.

Fifth List of Monuments prepared by the Commissioners of Works.

- (18) By KIEF ACADEMY OF SCIENCE, Korolenko Street, 57, Kief.

Bulletin du Laboratoire d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnologie fondé à l'honneur de Th. Volkov. Kief, 1925.

- (19) By Messrs W. & A. K. JOHNSTON, Ltd., Edina Works, Easter Road.

One Hundred Years of Map Making. 18 pp.

- (20) By Dr MÖTEFINDT, Wernigerode am Harz, Germany, the Author and Compiler.

Zur Geschichte der Schraube.

Veröffentlichungen von Alfred Götze zu seinem 60 Geburtstage, 1890-1925.

- (21) By A. FRANCIS STEUART, F.S.A.Scot.

Dalkeith, its Castle and its Palace. Edinburgh, 1925.

- (22) By Lieut.-General Sir AYLMER HUNTER-WESTON, K.C.B., D.S.O., R.E., M.P., of Hunterston, West Kilbride.

Some Family Papers of the Hunters of Hunterston. Edited by M. S. Shaw, W.S. Edinburgh, 1925.

- (23) By THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,
Stockholm.

Monografiserien, No. 15—Bronsaldersmanteln fran Gerumsberget i Västergötland, av Lennart von Post, Emelie von Walterstorff, Sune Lindqvist. Stockholm, 1925.

- (24) By E. HERBERT STONE, F.S.A., The Retreat, Devizes, the Author.
The Orientation of Stonehenge. From *The Nineteenth Century*,
September, 1925.
The Story of Stonehenge.

- (25) By Mrs REID, F.S.A.Scot.
Lauriston Castle: The Estate and its Owners. By John A. Fairley.

- (26) By THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789. Vol. ii. France, 1689-1721.
Edited for the Society by L. G. Wickham Legg, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

- (27) By Dr SOPHUS MÜLLER, Honorary Fellow, the Author.
Communautés Stylistiques en Europe dans le Récent Age de la Pierre.
Extrait des *Mém. de la Soc. Roy. des Antiqu. du Nord*, 1920-5.

- (28) By Dr ROBERT EISLER, the Author.
Orpisch-Dionysische Mysterien-Gedanken in der Christlichen Antike.

- (29) By THE CURATOR, Colchester Museum of Local Antiquities.
Report for the Year ended 31st March 1925.

- (30) By Professor T. H. BRYCE, M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.Scot.
A History of Peeblesshire. Vol. i. Edited by James Walter Buchan,
M.A., LL.B. (Town Clerk of Peebles). Glasgow, 1925.

- (31) By J. S. DONALD, F.S.A.Scot.
Discharge in favour of Robert Duff, a soldier in the 1st Battalion,
4th Regiment of Fencible Infantry (Breadalbane Fencibles), dated 18th
April 1799.

William Douglas, F.S.A.Scot., has presented to the Society a large
number of the blocks used to illustrate *The Past in the Present*, by Sir

Arthur Mitchell, M.D., LL.D.; *Scotland in Early Christian and Scotland in Pagan Times*, by Joseph Anderson, LL.D.; and *Characteristics of Old Church Architecture*, by Thomas S. Muir.

Purchases for the Library :—

Fossil Man in Spain. By Hugo Obermaier. Yale University Press, 1924.

The Races of Man and their Distribution. New Edition. By A. C. Haddon, Sc.D., F.R.S. Cambridge, 1924.

General Index to the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1895-1924.

The Restoration of Ancient Bronzes and other Alloys. First Report. By Professor Colin G. Fink, Ph.D., and Charles H. Eldridge, B.S., the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1925.

Lists of Monuments prepared by H.M. Commissioners of Works, I.-IV.

Dumbartonshire: County and Burgh, from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Present Time. Part iii. By John Irving, F.S.A.Scot.

Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. Cabrol. Vol. vi. part ii.

The Long Barrows of the Cotswolds. By O. G. S. Crawford, B.A., F.S.A.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTICE OF (1) CERTAIN BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FROM DUMFRIESSHIRE; AND (2) A SYMBOL STONE FROM EAST LOMOND HILL, FIFE, RECENTLY PRESENTED TO THE NATIONAL MUSEUM. By J. M. CORRIE, F.S.A.Scot.

(1) BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FROM DUMFRIESSHIRE.

In his instructive paper on Scottish Bronze Age Hoards¹ Mr Callander has pointed out that the number of bronze objects found in Scotland cannot be considered very large when compared with the number found in England and Ireland. It is therefore very desirable that as many known examples as possible should be recorded and described in the *Proceedings* of this Society, and I wish to direct attention to a number from Dumfriesshire that have not previously been noted.

Bronze Hoard from Greyfriars Church, Dumfries.—A series of plaster casts representing four axes and two spear-heads of bronze has, for many years, been preserved in the collection of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, and the label on the exhibit records that the original implements are said to have been found when excavating for the foundations of Greyfriars Church, Dumfries, in 1866. At the time of these excavations it was reported in the local press that a careful watch was being kept for relics, and a subsequent notice recorded the finding of a bronze figure of Christ.² Reference to this find is also made in the *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire Society*,³ but there is no mention of the discovery of the axes and spear-heads represented by the casts just referred to. The original implements, it is believed, were at one time preserved in a private museum at the Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries, but that collection was given up many years ago, and, until recently, it was thought that all the relics had been dispersed. The accidental finding of one of the axes, however, induced Mr James Flett, Clerk of Works at the Institution, to make further search, and it is gratifying to learn that a number of relics—including two more of the original axes from the supposed Greyfriars hoard—has since been recovered. The illustration (fig. 1) is made from photographs of three of the implements them-

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. lvii. pp. 123-66.

² This relic, which originally had formed part of a crucifix, has been figured in Dowden's *Medieval Church in Scotland*, p. 124.

³ *Transactions Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 1866-7, p. 31.

selves, Nos. 2, 3, and 4, and of three of the casts, Nos. 1, 5, and 6. It is probable that a manuscript catalogue of the Crichton collection would, at one time, be in existence, but, if so, all trace of it has been lost, and our information in respect of the find location of these relics is derived solely from the very unsatisfactory record affixed to the casts. This is unfortunate, because there is difficulty in reconciling the number of casts with references to the Crichton exhibits gleaned from other sources. In the catalogue of a Loan Exhibition held in Dumfries on 26th June 1865—a year prior to the discovery of the Greyfriars relics—the Crichton Museum is represented by “two hatchets and one spear-head,” whereas in a later Exhibition, on 7th July 1873, “four axes and two spear-heads”—the number actually represented by the casts—are included in the catalogue. The inference that the casts deposited by the Dumfriesshire Society in the Observatory Museum, Maxwelltown, in 1880¹—which are those referred to—were, in reality, replicas of all the bronze relics preserved at the Crichton Royal Institution, appears obvious. That a hoard of bronze implements was actually discovered at Greyfriars Church, and that for some reason or another it escaped notice at the time, can scarcely be questioned, but in view of the information at present available it appears probable that the hoard consisted of only two axes and one spear-head which cannot now be identified from the other specimens whose provenance is not known.

The axes are all of the flanged and palstave types, and they represent a group more or less illustrative of the development of these forms of bronze implements. No. 1, fig. 1, the smallest implement in the series, measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length. It is provided with broadly developed lateral flanges and a well-defined stop ridge. It has a cutting edge of $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch, and is nearly 1 inch in width across the broadest portion of the flanges, which are abruptly reduced in breadth near the butt, and the axe is thinned at the shaft recess to a thickness of $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch. No. 2, fig. 1, measures $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and has the same well-developed flanges tapering, in this instance, equally and gradually towards the butt and cutting edge, and it shows a stop ridge prominently defined on its two sides. The axe, like the first, is thinned to a thickness of $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch behind the stop ridge, and the cutting edge is $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch across. No. 3, fig. 1, shows several new features. The most obvious is the widening of the cutting edge, but the axe has also been increased in thickness to $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch, and it shows an additional feature in the shape of a vertical mid-rib, which serves the double purpose of a simple decorative motif and a strengthening ridge for the blade. The implement measures

¹ *Transactions Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 1880-1. App. C., p. 86.

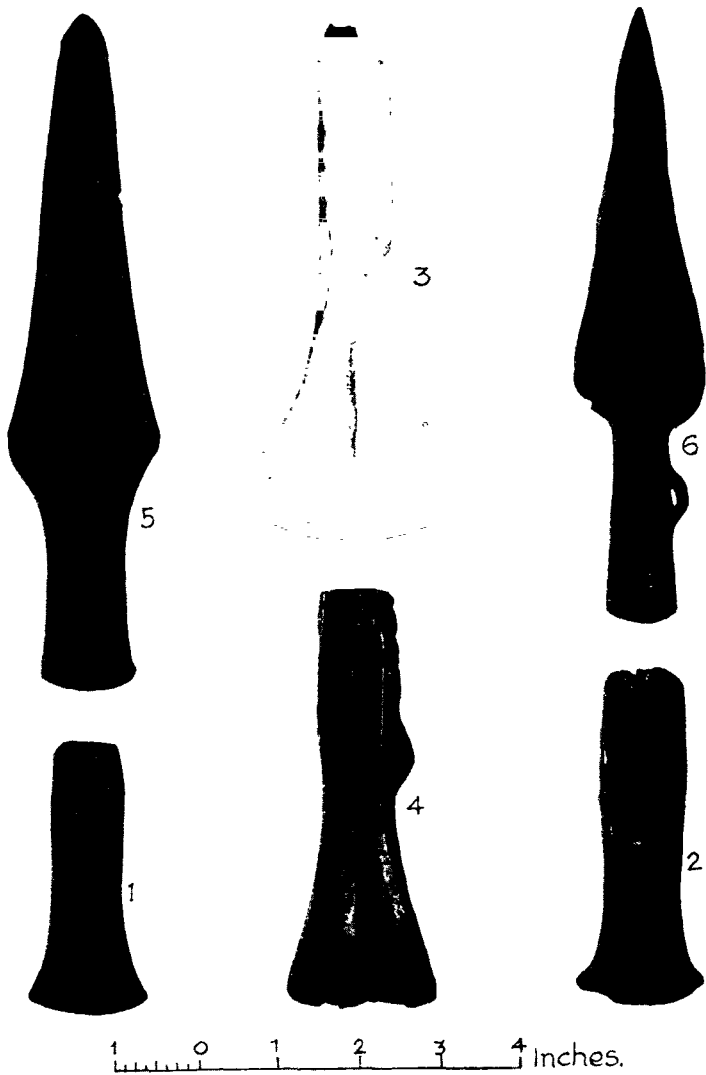


Fig. 1. Bronze Axes and Spear-heads found at Dumfries.

$6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches across the cutting face, and it is furnished with well-defined flanges and stop ridges. No. 4, fig. 1, measuring $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch across the cutting face, illustrates a further development in the provision of what has obviously been intended as a side loop for additional attachment to the shaft, and in a more definite amalgamation of the same broad flanges with the well-defined stop ridges. It is of peculiar interest in being an unfinished specimen, the inequalities of the casting not having been removed by dressing, and the side loop, in particular, being left as an unperforated lug. The specimen also retains the strengthening mid-rib in front of the stop ridge.

Coming now to the spear-heads, No. 5, fig. 1, represents a fine specimen of rare form, known from the name of a place in the Isle of Wight, where the first recognised example was found, as the "Arreton Down type." Blades of this description have sometimes been regarded as daggers, but it has been demonstrated that there are features in their construction and method of mounting which show that they are spear-heads.¹ The blade is usually thick and strong, showing a central ridge, and having the sides more or less fluted or lined where the metal is reduced in thickness. In its earliest form the type was provided with a long, narrow tang perforated at the end for a pin or rivet, as seen on two Scottish examples from Whitehaugh Moss, near Muirkirk, Ayrshire,² and from Crawford Priory, in the parish of Cupar, Fife.³ Two examples—one from the Arreton Down hoard, and another from Snowhill, in Gloucestershire—were furnished with a ferrule riveted upon the tang. A later development shows the tang displaced by a socket formed by casting the blade and ferrule in one piece. The example from Dumfries belongs to the latter early socketed variety, and it shows the interesting feature of having the rivet heads of the earlier form retained as a decorative motif. It measures $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length. The only other known Scottish example of this class is a small one, showing two rivet holes and a somewhat squared socket, which was found at Kincluney, in the parish of Durrus, Kincardineshire, and is now in the National Collection.⁴

The second spear-head, No. 6, fig. 1, of the Dumfries specimens exhibits developments of a later period in the addition of loops on the socket for the more secure attachment to the shaft, and the introduction of the leaf-shaped blade, with a hollow mid-rib formed by continuing the socket

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. lxi., pt. 2, pp. 445-6.

² *Scotland in Pagan Times—Bronze and Stone Ages*, p. 180, fig. 185. Since this paper was read the specimen has been presented to the National Collection.

³ *Proceedings*, vol. xxviii, pp. 219-25, fig. 1.

⁴ *Proceedings*, vol. liv, p. 149.

nearly to the point. This spear-head, which measures $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across the blade, has lost one of the loops on the socket and has had the blade bent forward slightly near the point.

Three Bronze Relics from Dunscore.—On the 26th March of this year, a flat bronze axe was found by Mr William Wilson, a workman employed by Mr A. Laurie of Brockhillstone Farm, in the parish of Dunscore, Dumfriesshire, to remove sand and gravel from a large moraine heap situated between 200 and 300 yards north of the farmhouse, and about 700 yards, or thereby, to the east of the well-defined motehill of Birkshaw, in the neighbouring parish of Glencairn. The axe was observed by Mr Wilson amongst the debris of a slight fall of earth, and the depth at which it was originally embedded cannot therefore be determined with certainty. Mr Wilson expresses the opinion that the implement came from about 2 feet from the surface of the crest of the knoll, and that there was nothing to indicate an intruded deposit. The relic was acquired by my father—to whom the discovery had been immediately reported—and it has since been presented by him to the National Collection. A special interest may be attached to the axe because of the fact that it is the first specimen of the flat type from Dumfriesshire to find a place in the National Museum, and only the second example of the type definitely known to have been discovered in the county.¹ The axe is a little uneven along the cutting edge, but it is otherwise in a remarkably good state of preservation. It is covered with a thick green patina, and bears no ornamentation. The measurements are 6 inches long, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches across the cutting edge, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick in the middle of its length, thinning gradually and evenly to the cutting face and to a slightly rounded end, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in width, at the butt. The lateral edges are ridged and beautifully curved, and the implement weighs exactly $16\frac{3}{4}$ ounces.

Two other bronze relics, an axe and a large leaf-shaped spear-head, both of them said to have been found at different times on, or near, the fort at Springfield Hill, in the same parish, may be included in this short notice.² The first relic—an axe of the flanged type—was brought to my notice through information supplied by Mr M'Murdo, Woodfoot, Dunscore, shortly after the discovery of the Brockhillstone specimen. It had long been in the possession of Mr A. Symington, Allanton, Auld-girth, Dumfriesshire, the proprietor of the estate on which Springfield Hill fort is situated. As a result of my inquiries he has generously presented the implement to the National Museum. The axe, which

¹ The other specimen was found on the farm of South Cowshaw, in Tinwald parish.

² The New Statistical Account mentions a third relic from the same site, but its precise character is not specified.

appears to have been found about sixteen years ago, is well preserved, and measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $2\frac{9}{16}$ inches across the cutting edge. The flanges are broadly defined, but they do not reach the "palstave" form, and the unusually developed stop ridge presents the appearance of having been dressed up after casting. The sides expand gradually from a butt, 1 inch in width, till reaching the sharp and somewhat oblique cutting edge, where they terminate in very sharply defined and upturned pointed curves. The second relic found in November 1865 by a son of Mr Hyslop, the farmer, at a point on the same fort known as "Camp Hill," is a large, plain, leaf-shaped spear-head with prominent mid-rib, and of late Bronze Age type, slightly imperfect at the socket, and now measuring $12\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length. It is preserved in Dr Grierson's Museum at Thornhill, Dumfriesshire.

(2) SYMBOL STONE FROM EAST LOMOND HILL, FIFE.

A noteworthy addition to the sculptured stones in the Museum has this summer been made by the donation of a small slab bearing the incised figure of a bull (fig. 2). While engaged on the survey of the archæological remains of the county of Fife for the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, I had occasion to visit the large and very interesting fort on the top of the East Lomond Hill, in the parish of Falkland, and in the course of my inspection of the fort I picked up a spindle whorl and a small fragment of pottery from the debris of one of the defences. On mentioning my finds to Mr William Strudley of the Bruce Arms Hotel, Falkland, he vouchsafed the information that a number of years ago he had found on the same fort a fragment of stone with the figure of a bull carved upon it, and that, being much struck with the quality of the representation, he had carried the stone home in his shooting-bag. The slab was produced for my inspection, and I thereupon asked Mr Strudley if he would be willing to part with it. On hearing that I desired it for the National Collection he generously consented to give it as a donation, and he has obligingly furnished the necessary particulars as to the year and precise location of the find. The stone was discovered about 1920, within the precincts of the fort on its south side. It consists of a slab of yellow sandstone, measuring 17 inches by 12 inches diagonally and 3 inches thick, bearing on the upper portion, in incised sculpture, the spirited and artistic representation of a bull walking. The nature of the sculpture indicates that the artist had accomplished the design, not by the chisel, but by the method of percussing or pecking out the conventional outline of the figure. The special class to which it

belongs, showing the figure of a bull incised, is already well known, six examples from Burghead, in Elginshire, and two from Inverness having been figured and described in the *Proceedings*,¹ and in *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, pp. 102-8 and 118-24. They have, however, been hitherto restricted in their geographical distribution to



Fig. 2. Symbol Stone from East Lomond Hill, Fife.

these two northern counties, and the acquisition of a specimen from the midland and maritime county of Fife is, on that account, of special importance. The design on the Fifeshire slab differs in some degree from that of the other examples. On the Burghead and Inverness slabs the hoofs of the bulls are distinctly shown and the limb lines are conventionally embellished with spirals, whereas, in depicting the

¹ Vols. iv. p. 355, pl. ii. figs. 1, 2, and 3; x. pp. 664-5; xxiii. pp. 348-9.

animal on the East Lomond specimen, the artist has adhered, with pleasing effect, to a simple and more natural treatment by omitting the conventional curves. He has, perhaps intentionally, left the hoofs unclosed to portray the animal as it was presented to him with the feet obscured. The eye, also, shows a slight variation. In the Burghead and Inverness examples it is shown as a completed oval with a dotted centre, but in the Fife specimen it is effected by a small semicircular incision with the extremities linked to the forehead.

The thanks of the Society are due to the gentlemen named for their valuable donations.

II.

DISCOVERY OF STONE CISTS AT STENNESS, ORKNEY.

By J. G. MARWICK, F.S.A.Scot.

There is no richer field for the antiquary in Orkney than the parish of Stenness, on which are located the famous standing stones bearing its name, and the chambered cairn known as the Maeshowe. In all the parish there appears to be no better part than the farm of Brodgar on which to unearth some relic of bygone ages. This farm lies adjacent to the standing stones—in fact includes them. The large circle lies at its northern end, while the smaller circle with the restored burial chamber lies approximately at the south, with other standing stones here and there on the fields. The fields lie in wedge-shaped formation, narrowing towards the Bridge of Brodgar, having the Loch of Harray on the north side and the Loch of Stenness on the south.

Amid such surroundings it is not to be wondered at that the proprietor, Mr Wishart, uncovered several cists, when ploughing, in the latter end of February last. The spot where they were found was about mid-way between the larger circle and the smaller on that part where the land narrows between the two lochs. The find consisted of a series of cists. Unfortunately, I did not see them *in situ*, but I shall try to describe them as nearly as possible from what the finder told me. There were four graves lying parallel to each other, in a line running north and south, with a smaller structure (it could hardly be called a grave) in addition, set at the northern end of the row. They were about 6 inches under the soil; each of the larger graves measured about 3 feet long, 2 feet broad, and 1 foot deep, while the smaller cist was about 6 inches square and as deep as the others.

The graves were formed by stones set on edge, having the main axis lying east and west.

Three of the large cists contained unburnt bones, which lay in the west end of each. In the other end of each grave was a rounded water-worn stone, the largest, measuring 5 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the smallest, 4 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, being shown on fig. 1. The fourth cist, at the south end of the row, was empty, as was also the smaller one. The bottom of the three cists first mentioned consisted of a flat stone, but there was no stone on the bottom of the fourth one, nor of the small cist.

Outside and overlapping the eastern ends of two of the large cists, those in the centre, was a flat triangular stone with its apex removed,



Fig. 1. Sculptured Stone and Pebbles from Graves at Stenness, Orkney.

set at an angle point downward, but separate from the cists. Mr Wishart, unfortunately, did not worry much about the find. His chief idea was to clear his field of offending and awkward stones, so he promptly removed the lot. Possibly the find would never have been recorded at all had he not observed curious marks on the last-mentioned stone. These marks consist of a series of sculpturings of a kind never before found in these islands, so far as I know. The markings consist of eight bands of lattice patterns between single marginal lines cut across the edge of the stone. It was two months after the discovery before I was informed about it. But immediately, with my friend and neighbour Mr J. Rae, I went to the farm, where we saw the spot and the stone, and obtained the foregoing description. A neighbouring farmer, Mr P. Leith, who was interested in antiquarian matters, had photographed the marked stone with two of the

round stones found in the cists, on its top (fig. 1). On our first visit we took a rough rubbing of the markings, but returned a week later for others. This stone measures 30 inches in length in front, tapering to 13 inches at the back, and is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness.

Mr Leith, along with a friend, went to the trouble of digging in the hole after the cists had been removed. He continued to find any amount of stones, and at a lower level, about a depth of 5 feet lower down, came upon another cist, which contained nothing but ashes of reddish colour.

The field containing these graves appears to contain much of archæological interest, and as we have interested Mr Wishart sufficiently, we can depend on him giving timely notice of any further discovery he may happen to make.

III.

THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND IN THE PORTOLAN CHARTS. BY MICHAEL C. ANDREWS, F.S.A.Scot., F.R.S.G.S., M.R.I.A.

One of the most characteristic features of those early nautical maps which are known as Portolan Charts is that they confine their attention almost exclusively to coastal features, seaports and islands. Representations of internal physical features are comparatively rare,¹ especially in the work of the earlier period, and where introduced indicate by their inaccurate and conventional forms either a want of knowledge or a lack of interest on the part of the draughtsmen. Political boundaries of countries, states, and kingdoms are altogether omitted, and even their natural frontiers are seldom indicated.²

The borderland between Scotland and England appears, however, to be one of the exceptions to this rule; for, although it does not present any features of importance to the navigator, yet some form of natural frontier is very generally represented. This representation takes different forms in the work of different cartographical schools, executed at different dates (Pl. I.); but the complete separation of Scotland from England, which is a common feature in the sixteenth century, has been so often insisted upon that there is a grave danger of supposing that this is the normal form in all Portolan Charts.³

¹ E. L. Stevenson, *Portolan Charts, their Origin and Characteristics*, New York (Hispanic Society), 1911, p. 24; A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, Stockholm, 1897, p. 18a.

² K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1909, p. 44.

³ J. E. Shearer, *Old Maps and Map Makers of Scotland*, Stirling, 1905, pp. 9, 10; P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1891, Introduction, p. ix.

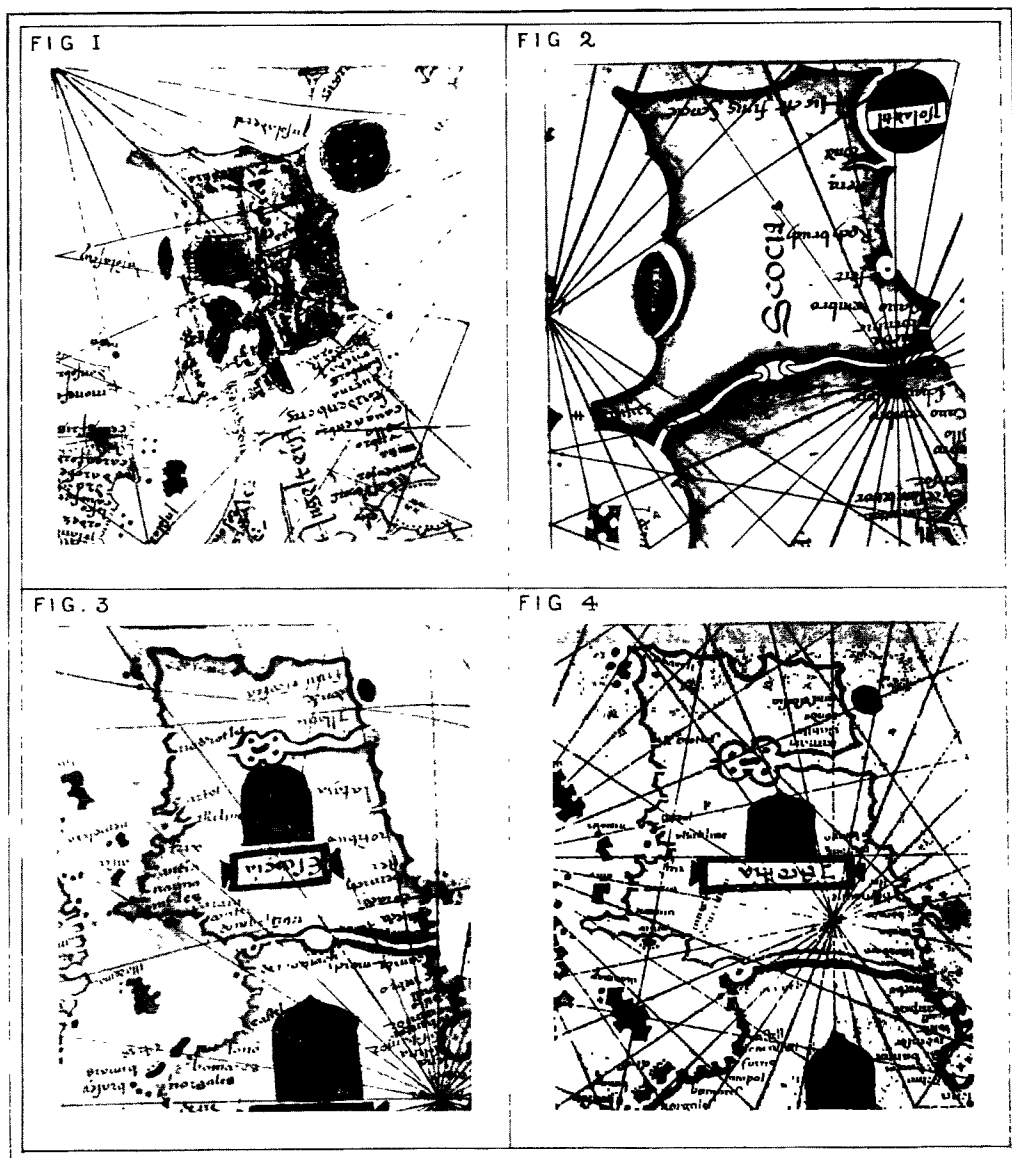


PLATE I.—SCOTLAND IN THE PORTOLAN CHARTS.

- Fig. 1. 1413 Meca de Villadestes, PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. AA. 506.
 Fig. 2. 1480 Gratiotus Benincasa, WIEN, K. K. Hofbibliothek. Cod. 355.
 Fig. 3. 1553 Matheus Prunes, STENA, Biblioteca Comunale. Cart. Naut. S.V. 3.
 Fig. 4. 1583 Joan Martines, CHICAGO, Newberry Library. Ayer Collect. No. 11.

The twofold object of this paper is to point out that it is quite exceptional to find Scotland and England represented as two distinct islands in charts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and to suggest that the complete separation which is to be found in so many charts of the sixteenth century is due to the unintelligent copying of earlier examples, which did not indicate it, rather than to any real belief in the insularity of Scotland.

To establish the first proposition a comparative study has been made of the representation of the British Islands in as many as possible of the early charts which are known to include them. The lack of a sufficient number of reproductions, and the reduced size and unsatisfactory presentation of some of these, has made it necessary to obtain full-sized photographs, taken directly from the originals. All the recorded charts of the fourteenth century, twenty-two in number, have been examined; but unhappily a similar completeness cannot be claimed for those of the fifteenth century. For this period eighty-one examples have been scrutinised. Sixteen other charts belonging to this century have been recorded, of which four by Gratiotus Benincasa probably do not differ from the eighteen examples by this author already studied, all of which are remarkably similar. The remaining twelve, which may or may not include the British Islands, were recorded by Uzielli over forty years ago, but either cannot now be traced by the authorities of the libraries to which they were assigned, or are in inaccessible private collections in Italy, some of which have apparently been dispersed since that time.

A comparative examination of this considerable mass of original material indicates that, so far as the representation of the British Islands is concerned, the charts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may be classified according to four distinct types. The schemes adopted by cartographers for the boundary between Scotland and England are also four in number. Fifteen charts exhibit no division whatever between the two kingdoms. Forty-four examples adopt as a boundary, either in pictorial or symbolic form, a central mountain, from which flow two rivers, one to the eastern and the other to the western sea. In twenty-seven charts the frontier is only partially defined; two river estuaries or wide arms of the sea run inland to a greater or less distance, but do not meet, and the central mountain is wanting. A completely insular form is given to Scotland in eight examples only; while three others, which divide Scotland from England by a continuous but narrow river joining the eastern and western estuaries, may be described as of semi-insular type. Six charts are so much damaged or so indistinct in this region as to be valueless for our purpose.

Except in the earliest period, when the River Clyde was indicated, all these forms agree in fixing upon the Solway Firth as the western frontier. No such uniformity is, however, to be found where the eastern river is concerned. Identified in the earlier charts with the Firth of Forth, the boundary was soon removed from its erroneous northern position to one still more erroneous in the south, and the River Humber separated Scotland from England. Later, the most popular representation of the fifteenth century settled upon an intermediate position, and the River Tyne became the boundary line. But while the Tweed was preferred in a few charts of this period, the correct boundary was not generally adopted until the sixteenth century. (See Appendices I. and II.)

As these typical arrangements of the frontier do not in general correspond with the typical forms of Great Britain as a whole, but are to be found in different combinations with them, it will be most convenient to examine each of the four general types of the island separately, noting at the same time the various forms of boundary used with them.

TYPE I. GENOESE.

The earliest known Portolan Charts which include Scotland are of Genoese origin, and, with the exception of one attributed to Giovanni da Carignano, are the signed and dated work of Petrus Vesconte and Perrinus Vesconte, or are introduced as illustrations in the early fourteenth-century codices of the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* of Marino Sanudo the elder. Though anonymous, these are probably by the hand of one or the other of these cartographers.¹ The chart of 1311 by Petrus Vesconte, which is the earliest known dated example, shows only the Eastern Mediterranean. The atlas of 1313 by the same draughtsman, while including England, does not extend far enough to the north to indicate the border district; but in seven charts, dating from 1318 to 1327, this region is clearly shown. Scotland is apparently separated from England by two short and wide rivers, which flow from very nearly the same place east and west into two large bays or gulfs (Pl. II., fig. 1). In this early period the chart-makers of the Mediterranean knew little of Great Britain beyond the southern and eastern coasts of England, from Land's End to the Humber. On the west coast, which is drawn in a very defective manner, even the Bristol Channel is omitted. Scotland appears to have been still less familiar to them, for only a small portion of its southern parts is shown,

¹ K. Kretschmer, "Marino Sanudo der Ältere und die Karten des Petrus Vesconte," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, Band xxvi. No. 4, 1891, pp. 352-70; A. Magnocavallo, "La Carta 'De Mari Mediterraneo' di Marin Sanudo, 'il Vecchio,'" *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, fasc. v., 1902.

leaving the north entirely unfinished. The kingdom is named *Scocia*, but no place-names are recorded. This lack of any precise knowledge is responsible for a remarkable error; for the ostensible division between Scotland and England does not really represent the natural frontier of the Solway Firth, Cheviot Hills, and the River Tweed, but indicates the narrow central part of Scotland itself, between the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth.¹ The fact that the cartographer has placed the name *Berwich* (Berwick) in the region of this boundary may be thought a strong argument against this assumption, but that it is only due to a confusion of thought is clearly seen from the position of Scotland relatively to Ireland and to the Isle of Man in the later maps of the series. In the atlases of 1313 and 1318 neither of these islands appear, while in that of 1320, although Ireland is included, it is placed in such an erroneous position that no information can be gleaned from it. In the later charts, from 1321 onward, Ireland assumes its typical early form, in which the north-east angle nearly approaches the coast of Scotland. Although this part of Scotland remains unnamed, it is quite evident, from the position of the Isle of Man, that the Mull of Galloway is represented by the rounded excrescence just to the north of it. As the division of the two kingdoms is carried well to the north of this point, it appears that only the Firth of Clyde and Firth of Forth can be intended. It is perhaps worthy of notice that a similar separation of northern from southern Scotland, by the Clyde and Forth meeting at the Bridge of Stirling, had already been emphasised in the thirteenth-century maps of Matthew Paris; but there are no grounds whatever for suggesting that these essentially mediæval land maps could have had any influence upon the work of the marine cartographers.²

The undated chart mentioned as being attributed to Carignano is perhaps even earlier than those just examined, from which it differs widely. Unfortunately, its present state does not (in a photograph, at any rate) justify any definite conclusion as to the borderland; all that can be said is that the boundary, if indicated at all, appears to be formed by two rivers.

¹ This mistaken idea, that the sources of the Clyde and Forth nearly approached one another, was long accepted. It appears in the *Scotorum Historie* of Hector Boece, 1526. John Bellenden, in his translation made for James V., and published about 1536, reads: "Not far fra the fontanis of Clyde springis the fontanis of Forth, quhilk discendis, with ample and braid boundis, in the Almane seis."—*Cosmographie and Description of Albion*, chap. viii. Edinburgh, 1821, vol. i. p. xxx.

² For reproductions of the Matthew Paris maps, see R. Gough, *British Topography*, London, 1780, vol. i. Plates ii., iii., and iv.; K. Miller, *Mappæ Mundi*, Stuttgart, 1895, vol. iii. figs. 21, 22, and 23; A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, plate xxxiii.; *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1870, Part II. No. v. One fine example in a codex by John of Wallingford (British Museum, Cotton, Julius D., vii. fol. 49, v.) has not been reproduced.

TYPE II. VENETIAN.

The work of the Venetian school, from the later years of the fourteenth century until the middle of the fifteenth, still confesses an almost complete ignorance of Scotland, the northern parts of which are left entirely unfinished. Amongst the first of these may be mentioned the chart of Franciscus Pizigano of 1373, and that of Franciscus de Cesanis of 1421, which, together with three anonymous charts of the same period, show no division between Scotland and England.

In the earliest chart by Jacobus de Giroldis,¹ dated 1422, the inlets of the Solway Firth and the Humber estuary are merely indicated; in his second chart, of 1426, they are prolonged inland in the form of two rivers, which, although nearly approaching one another, do not actually meet. But in the later work of this cartographer, as exemplified in two charts dated 1443 and 1446, and in four anonymous and undated examples, which are certainly by the same hand, together with their prototype, a chart by G. Pasqualini as early as 1408, the mountain-and-river type of frontier is adopted. In this series the rivers are reduced to thin lines with a conventional wavy course, and the central mountain to a small, pointed, leaf-shaped object, which might easily be mistaken for a lake. In all these the eastern river still represents the Humber (Pl. II., fig. 4).

TYPE III. CATALAN.

The charts due to the Catalan school of marine cartographers, their prototypes and derivatives, provide without doubt the most valuable material for the study of the boundary between Scotland and England. For in the eight known examples of this type, dating from the fourteenth century, and in the long series of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century specimens of Majorcan or Italian origin, which, so far as the British Islands are concerned, are based upon Catalan originals, all types of frontier are to be found. For our present purpose, the main interest of these charts lies in the possibility of tracing in them the rectification of an originally defective representation, which was not achieved until the early years of the fifteenth century; and of following the subsequent degradation of this corrected arrangement to a mere symbol in the standardisation of the British Islands, which took place in the work of half a century later.

Some of the earliest descriptions of Scotland correctly describe the English boundary as a mountainous region, from which flow two rivers.

¹ For the Giroldis charts see M. C. Andrews, "Rathlin Island in the Portolan Charts," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 6th series, vol. xv. part i. (June 1925), p. 33, note.

In the writings of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, for example, which, however, only date from the early years of the fifteenth century, Scotland is described as being "*separated from England by a mountain,*" while in another place it is said that "*a river, which descends from a lofty mountain, forms the boundary of the two countries.*"¹ This natural frontier is faithfully represented in the early work of the Catalan school. A lofty mountain is placed in the centre of the borderland, from which flow two rivers, one discharging into the western sea, the other into the eastern. The details of this arrangement are, however, peculiar. In the chart by Angellinus de Dalorto of 1325 or 1330, a single mountain is crowned by a castle, which is named "*Castro novo*" (Newcastle), while in that of Angelino Dulcert of 1339² two peaks appear, on each of which stands a castle, one named "*Castro novo*," the other "*Castro berluhic*," which is probably a corrupt reading for Cair-Luilid, Caer-Luel (Carlisle), rather than, as has been supposed, for Berwick, already entered in duplicate further to the north on the east coast (Pl. II., fig. 2).³ The western river, which flows into the Irish Sea just south of *Donfres* (Dumfries), although unnamed, evidently represents Liddel Water or the river Esk and the Solway Firth; and from the inscription, *hic dividet schocia*, there can be no doubt of its function. But the names given to the castles would suggest that the eastern river is intended for the Tyne rather than for the Tweed. It might be thought that the cartographer had been influenced by some earlier version of such a description as occurs in the *History* of Polidore Vergil, who, when speaking of Scotland, says: "*. . . but after the destruction of Picland it did extende even to the ryver Twede, yea, sumtyme unto Tine, the uncerteyne chaunce of battayle shewing like mutabilities in that pointe as it dothe in all other things.*"⁴ When, however, it is observed that in both

¹ I quote from the translation in Professor Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, pp. 25 and 28.

² Dulcert's chart is dated from Majorca, but although that of Dalorto was probably made by an Italian, perhaps by a citizen of Genoa, it may also be regarded as a prototype of the Catalan model. Charles de la Roncière, "L'Atlas Catalan de Charles V.," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, tome lxxiv. liv. 5-6, pp. 481-89, Sept.-Dec. 1903.

³ The Pizigano chart of 1367, although made in Venice, follows the early Catalan arrangement: one mountain only is shown with its castle, named *castro berliqic* (?), followed by two illegible words. The anonymous fourteenth-century chart in the British Museum (Add. MS. 25691) has two mountains, apparently without castles. The inscriptions in this place are nearly illegible, but *ca . . . nor* may be distinguished on the right, and a name, which may be *castro berluhic*, on the left. The map of Great Britain in the *Isolario* of Henricus Martellus Germanus (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 15760), although a century and a half later than the Dulcert chart (*ca.* 1489), follows it with considerable fidelity: the eastern castle is named *castrū nouum* and the western *castrū uerluhic*. In the Leiden codex of Martellus (Cod. Voss. Lat., f. 23) of the same date the readings are *castrū nouū* and *castrū uerluhic*.

⁴ Polydore Vergil's *English History*, from an early translation edited by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., for the Camden Society, 1846, p. 5.

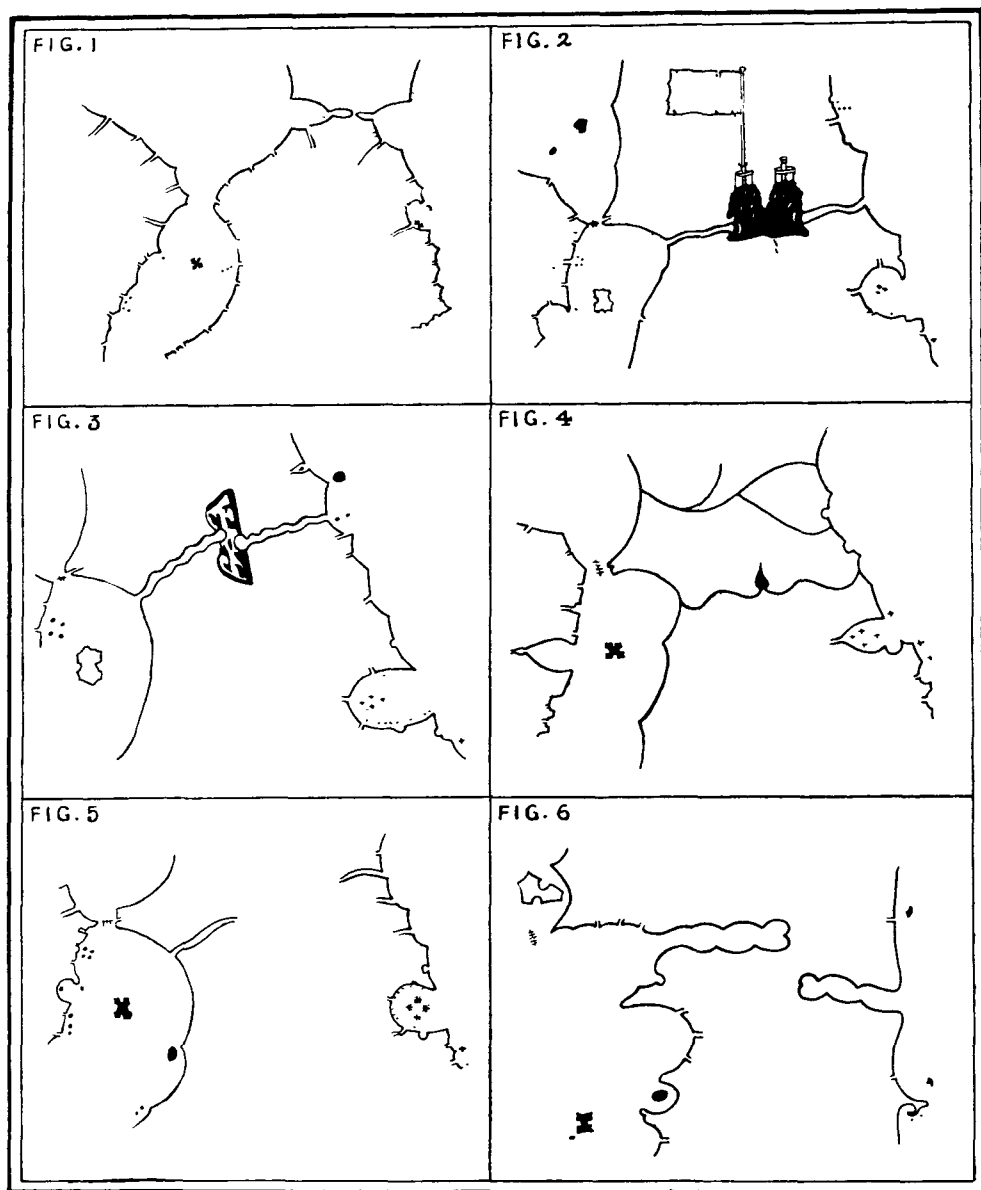


PLATE II.—EARLY FORMS OF SCOTTISH-ENGLISH BOUNDARY IN
THE PORTOLAN CHARTS.

- Fig. 1. *ca.* 1320 [Petrus Vesconte], ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 2972.
 Fig. 2. 1339 Angelino Dulcert, PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. B. 696.
 Fig. 3. XV. Anonymous, NAPOLI, Biblioteca Nazionale.
 Fig. 4. 1446 Jachobus de Girolidis, FIRENZE, Società Colombaria.
 Fig. 5. 1435 Batista Becharius, PARMA, Biblioteca Palatina, Cart. Naut. No. 1613.
 Fig. 6. *ca.* 1489 Anonymous, LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 73 (29).

these charts *Vllo* (Hull) appears close to the mouth of this river, which in the 1339 example is actually named *Vnbra*, there can be no doubt that the River Humber is intended. That the mapmaker might have had in mind the time when England extended only so far as the ancient kingdom of Northumberland is possible; but to attribute any such detailed knowledge of English history to the cartographers of Majorca would be a bold assumption. It is more reasonable to assign the arrangement of this part of their charts to a confusion of thought, due to an ignorance of these northern regions, and to a misunderstanding of the reports they had received. When once established, this error was copied for a long period. The exact date of its correction cannot, of course, be determined with accuracy, but the work of Meca de Villadestes in 1413 (Pl. I., fig. 1), while retaining the old type of boundary, indicates a more northern river, probably the Forth, as the eastern boundary; while the majority of later chartmakers, who followed Catalan models, fixed upon the Tyne as the frontier river. Work of Venetian origin, however, continued to employ the Humber as a boundary for more than thirty years.

It should be remarked that in the Villadestes chart, and some others, the central mountain is placed at right angles, instead of parallel, to the direction of the two rivers, both of which are provided with large circular sources (Pl. II., fig. 3).

In four Catalan charts of the later fourteenth century, and in several examples of the first half of the fifteenth, no division is indicated between Scotland and England; there is neither mountain nor river, nor are there any gulfs or inlets from the sea, which would even suggest a break in continuity. The earliest of these charts is the well-known anonymous Catalan atlas of 1375, which is closely followed by the Soleri chart of 1385, by the undated example by the same author, and, later, by the work of Cholla de Briaticho, dated 1430, and by some anonymous examples.

With the early years of the fifteenth century certain minor alterations were made in the delineation of the British Islands, in charts which, although emanating from various sources, so far as these islands are concerned still followed the Catalan type. The principal examples are by Battista Becharius of Genoa, 1435; by Gabriel de Vallsecha of Majorca, 1439; by Petrus Roselli, also of Majorca, in two examples dated 1456 and 1466; and by Bartolomeus de Pareto of Genoa, in a chart dated 1455. These alterations may be described as a standardisation of form, which was employed with little further change for about a century and a half. With the general change we are not here concerned, but with it a variation of Scottish-English frontier was introduced. The central mountain of the earlier type disappears entirely, and an incomplete division only is indicated by two arms of the sea, or sometimes by

two rivers, representing the Solway Firth and River Tyne, with a greater or less extent of plain territory between them (Pl. II., fig. 5; Pl. III., fig. 1).

The popularity of this standardised type of the British Islands may probably be attributed to the great output of beautifully executed charts and atlases by Gratosus Benincasa of Ancona. No less than sixteen examples of the work of this industrious craftsman, dating from 1461 to 1482, are preserved in various continental libraries, while our national collection in the British Museum contains six more. The charts of Gratosus Benincasa were copied by his son Andreas (1476-90), by Conte Hectomani Freducci of Ancona (1497-1539),¹ by Giorgio Callapoda, also called Sideri, of Candia, and by many other mapmakers until the close of the sixteenth century.

The particular interest of the Benincasa chart for the present inquiry lies in the introduction of yet another type of Scottish-English frontier, which was destined to exercise a great influence upon the work of the next century (Pl. I., fig. 2, and Pl. III., fig. 3). This form, which was based upon an earlier chart by Becharius dated 1426, is in reality not new, but merely a conventionalised rendering of the original mountain-river boundary of the early Catalan school. The rivers are of disproportionately great width, and are provided with large circular sources, both of which characteristics are not uncommon in mediæval land maps; the central mountain is reduced in size till it hardly exceeds that of the river sources, between which it is so tightly squeezed as to lose all resemblance to its prototype, and to become a mere ornamental form. It is easy to see how later copyists, who were unacquainted with the original intention, were misled by the highly symbolic treatment of Benincasa. Some of the forms which this copying took, and the errors it introduced, are shown on Pl. IV., figs. 3, 4, and 5. The stages by which these errors eventually developed into a complete separation of Scotland from England will be examined when reviewing the work of the sixteenth century. But before passing to a consideration of these, one other general type of Great Britain must be mentioned. As, however, it is of no great interest for the research we are engaged upon, it need not be dwelt upon to any great length.

TYPE IV. LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The only other type of the British Islands to be found in charts of the fifteenth century cannot with certainty be assigned to any

¹ For the Freducci charts see E. L. Stevenson, *Portolan Atlas*, Conte De Ottomanno Freducci, MCCCCXXX7, facsimile, New York (Hispanic Society), 1915.

school, but is probably of Catalan origin—the earliest-known example (of 1462) being signed by Petrus Roselli, and the second (of 1487) by Nicholas Mare . . ., both of Majorca. Three other examples of this type to be found in the Egerton MS. No. 73 (British Museum) have been dated approximately 1489. One of these has been assigned tentatively to Roselli, but the other two are supposed to be Venetian. The Scottish-English boundary in three of these charts is indicated by two arms of the sea which do not meet, but no central mountain is shown (Pl. II., fig. 6); in two other cases, including the earliest, complete insularity is adopted. Although differing in the type of boundary, all five charts of this group agree in identifying the eastern frontier with the Tweed.

In addition to these two charts only six others, of earlier date than the sixteenth century, indicate a complete separation of Scotland from England. The anonymous Medicean chart of Genoese origin, which has been thought to be of as early a date at 1351,¹ identifies the eastern end of the dividing canal with the River Humber. A planisphere by Albertin de Virga which, although the date is not entirely legible, may be assigned to the year 1411 or 1415, follows the last-mentioned chart in its representation of Scotland, which is completely insular. As, however, the scale is small and place-names are lacking, the point at which the dividing arm enters the North Sea cannot be determined with accuracy. Two collections of Venetian charts dating from the fourteenth century, and known from their former owners as the "Pinelli" atlas and the atlas of "Nicholas de Combitis," and a chart of Catalan type by Zuan da Napoli, of *circa* 1489, indicate the River Tyne.

The great circular world-map of Fra Mauro (1459) detaches Scotland from England in a peculiar and unique manner. A wide arm of the sea, entering at the Solway Firth, presently divides into two distinct channels, which pursue different and widely separated courses until they again unite shortly before the estuary of the Humber is reached.

Two charts by Andrea Bianco of Venice, dated respectively 1436 and 1448, may perhaps be considered as using an intermediate form of frontier, for while not distinctly separating Scotland from England, the eastern and western estuaries, which here represent the River Tweed and Solway Firth, are joined by a narrow but continuous river (Pl. III., fig. 2). An anonymous chart of Catalan type in the Biblioteca Estense (Chart No. 13) also shows a continuous dividing river, the eastern end of which is, however, intended for the River Tyne.

¹ The early date of this chart is questioned by Franz R. von Wieser in *Die Weltkarte des Albertin de Virga*, Innsbruck, 1912.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

In the last years of the fifteenth century a few marine cartographers had extended the scope of their charts by including in them the results of Portuguese discovery along the coast of Africa; America and the Indian Ocean were not represented till the sixteenth century. Notwithstanding the fact that many nautical charts of this century were progressively expanded by the inclusion of the rapidly discovered new lands, thus becoming true world-maps, yet a large number of cartographers were content to restrict their labours to the traditional limits of their predecessors. Copies of the old charts and atlases are indeed of common occurrence long after the time when far better material was available in printed maps, which however did not influence them to any great degree. But although much of the sixteenth-century work was based upon older models in so far as the well-established coasts of the Mediterranean basin were concerned, yet in the outlying regions changes were from time to time introduced. Such changes are particularly noticeable in the case of the British Islands. It is evident that navigators were no longer satisfied with the representation of these islands, which, it has just been seen, had been standardised more than a century earlier. It was the business of the cartographers to meet this demand, and they met it by many alterations in form, of which nine distinct types were introduced in less than one hundred years. But in six cases out of these nine, the revision of the Scottish coasts does not appear to have been the result of any extension of geographical knowledge, for although they exhibit a considerable diversity of outline, no real improvement is discernible. Indeed, it might almost be supposed that some at least of these changes had been made by the craftsmen, with the commercial object of introducing into their charts some new and distinctive feature which would appeal to their customers. The lack of any improved geographical knowledge is strongly confirmed by the fact that in five of these six new forms the very restricted series of place-names of a century earlier were retained with no alteration and with but few additions. The material point for the present inquiry is, that it is precisely in the charts which conform to one or other of these five types, using the old place-names, that Scotland is generally represented as a separate island; whereas in the other four, which by their extended and modernised nomenclature indicate a more intimate knowledge of the country, the insular form is seldom to be found. It will not be necessary in this place to examine the numerous sixteenth-century charts (of which over three hundred

include the British Islands)¹ in as much detail as those of the two former centuries; but particular attention must be paid to the first two new types. In one can be traced the last stages by which the original mountain-river boundary degenerated into the completely insular form; in the other some faint indication of a new and improved knowledge of Scotland, associated with a return to a more rational frontier delineation, may be found.

TYPE VI. OLIVES-MARTINES.

The first new sixteenth-century type of the map of Scotland, whose principal characteristic is a large four-lobed central lake with five islands, connected by a broad river to the North Sea, was widely employed. No less than sixty-three charts which adopted it have been examined. It appears to have originated in the early years of the century, as there exist two examples signed by Salvat de Pilestrina of Majorca, both of which are dated 1511. Unfortunately, however, neither of these early examples give any indication of the original form of the borderlands, for in both this region is completely covered by a large and elaborate wind-rose. The type in its full form is best exemplified by the work of the elder members of the map-making family of Olives of Majorca,² by that of Matheus Prunes, also of Majorca,³ and by the later and very beautifully executed charts by Joan Martines of Messina.⁴ The charts of these cartographers, together with all those which adopt this form, excepting twelve examples which return to the original type of mountainous frontier, separate Scotland completely from England by a broad arm of the sea. If, however, this sea passage is examined more carefully, it will be found in some cases to present certain suggestive peculiarities. In eight charts by Matheus Prunes, from 1553 to 1599, and in twelve other signed or anonymous examples, it is found not to be of uniform width. A distinct enlargement of the central part, which might be taken for a lake, is clearly indicated (Pl. I., fig. 3). This enlargement can, however, hardly represent a lake, of which no hint is given in any early

¹ For general lists of sixteenth-century charts, see G. Uzielli e P. Amat di S. Filippo, *Studi Biografici e Bibliografici sulla Storia della Geografia in Italia*, Edizione Seconda, Roma, 1882, vol. ii.; and Appendice, Roma, 1884; A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, pp. 63b-69a.

² For the Olives charts, see Antonio Blázquez, "Mapas Antiguos adquiridos por la Sociedad Bilbaina y un mappa de Juan Oliva de 1591," *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica*, Madrid, tomo lx., segundo trimestre, 1918, Appendices, pp. 212-16.

³ For the Prunes charts, see K. Kretschmer, "Handschriftliche Karten der Pariser National-Bibliothek," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1911, No. 6. pp. 470-71.

⁴ For the Martines charts, see E. L. Stevenson, *Portolan Atlas: Joan Martines en Messina, Año 1582*, facsimile. New York (Hispanic Society), 1915.

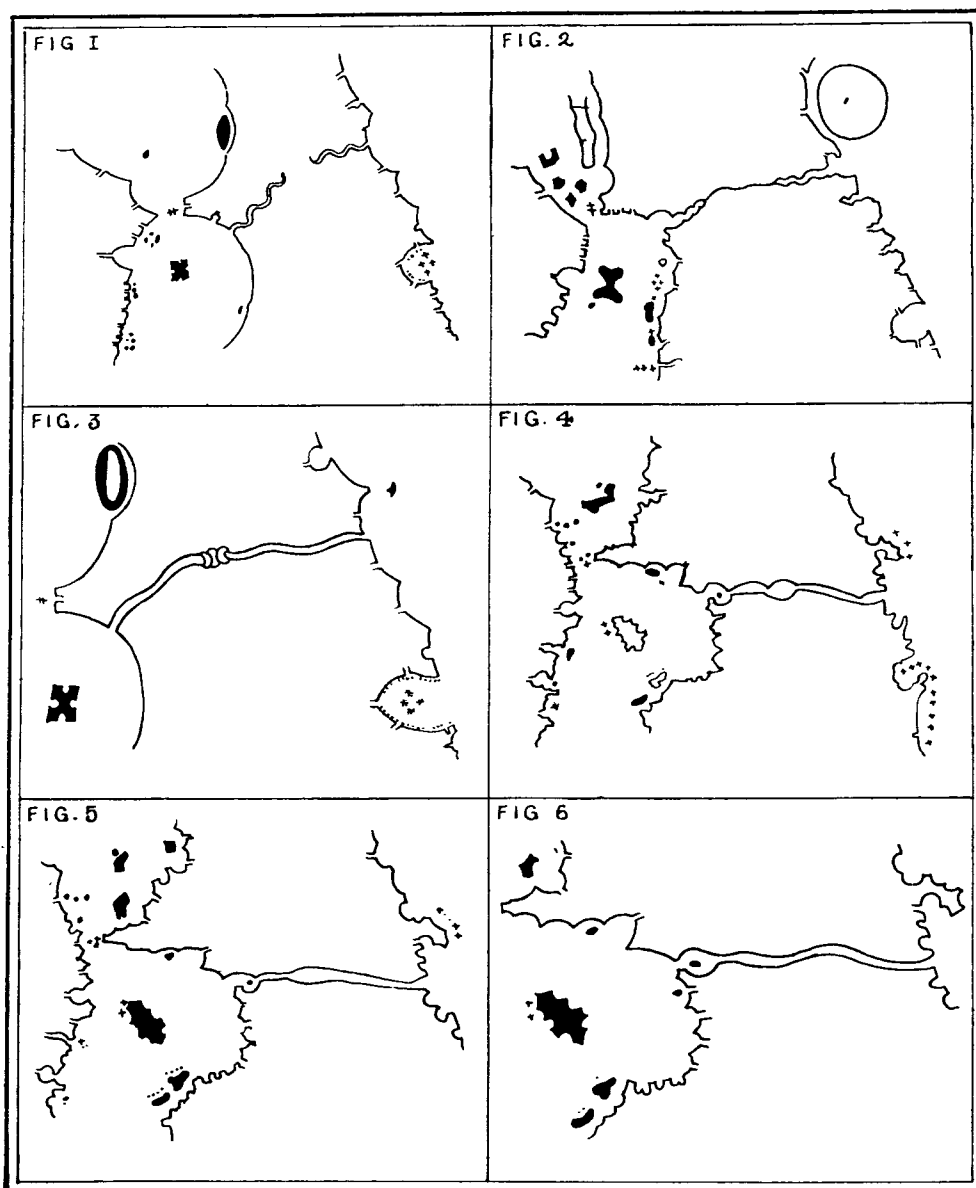


PLATE III.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSULAR FORM IN THE PORTOLAN CHARTS.

- Fig. 1. 1439 Gabriel de Vallsecha, BARCELONA, Biblioteca de Catalunya.
 Fig. 2. 1448 Andrea Bianco, MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F. 260 inf.
 Fig. 3. 1467 Gratiotus Benincasa, LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 11,547.
 Fig. 4. 1550 Jaume Olives, WASHINGTON, Library of Congress.
 Fig. 5. 1557 „ „ PAVIA, Biblioteca Universitaria, scaf. I. a. sin.
 Fig. 6. 1563 „ „ NEW YORK, Hispanic Society, Chart 16.

chart nor in any written description. It seems, therefore, much more reasonable to suppose that it is merely a degraded form of the well-known symbolic design employed by Benincasa, copied inaccurately by a craftsman who failed to understand that this symbol really represented a central mountain and two river sources. The suggestion here made that the complete insularity of Scotland in many sixteenth-century Portolan charts is to be traced to the uninstructed or negligent copying of fifteenth-century examples which *did not* represent this separation, rather than to the imitation of the rare examples of earlier date which *did* adopt it, or to any definite geographical ideas, may be further supported by evidence drawn from the same group. In the work of three cartographers a transition from the central-lake type to an uninterrupted sea passage of uniform width may be traced when their later work is compared with that of earlier date. While in the earliest known chart by Jaume Olives, dated 1550, the central lake is quite distinctly represented, in his charts of 1557 and 1559 it has almost disappeared (Pl. III., figs. 4 and 5). The passage, however, is not perfectly parallel, but shows traces of the earlier form in a slight central widening, which would easily escape notice unless the fully-developed lake form had been previously observed. In two charts, both dated 1563, and in two undated examples by the same author, the final stage of a perfectly parallel canal has been reached (Pl. III., fig. 6). Bartolomeo Olives also employed these three stages; but in his case the transition is not so strictly chronological, for while his charts of 1538 and 1559 show a well-developed central lake, in that of 1532, together with two of 1561 and 1584, and two undated examples, only a slight central widening is to be observed. One chart only by this craftsman represents a parallel passage; the original date has been altered, but from internal evidence it has been suggested by Dr E. L. Stevenson that this may perhaps be near 1581. The parallel form of the division between Scotland and England would suggest that this chart was not executed until after 1584.

No signed work of Joan Martines indicates a central lake, but it is to be found in two anonymous charts (Bodl. and Vat.) which are probably due to him, and which may therefore be assigned to the earlier stage of his activity. A distinct central widening of the dividing canal may be observed in his charts of 1550-56 and 1568, while traces of this still appear in those of 1579 (Brit. Mus.), 1582, and perhaps also in that of 1586 (Vat.), the drawing of which is, however, so irregular as to preclude any certainty. In the signed charts of 1578, 1579 (Admiralty), 1582, 1583, and 1586 (Torino), and also in an anonymous undated example (Vat. Urb.), probably by the same author, the sea passage is

perfectly parallel (Pl. I., fig. 4). Martines, however, was not consistent in his work, for his charts of 1567, 1578 (Brit. Mus.), 1582 (Paris), and 1591 introduce a mountain range, without any complete separation of the two kingdoms.

As might be expected from the variety of transitional frontier forms employed by the earlier cartographers who adopted this type of Scotland, the charts of later date exhibit a like diversity, according to the model from which they were copied. The only known chart by Domingo, a son of Jaume Olives, made in Naples in the year 1568, and two of the earlier examples of the work of Jacobus Scottus of Genoa, dated 1589 and 1592, indicate a mountainous frontier. In 1593 Scottus adopts the parallel form of sea passage, and so does his fellow-citizen, Carlo da Corte, in 1592. The fully-developed lake form appears in one chart of 1593 by Vincentius Demetrius Voltius of Ragusa, in one of 1629 by J. F. Mon, and in one as late as 1651 by Pietro Giovanni Prunes of Majorca, who copied the work of his ancestor Matheus. (See Appendix III.)

The degradation of the frontier delineation having now been traced from its original natural physical form of river and mountain, through a version of that symmetrical symbolic type so dear to the mediæval mind, by a further stage of misunderstanding to an unnatural, arbitrary, and incorrect insular form, the remaining work of the sixteenth century may be briefly examined. In it we shall find that although the majority of nautical mapmakers followed the established but erroneous insular representation of Scotland, yet in their later charts three cartographers, who appear to have attained to a better general knowledge of this country, correct their earlier mistake, and cease to separate it from England.

TYPE VII. MAIOLLO.

The first of these was Vesconte de Maiollo,¹ a citizen of Genoa, in whose long period of activity (1511-49) some indication of an attempt to improve the map of Scotland may be discerned, which, faint as it may be, is still a forerunner of more enlightened geographical views. Scotland, in his earliest known chart of 1511, differed but slightly in form from that adopted in the Pilestrina charts of the same date, and a similar, but even less extended, series of place-names was employed. In his chart of 1512 the absurd central four-lobed lake was eliminated, and a more reasonable representation of the Firth of Tay substituted,

¹ M. D'Avezac, "Atlas Hydrographique de 1511 du Génois Vesconte de Maggiolo," extrait de *Annales des Voyages* (Juillet, 1870), Paris, 1871.

but no change was made in the nomenclature. The southern boundary of Scotland in both these charts consists of two wide estuaries, joined by a narrow but continuous river, with no central mountain, and although not fully insular in form, yet indicates a certain conformity with this convention. Both these charts were executed at Naples; but when in 1519 Vesconte, on obtaining an official appointment in Genoa, removed to his native city, it is evident that he obtained access to an extended knowledge of Scotland. Although no further change of form was made in his chart of this date, the list of place-names was much augmented. It is not necessary in this place to examine in detail these new names; it will be sufficient to note that, amounting to forty-six against the fourteen of his former maps, they are distributed as thickly along the northern and western coasts as on the eastern. The large central mountain of earlier date is re-introduced, but Scotland is of completely insular form. In seven of his subsequent charts, dating from 1520 to 1549, this error is rectified; the central mountain is retained, but east and west of it estuaries or very wide river mouths only are indicated, without any complete separation of the two kingdoms. It must, however, be recorded with regret that although Vesconte's son Jacobus and his grandson Baldasaro, who carried on their ancestor's work for nearly one hundred years (till 1605), retained the form of Scotland laid down in 1519 in all its details, and even slightly extended the original copious series of place-names, yet they fell away from his later accuracy by returning to the unbroken river boundary and semi-insular representation of his earlier work.

A remarkable example of the confusion which existed in the minds of some sixteenth-century chartmakers is to be found in the work of Aloysius Cesanis of Idria, who in 1574 copied the Maiollo chart of 1511. Not satisfied with completely separating Scotland from England by an arm of the sea running erroneously from Scarborough (or perhaps the Tyne) to the Solway Firth, he introduces to the south of this a second complete dividing channel from the Wash to the Mersey.

A brief notice of the four remaining types of the map of Scotland, to be found in charts of earlier date than the middle of the sixteenth century, will be sufficient for the purpose of this paper. Although differing in form from one another and from the earlier types, none of these show any improvement but rather a deterioration. Three of them use a very restricted series of place-names, which does not differ materially from the standard fifteenth-century list; in the fourth, except in one example, no names are to be found, and all employ in general the insular form.

TYPE VIII. EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The first, which is represented by a small group of seven charts, is of early origin, its first appearance being in the anonymous world-map of about 1502, formerly belonging to the late Dr E. L. Hamy, and known from a former owner as the "King" chart. Only one example of this group, made by Baptista Genovese in 1514 at Venice, is signed and dated, a copy of twenty years later being probably the work of the Portuguese cartographer, Gaspard Viegas.

TYPE IX. LATER PORTUGUESE.

A very defective form of Scotland is to be found in the chart of 1528 by Pero Fernandez, and in three other anonymous examples of Portuguese origin. In these charts the spurious central lake of the boundary river is well developed, and is further provided with an island, which possibly indicates a still earlier stage of the debasement of the Benincasa form than those already mentioned (Pl. IV., figs. 1 and 2).

TYPE V. EARLY SPANISH-PORTUGUESE WORLD-CHARTS.

In a number of Spanish and Portuguese world-charts from the early years of the century a crude representation of the British Islands appears, which differs materially from all the former types. In these examples, which are usually of small scale and have very few or no place-names, the two kingdoms are generally represented as separate islands. The type was used later on a larger scale by John Rotz of Dieppe in 1542, by other members of the Dieppoise school of cartography, in some early charts by Diego Homen (1557-58), and in the work of Antonio Millo, Admiral of Candia, who, however, does not wholly detach Scotland from England.

TYPE X. AGNESE (EARLY).

A very poor form of Scotland is presented in the numerous charts which were issued from the Venetian studio of Baptista Agnese of Genoa between the years 1536 and 1545.¹ The canal which separates Scotland from England in examples of earlier date (1536), while parallel, assumes a characteristically undulatory form (Pl. IV., fig. 6), which is,

¹ For the Agnese charts, see K. Kretschmer, "Die Atlanten des Battista Agnese," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, Band xxi. No. 5, 1896, pp. 362-68, and Justin Winsor, "Baptista Agnese and American Cartography in the Sixteenth Century," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Feb., Mar., April, May, 1897, pp. 372-85.

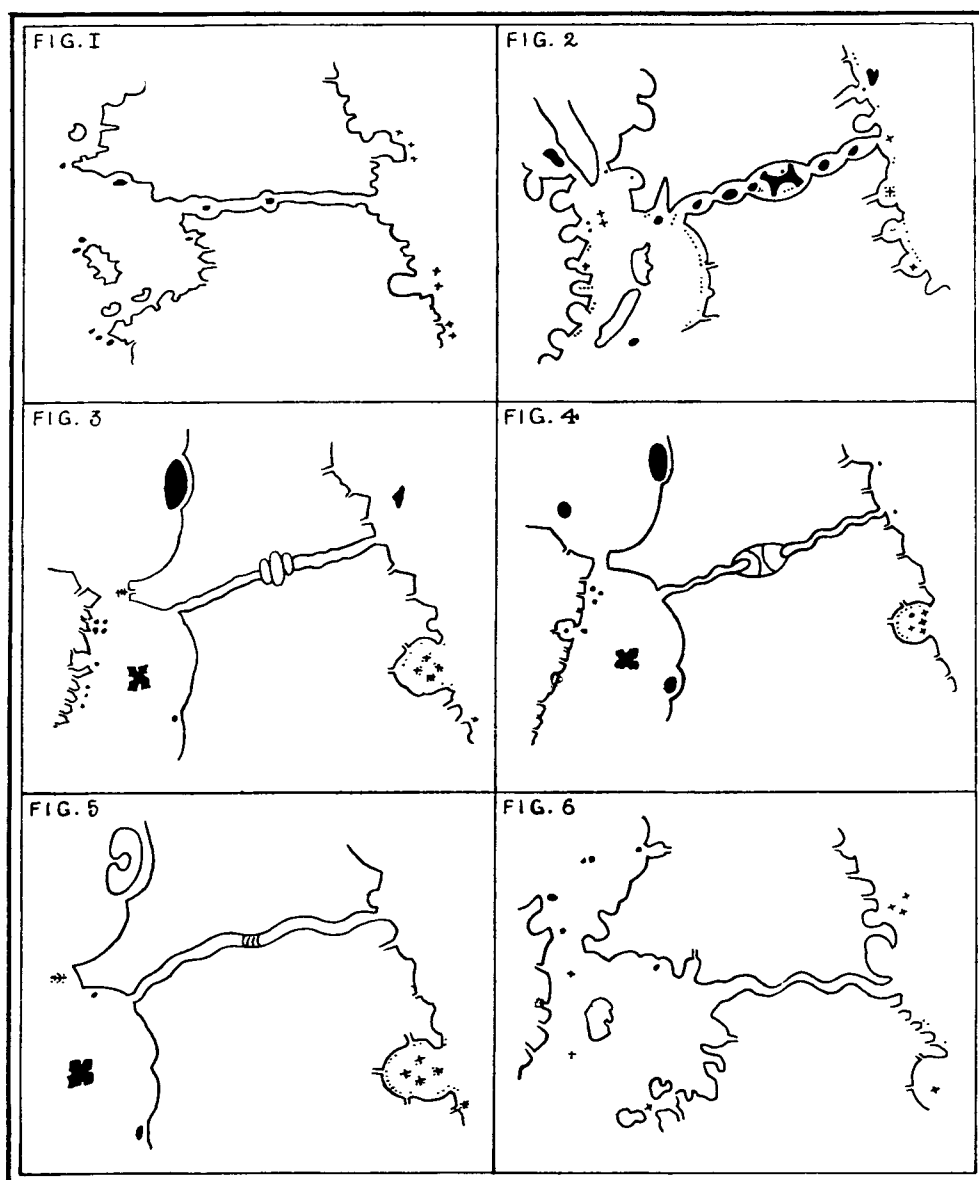


PLATE IV.—DEBASED FORMS OF MOUNTAIN-RIVER FRONTIER IN THE
PORTOLAN CHARTS.

- Fig. 1. XVI. Anonymous, LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 767.
 Fig. 2. „ „ PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. B. 1119.
 Fig. 3. „ „ Greek, LUCCA, Biblioteca Governativa, Cod. 1898.
 Fig. 4. 1520 Giovanni Xenodochio, VENEZIA, Museo Civico, Rac. Correr Port. 3.
 Fig. 5. 1582 4 Antonius Millo, ROMA, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, scaff. 12, sala 68, No. 1.
 Fig. 6. 1536 Baptista Agnese, VENEZIA, Museo Civico, Rac. Correr Port. 31.

however, to a large extent smoothed out in those of later execution (1542-45). These and other variations suggest some development from an earlier to a later model, but only six examples have been found which do not adopt the full insular form. As these are all undated, it is however, most unfortunately, impossible to determine whether this variety is the original type adopted by Agnese, or whether it is an improvement of later date. It should be noticed that most of this Venetian work, whether signed or unsigned, has been preserved in the form of elaborately executed and extensively decorated atlases, often having the armorial bearings of the owner illuminated on the first page, which indicates that they were designed rather for the libraries of the great than for the use of practical mariners.

The last three types of Great Britain which have to be noticed all originated after the middle of the sixteenth century, and all show a greatly improved form of Scotland. In the first two this improved form is associated with a modernised and extended list of place-names, and a final disuse of any trace of a division between this country and England.

TYPE XI. AGNESE (LATE).

The later work of Baptista Agnese is indeed a remarkable instance of reform, in a period which has generally been considered as one of decadence in marine cartography, and by a mapmaker who has been regarded rather as an expert craftsman than as a skilled geographer. For in his charts from 1553 onwards, both the proportion and form of Scotland approach much more nearly to reality than is the case in any other type of Portolan chart. Associated with this improved form, in some examples we find a modernised nomenclature, and in no case are the northern and southern members of Great Britain separated from one another. So radical an improvement by such a cartographer inevitably raises the question as to whether it is original, or whether it may be traced to the influence of a more modern type of local map, such as had already been issued at Rome, in copperplate, by George Lilly a few years earlier, in 1546. That Agnese was acquainted with Lilly's work we know, for in one of his atlases he gives a very accurate hand-drawn copy of it in addition to his own charts. The connection is, however, by no means certain.

TYPE XII. HOMEN.

The Portuguese cartographer Diego Homen,¹ although indicating the possession of a considerably greater knowledge of northern and western

¹ For the Homen charts, see V. Hantzsch und L. Schmidt, *Kartographische Denkmäler König. Öffent. Bibl. zu Dresden*, Leipzig, 1903; and G. Caraci, *Cimeli cartografici sconosciuti esistenti a Firenze, I—Una carta nautica di Diego Homen* (1563), *La Bibliofilia*, Anno xxv. Dispensa 8A-9A, Nov.-Dec. 1923, pp. 237-38.

Scotland than is to be found in earlier work, was not nearly so successful, either in his details or in his general proportions, as was Agnese; with whom, however, he agrees in joining Scotland to England. The series of exceedingly fine charts by this author, from 1557 to 1576, are of great interest, and mark an advance in the cartography of the British Islands, which was apparently appreciated at an early date, as copies are to be found in copperplate prints engraved in 1569 and 1572 by Paolo Furlani of Venice, one of which was published by Antonio Lafreri of Rome.¹

TYPE XIII. OLIVA-CAVALLINI.

The last form of Scotland to be used by the makers of manuscript nautical charts provides a final and very clear confirmation of the fact already frequently insisted upon, that the insular form of Scotland was only used where older examples were copied, and disappears in those charts which indicate, by the place-names recorded, any real knowledge of these northern coasts. It is in some respects similar to the seventeenth-century printed charts of the Dutch school, as exemplified in the printed work of Arnold Colom and Pieter Goos. This type of Scotland was largely used by the younger members of the Oliva family, even so late as the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The earliest examples are those by Joannes Oliva of Messina, dating from the last decade of the sixteenth century, which, together with later charts by Vincentius Deme-trius Voltius of Ragusa,² by Francesco, Brasito, and Salvatore Oliva, and the still later work of Placidus Calioro et Oliva, although employing a new form, reproduce faithfully the place-names of the Olives-Martines type (No. VI.) of a century earlier. In these charts the insularity of Scotland is a common feature; but when, in 1622, a much fuller series of place-names was introduced into the same form by Joannes Oliva, which was adopted by Giovanni Battista Cavallini of Livorno in 1650, the boundary between Scotland and England is represented by two estuaries and a narrow connecting river only, without any indication of that complete separation which has been supposed to be characteristic of the Portolan Charts.

¹ British Museum, Map Depart. C. 7. e. 1 (5) and C. 7. e. 2 (1).

² For the Voltius charts, see K. Kretschmer, *Handschriftliche Karten der Pariser National. Bibliothek*, pp. 473-4.

APPENDIX I.

A LIST OF FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURY CHARTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE TYPE
OF SCOTTISH-ENGLISH BOUNDARY EMPLOYED.

The references are to :—

Konrad Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1909, ii. 3; *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Seekarten*, pp. 106-148.

G. Uzielli e P. Amat di S. Filippo, *Studi Biografici e Bibliografici sulla Storia della Geografia in Italia*, Edizione Seconda, Roma, 1882; vol. ii. and Appendice, Roma, 1884.

(A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, Stockholm, 1897, viii. *Portolanos*, 5. *List of portolanos*, pp. 56-69, gives most of these charts, but adds nothing of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.)

References to the Type of Scotland :—

I. Early Genoese. (a) Earlier form. (b) Later form.

II. Early Venetian.

III. Catalan. (a) Prototype. (b) Early form. (c) Revised form. (d) Standardised form.

IV. Late Fifteenth Century.

		Type of Scotland.	Kretschmer.	Uzielli.
	A.—TWO ARMS OF THE SEA OR RIVERS NOT MEETING.			
	(1) <i>Representing the Firths of Clyde and Forth.</i>			
1	1318 Petrus Vesconte	WIEN, K. K. Hofbibliothek, Cod. No. 594	7	14
2	1318 "	VENEZIA, Museo Civico	6	13
3	1320 "	ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Pal. Lat. No. 1362.	8	...
4	1321 Perrinus Vesconte	ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek, No. R. P. 4	10	...
5	1327 "	FIRENZE, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cart. Naut. 248.	11	16

6	ca. 1320 [Petrus Vesconte]	ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. No. 2972.	I. a	9 (a)	...
7	ca. 1320 | " |	LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 27376	I. b	9 (c)	...
(2) <i>Representing the Solway Firth and River Humber.</i>					
1	XIV. Anonymous	FIRENZE, Archivio del Principi Corsini	II.	25	31
2	1422 Jacobus de Giroldis	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. C. 5088	II.	26	32
3	1426 " "	VENEZIA, R. Biblioteca di San Marco, Cl. vi. Cod. 212.			
(3) <i>Representing the Solway Firth and River Tyne.</i>					
1	1435 Batista Becharius	PARMA, Biblioteca Palatina, Cart. Naut. 1613.	III. c	32	35
2	1439 Gabriel de Vallsecha	BARCELONA, Biblioteca de Catalunya	III. c	36	47
3	1455 Bartolomeus de Pareto	ROMA, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele Sala 63	III. c	48	...
4	1456 Petrus Roselli	CHICAGO, Newberry Library, Ayer Collect. No. 1.	III. c	...	...
5	1464 " "	NÜRNBERG, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, La. 4017.	III. c	44	127
6	1466 " "	FIRENZE, Archivio del Principe Corsini	III. c	45	...
7	1468 " "	NEW YORK, Hispanic Society, No. 2	III. c	...	...
8	1480 Albino de Canepa	ROMA, Reale Società Geografia	III. c	...	...
9	1482 Jac. Bertran	FIRENZE, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Naut. 7	III. d	72	398
10	XV. Anonymous	MODENA, Biblioteca Estense, No. 11	III. c	...	...
11	XV. " "	ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Invent. No. 104.	III. c	...	401
12	XV. " "	MODENA, Biblioteca Estense	III. c	50	123
(4) <i>Representing the Solway Firth and River Tweed.</i>					
1	1487 Nicholas Marc . . .	FIRENZE, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Naut. 6	IV.	...	248/397
2	ca. 1489 Anonymous	LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 73 (29).	IV.	...	96

APPENDIX I.—*continued.*

			Type of Scotland.	Kretsch- mer.	Uzelli.
3	ca. 1489 Anonymous	LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 73 (36).	IV.	...	103
4	XV. "	MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F. 160 <i>inf.</i> (2).	II.	41	117
5	XV. "	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 390	II.	...	...
B.—CENTRAL MOUNTAIN AND TWO RIVERS.					
(1) <i>Representing the Solaray Fifth and River Hunter.</i>					
1	1330 Angelinus de Dalorto	FIRENZE, Archivio del Principi Corsini	III. a	12	...
2	1339 Angelino Dulcert	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. B. 696	III. a	13	...
3	1367 Franciscus Pizigano	PARMA, Biblioteca Palatina, Cart. Naut. 1612.	III. a	15	18
4	XIV. Anonymous	LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 25691	III. a	...	...
5	1408 G. Pasqualini	WIEN, K. K. Hofbibliothek, Cod. 410	II.	...	26/405
6	1443 Jacobus de Giroldis	MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. II. 3	II.	27	38
7	1446 "	FIRENZE, Società Colombaria	II.	29	39
8	ca. 1489 Henricus Martellus Germanus	LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 15760	III. b	...	...
9	1489 "	LEIDEN, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Cod. Voss. Lat., fo. 23.	III. b	...	...
10	XV. Anonymous	NAPOLI, Biblioteca Nazionale	III. b	46	{ 25, 27 393
11	XV. [Jacobus de Giroldis]	MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. II. 8	II.	28	...
12	XV. ["]	NEW YORK, Hispanic Society, No. 1	II.	...	...
13	XV. ["]	CHICAGO, Newberry Library, Ayer Collect. No. 2.	II.	...	...
14	XV. ["]	ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Rossiano 676.	II.	...	...
15	XV. Christ. Esenius (Buondemonte)	FIRENZE, Biblioteca Laurenziana (Periplus, Pl. xxxiii. (1)).	III. b	...	...
16	XV. "	FIRENZE, Biblioteca Laurenziana (Periplus, Pl. xxxiii. (2)).	III. b	...	...

(2) *Representing the Solway Firth and River Tyne.*

1	1426	Batista Becharius	MÜNCHEN, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum	III. c	31	33
2	1461	Gratiosus Benincasa	FIRENZE, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Naut. 4	III. d	52	51
3	1461	"	FIRENZE, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Naut. 5	III. d	...	...
4	1463	"	LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 18454	III. d	53	53
5	1466	"	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. DD. 2779.	III. d	55	55
6	1467	"	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. DD. 1988.	III. d	56	56
7	1467	"	LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 11547	III. d	57	120
8	1467	"	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale Annex à Nogent-sur-Marne.	III. d	...	...
9	1468	"	PALERMO, Biblioteca del Principe di Trabia, 1905/242.	III. d	58	57
10	1468	"	LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 6390	III. d	59	121
11	1469	"	MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. II. 6	III. d	61	59
12	1469	"	LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 31315	III. d	62	...
13	1470	"	LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 31318A	III. d	63	...
14	1471	"	ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 9016.	III. d	64	61
15	1473	"	LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 2855	III. d	...	...
16	1473	"	BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 280	III. d	66	64
17	1476	Andreas Benincasa	GENÈVE, Bibliothèque Publique, MS. Lat. 81	III. d	70	65
18	1480	Gratiosus Benincasa	WIEN, K. K. Hofbibliothek, Cod. 355	III. d	68	67
19	1482	"	BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria, Rot. 3	III. d	69	471
20	1490	Andreas Benincasa	ANCONA, Museo Nazionale Archeologico	III. d	71	105
21	1497	Conte Hectomani	WOLFFENBÜTTEL, Herzögl. Bibliothek, Cod. 99, Aug. 2 ^o	III. d	74	107
22	XV.	Gratiosus Benincasa	FIRENZE, Archivio di Stato, Exlib. Gal. 2	III. d	...	...
23	XV.	Anonymous	FIRENZE, Biblioteca Nazionale, No. 16	III. c	22	392
24	XV.	"	ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Borgiana V.	III. d	...	...
25	XV.	"	PARMA, Biblioteca Palatina, Cart. Naut. 1621.	III. d	...	109
26	XV.	"	VENEZIA, R. Biblioteca di San Marco, Cl. iv, Cod. 9.	...	35	42
27	XV.	"	VENEZIA, Museo Civico, Race. Correr Port. No. 38.	...	...	? 259

APPENDIX I.—*continued.*

			Type of Scotland.	Kretsch- mer.	Uzielli
	(3) <i>Representing the Solway Firth and River Forth.</i>				
1	1413 Meca de Villadestes	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. A.A. 506	III. b	23	...
	C.—NO BOUNDARY.				
1	1373 Franciscus Pizigano	MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. II. 2	II.	16	19
2	1375 Anonymous Atlas of Charles V.	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Es-pagnols 30.	III. b	17	...
3	1385 Guillelmus Soleri	FIRENZE, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Naut. 3	III. b	18	391
4	XIV. " "	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. B. 1131	III. b	19	...
5	XIV. Anonymous	FIRENZE, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cart. Naut. 22.	III. b	...	136
6	XIV. (?) " Arabic	MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. II. 1	...	...	390
7	1417 or 1457 Anonymous	FIRENZE, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cart. Naut. No. 1.	III. b	40	27
8	1421 Franciscus de Cesanis	VENEZIA, Museo Civico, Race, Correr Port. No. 7.	II.	24	30
9	1430 Chola de Briaticcho	SIENA, Biblioteca Comunale, Cart. Naut. S.V. 2.	...	30	34
10	1448 Giovanni Leardo	VICENZA, Museo Civico	...	...	44
11	1452 " "	NEW YORK, American Geographical Society	...	...	46
12	ca. 1473 Anonymous	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Itl. 1710	III. c	...	...
13	ca. 1489 [Nicolò Fiorin]	LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 73 (14).	II.	...	82
14	XV. Anonymous	VENEZIA, R. Biblioteca di San Marco, Cl. iv. Cod. 493.	II.	...	114
15	XV. " "	ROVIGO, Accademia dei Concordi, Cod. 41	II.	...	132 or 133

D. INSULAR.					
(1) <i>Solway Firth and River Humber.</i>					
1	1351 (?) Anonymous	FIRENZE, Biblioteca Laurenziana Gad. Reliq. 9.	...	14	17
2	1411/15 Albertin de Virga	WIEN, Sammlung Fjedor	...	...	...
3	1459 Fra Mauro	VENEZIA, R. Biblioteca di San Marco (Museo).	...	51	50
(2) <i>Solway Firth and River Tyne.</i>					
1	ca. 1384 Anonymous "Pinelli"	LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 19510	II.	21	20
2	" " "Combitis"	VENEZIA, R. Biblioteca di San Marco, Cl. vi., Cod. 213.	II.	20	22
3	ca. 1489 Zuan da Napoli	LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 73 (6).	III. d	...	71
(3) <i>Solway Firth and River Tweed.</i>					
1	1462 Petrus Roselli	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. C. 13611	IV.	43	52
2	ca. 1489 [Petrus Roselli]	LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 73 (4)	IV.	...	70
E. SEMI-INSULAR.					
(1) <i>Solway Firth and River Tyne.</i>					
1	XV. Anonymous	MODENA, Biblioteca Estense No. 13	III. c	...	...
(2) <i>Solway Firth and River Tweed.</i>					
1	1436 Andrea Bianco	VENEZIA, R. Biblioteca di San Marco, Cl. z. Cod. 76.	...	33	37
2	1448 "	MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F. 260 inf. (1).	II.	34	43

APPENDIX I.—*continued.*

		Type of Scotland.	Kretsch- mer.	Uziell.	Probable Type of Boundary.
	<i>Damaged and Illegible.</i>				
1	XIV. Johannes [da Carignano]	FIRENZE, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Naut. No. 2.	3	9	A. 4
2	1447. Petrus Roselli	VOLTERRA, Museo Guarnacci	42	...	A. 3
3	1497. Jehuda Ben Zara	ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Borgiana VII.	...	399	A. 3
4	XV. Conte Hectomani Fredueci	WEIMAR, Grossherzoglichebibliothek	75	150	B. 2
5	XV. ["]	LUCCA, Biblioteca Governativa, Cod. 2720.	...	448	B. 2
6	XV. Anonymous	LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 2712 F.	...	...	B. 2

TABLE showing the Number of Charts using each Form of Boundary in the various Types of Scotland.

[illegible]

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF CHARTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY RECORDED BY UZIELLI AND KRETSCHMER,
BUT NOT EXAMINED.

			Kretschmer.	Uzielli.
1	1458.	Anonymous Venetian	PARIS, Bibliothèque Walckenaer	48
2	1465.	Gratiosus Benincasa	VICENZA, Museo Civico	54
3	1469.	"	PARIS, Montelay Collection	58
4	1470.	"	VENEZIA, Biblioteca dei Chierici Regolari	60
5	1471.	"	MURANO, Biblioteca di San Michele	62
6	1472.	Anonymous	GENOVA, Biblioteca Universitaria	63
7	1480(?)	Jehu da Ben Zara	ROMA, Archivio dell Collegio di Propaganda	395
8	1489.	Albinus de Canepa	MILANO, Bibl. ed Arch. Sola-Busea-Serbelloni	68
9	XV.	Anonymous	PERUGIA, Biblioteca Comunale	122
10	XV.	"	VERONA, Conte F. Miniscalchi Erizzo.	125
11	XV.	"	VENTIMIGLIA LIGURE [Biblioteca Apionana]	128
12	XV.	"	VENEZIA, Maresi Bazolle	473
13	XV. (?)	Pietro Rosso	FORLÌ, Conte Giuliano Merenda	474
14	XV.	Anonymous	FIRENZE, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Magl. Cl. xix. p. 7	500
15	XV.	"	VENEZIA, Biblioteca Marciana	514
16	XV.	"	GAP, Archives Départementals des Hautes-Alps, E. 470	...

(1) Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Charts recorded by Kretschmer which do not contain Scotland :—

Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9 (*b*), (*d*), (*e*), (*f*), (*g*), (*h*), (*i*), (*k*), (*l*), 37, 38, 39, 67, 73.

(2) Charts described by Kretschmer as of the Fifteenth Century, which are really of the Sixteenth Century :—

Nos. 47, 49.

(3) Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Mappae Mundi and Charts recorded by Uzielli which do not contain Scotland :—

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 29, 36, 49, 63, 66, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 106, 111, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 126, 131, 132 or 133, 341, 394, 396, 402, 469, 470, 472, 504.

(4) Charts which are twice recorded by Uzielli under different numbers :—

Nos. 25, 27 and 393 ; 45 and 404 ; 129 and 475 ; 130 and 135 ; 133 and 134 ; 248 and 397 ; 390 and 405.

(5) Charts described by Uzielli as of the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Century, which are really of the Sixteenth Century :—

Nos. 24, 40, 41, 45, 108, 111, 112, 124, 130, 400, 515.

APPENDIX III.

LIST OF CHARTS OF THE OLIVES-MARTINES TYPE (No. VI.) CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF SCOTTISH-ENGLISH BOUNDARY EMPLOYED.

		Uzielt.
	(1) <i>Central Mountain.</i>	
1	1567 Joan Martines	200/203
2	1568 Domingo Olives	...
3	1578 Joan Martines	485
4	" "	221
5	1589 Jacobus Scottus	233
6	1591 Joan Martines	...
7	1592 Jacobus Scottus	488
8	1592 " "	488
9	XVI. Anonymous	...
10	XVI. "	112
11	XVI. "	?
12	XVI. "	403
	(2) <i>Central Lake.</i>	
1	1538 Bartolomeo Olives	517
2	1550 Jaume Olives	...
3	1553 Matheus Prunes	...
4	1559 " "	...
5	1559 Bartolomeo Olives	421
6	1561 Matheus Prunes	...
7	1578 " "	...
8	1586 " "	...
9	1592 R. di B. de Ferrerios and Matt. Prunes	444
10	1593 Vincentius Demetrius Voltius	236
11	1599 Matheus Prunes	...
12	XVI. Anonymous	...
13	XVI. "	?
14	XVI. "	400
15	XVI. [Matheus Prunes]	...
16	XVI. Anonymous	...
17	1629 J. F. Mon	...
18	1651 Pietro Giovanni Prunes	...

APPENDIX III.—*continued.*

		Uzielli.
(3) <i>Slight Central Widening.</i>		
1	1532 Bartolomeo Olives	414
2	1557 Jaume Olives	417
3	1559 " "	...
4	1561 Bartolomeo Olives	428
5	[1562] " "	...
6	1568 Joan Martines	204
7	1582 " "	...
8	1584 Bartolomeo Olives	224
9	1586 Joan Martines	227
10	XVI. Bartolomeo Olives	...
11	XVI. [Joan Martines]	...
12	XVI. " "	...
13	XVI. Anonymous	...
14	XVI. " "	...
15	XVI. " "	256
(4) <i>Parallel.</i>		
1	1550/6 Joan Martines	...
2	1563 Jaume Olives	45/404
3	1563 " "	485
4	1578 Joan Martines	...
5	1579 " "	...
6	1579 " "	...
7	ca. 1581 Bartolomeo Olives	...
8	1582 Joan Martines	...
9	1583 " "	...
10	1586 " "	...
11	1592 Carlo da Corte	225
12	1593 Jacobus Scottus	234
13	XVI. " "	235
14	XVI. [Joan Martines]	...
15	XVI. Jaume Olives?	...
16	XVI. " ?!	...
17	XVI. Anonymous	281
<i>Damaged and Uncertain.</i>		
1560 (?)	Matheus Prunes	41
BADIA DI CAVA, Biblioteca Nazionale, 40		

(3) *Slight Central Widening.*

PISA, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 11602
 PAVIA, Biblioteca Universitaria, Scaf. I. a. sbu
 LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 21029
 NAPOLI, R. Archivio di Stato Musco, MS. No. LXV.
 ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Urb. Lat. 283
 FIRENZE, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ser. Acq. e don. 183
 LONDON, British Museum, Add. Sloane MS. 5019
 PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. B. 1133
 ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Borgiana X.
 MILANO, Dott. P. F. Veltroni
 OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Rawl. MS. B. 256
 ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 8920
 LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 2860
 FIRENZE, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cl. xiii. Cod. IV.
 VENEZIA, Museo Civico, Correr, Port. 15

(4) *Parallel.*

CORTONA, Accademia Etrusca
 New York, Hispanic Society, No. 16
 MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S. P. II. 4
 LONDON, British Museum, Harl. MS. 3450
 LONDON, Admiralty Library, Va. 3 (1)
 LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 22018
 New York, Hispanic Society, No. 12
 New York, Hispanic Society, No. 18
 CHICAGO, Newberry Library, Ayer Collect. 11
 TORINO, Biblioteca Reale, vol. 165
 CHICAGO, Newberry Library, Ayer Collect. 13
 BOLOGNA, Biblioteca dell' Archigimnasio
 WASHINGTON, Library of Congress
 ROMA, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Urb. Lat. 1710
 LONDON, British Museum, Add. MS. 9917
 New York, Hispanic Society, No. 32
 SIENA, Biblioteca Comunale, Cart. Naut. S. V. 7

Damaged and Uncertain.

BADIA DI CAVA, Biblioteca Nazionale, 40

IV.

CULROSS ABBEY AND ITS CHARTERS, WITH NOTES ON A
FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TRANSMPT. BY WILLIAM DOUGLAS,
F.S.A.Scot.

No authentic record exists of there having been a church at Culross before 1217, the date at which Malcolm, Earl of Fife, granted a charter for the foundation of a new Abbey; but from the legends of St Serf and St Kentigern, and from certain indications in the Abbey buildings, as well as from the presence of some Celtic stones in the churchyard, I think we are quite justified in saying that there was such a church, and that Earl Malcolm's Abbey was built upon its site.

One of these legends, as given by Mr Skene,¹ briefly runs as follows:—

St Serf in the early part of the eighth century came to Adamnan, on the island of Inchkeith, and asked him how he was to dispose of himself and his family. Adamnan told him to occupy Fife. He went to Culross, and after removing the thorns and brushwood from a suitable spot made for himself a habitation. Then the King of the Picts was wroth because he dwelt there without his leave, and sent to have him killed. There was the usual deadly sickness of the King and his cure by the prayers of the Saint. The King gave him the land he inhabited as an offering for ever, and St Serf founded a church and cemetery there. Finally, St Serf died at Dunning, and his body was brought by his disciples to Culross and honourably buried.

The part of the Abbey buildings which strengthens the tradition is to be seen in the lower portion of the existing south wall of the nave, the masonry of which is "arranged in cube courses peculiar to early work."²

Three Celtic stones, of the eighth or ninth century, are now in the churchyard; and as they do not appear to have been previously described, I may mention that one is at present resting against the wall of the church near the entrance door. It seems to be a fragment of a free-standing cross-shaft which had been sculptured on four sides. Its front and back have been defaced, but on both the outer edges the Celtic ornamentation is still fairly distinct. On one side the design is that of the key pattern and spirals combined, and on the other of

¹ *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 255.

² M'Gibbon and Ross, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 234.

the key pattern only. The fragment measures 31 inches long, 16 inches broad, and 8 inches thick. The second is the half of a pedestal-base and is also beside the church door. It is ornamented with a dog-tooth border, and measures 42 inches by 23 inches, and is 28 inches high. The socket for the shaft is 22 inches by 9 inches. The third also appears to be a part of a cross-shaft. It is partly embedded in the ground, and is at present serving the purpose of a border to a flight of steps near the north-east corner of the churchyard. I have not been able to examine it properly.



Fig. 1. Cross-shaft at Culross Abbey.

When Earl Malcolm granted the whole schyre of Culenros in 1217 there was a church there at that time, for it is included in his charter.

The first authentic record of the Abbey appears in the *Melrose Chronicle*, where it is stated, under date 1217, that Malcolm, Earl of Fife,¹ founded the new Abbey of Culross, that a deputation was despatched to it from Kinloss on the 18th of March 1217, and that Sir Hugh, a prior of Kinloss, was made the first Abbot. The note runs in these words:—

“Fundata est abbathia de Kilinros a domino Malcolmmo comite de Fif, ad quam abbathiam missus est conventus vii kalendas Marcii [Feb. 23] de Kinlos cum dompno Hugone primo abbate de Kilinros quondam priore de Kinlos: venit ergo idem conventus apud Kilinros xv kalendas Aprilis [March 18].”²

This note gives no information as to the nature of Earl Malcolm's gift, and the original charter seems to have been lost, for it is unknown to any of the books on Culross that I have consulted.

A transumpt of the charters of the early gifts to Culross Abbey has come into my hands, with other papers which at one time had been in the possession of the family of the Colvilles of Cleish, the hereditary bailies of the lordship of Culross, and in it appears the

¹ Malcolm was the sixth Earl of Fife, and grandson of Earl Duncan, who founded the nunnery at North Berwick. He died in 1228, and was buried, according to the *Book of Pluscarden*, in St Servanus' church at Culross.

² *Chronica de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club), p. 129.

charter by Earl Malcolm to the monks of Culross for the foundation of their new Abbey.

The transumpt records that on the 17th of September 1450, Sir John Broune, monk of Culross, appeared in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, carrying with him seven original charters in favour of the Abbot and Convent of Culross, all in perfect condition, with their seals attached, granted by Duncan, Earl of Fife, Reginald de Waren, Alexander Wallace, King Robert the Bruce, and three by King Alexander II., and presented them to the Provost of Edinburgh, sitting in his chair of judgment, and asked him to give his authority to have them reduced in public form, because, owing to the dangers of the road, the Abbot and Convent might fail to prove their rights through the loss or decay of the writs. The Provost consented, and ordered the acting notary, Thomas Broune, a clerk of St Andrews diocese, to make the transumpt. This being done, the Provost, after ascertaining that the copy agreed with the originals, commanded the common seal of the burgh of Edinburgh to be appended, so that as much faith might adhere to the transumpt as to the original charters.

More than a hundred years later, on the 27th December 1556, one John Litill, in the name of William,¹ Commendator of Culross, presented this transumpt again to the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh, "and becaus the samyn seill wes auld and habill to dekey haistely, swa that the samyn culd nocht be knawin, desyrit theme to hing their commoun seill of new thairto agane, quhairto thei consentit." This second seal is still hanging to the transumpt, but the original one has been "able to decay," though the tag by which it was attached still remains.

Earl Malcolm's charter of 1217 is preserved to us in a charter of confirmation by Alexander II., which in turn is confirmed and quoted at length in the charter by Robert I. submitted for transumpt. It may be translated as follows:—

MALCOLM, EARL OF FIFE'S CHARTER.

[1217] To all the sons of holy mother church both clerics and laymen present and to come who this charter shall see or hear Malcolm Earl of Fife sends greeting in the Lord. Know ye all that I have given granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to God St Mary and St Servanus of Culenros and to the monks of the Cistercian order serving and who shall forever serve God there, for the foundation of their new Abbey, for the weal of the soul of my lord King William and the souls of all his

¹ William Colville, a natural son of Mr Robert Colville of Hiltown.

predecessors and for the weal of the soul and prosperity of my lord King Alexander King of Scotland and his parents and successors, and for the weal of the souls of myself, my father and my mother and the souls of all my predecessors and successors, the whole land of the schyre of Culenros¹ by its right marches with church and castle and all the just pertinents of the said schyre, and the land of Quyltys² by its right marches and with all its just pertinents, and the land of Ennevert³ by its right marches and with all its just pertinents, and the land of Abercromby⁴ by its right marches and with all its just pertinents, and a toft within the town of Casteltoun⁵ with its right marches and liberties, and twenty pounds of sterlings from the monastery of Northberwic annually to be uplifted forever, and ten pounds of Earl's ferry⁶ (*passagio comitis*) annually to be possessed forever and the church of Tulybothwyn⁷ with all its just pertinents and the land of Goger⁸ next the water of Bonane⁹ by its right marches and with all its just pertinents, together with sixty shillings of sterlings from the fermes of Logynathrane¹⁰ annually to be uplifted forever, for sixty acres of the said land of Goger taken away from the said monks by perambulation of the country made in the presence of me Malcolm Earl of Fife, and thirty three pounds of sterlings six shillings and eight pennies of annual rent in the Town of Couper and mills of the same Town¹¹ for the lands of Munchany and Rathulyth¹² which lands the said monks had

¹ It is impossible now to define the boundaries of "the whole land of the shire of Culross," but a fair idea of its extent can be obtained from the lands gifted to Lord Colville of Culross in 1589 (see p. 87).

² This is "Quhiteys" in Earl Duncan's charter, and "Cultis" in the gift to Lord Colville. The name survives in Cult-hill of the Salines, near Powmill.

³ Inzievar.

⁴ Crombie. The old unroofed church of Crombie lies near the orchard of Craigflower and its ivy-covered walls surround many graves of the Colville family. In the garden itself is a ruin called "the witch's tower," which may be the fortalice of Crombie referred to in old charters.

⁵ Castletown was the old name for Dunimarle.

⁶ Alexander Wod of Grange obtained on 21st May 1572 a royal charter of Earlsferry (*passagium comitis de Fyfe*), paying annually therefor one penny to the King in blanch farm, and to the Commendator of Culross, who consents to the gift, ten shillings annually. The charter tells that the ferry had been so rarely used that the sailors of the haven had been forced to leave, and in order that the ferry may be re-established the King makes this grant. —*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1546-80, No. 2067.

⁷ Tullibody. This was "Tullibotheny" in 1195 (see Johnston's *Place Names*). It does not appear in the 1587 List of Temporalities, nor in the gift to Lord Colville.

⁸ Gogar, in the parish of Logie, next the river Devon. It appears under the name of Gogare, Jargrayis, Powis and Atheray, in the gift to Lord Colville.

⁹ Devon, probably miscopied for Dovane.

¹⁰ Logie-Airthrey.

¹¹ An annual rent from the mills of Cowper is in the gift to Lord Colville.

¹² Montquhany and Rathillet. Rathillet was granted with other lands to Duncan, Earl of Fife, in 1160, by Malcolm IV. —*Scots Peerage*, vol. iv. p. 7.

by gift from me and for the said sum of money conditionally resigned to me according as in my charter to the said monks is more at length contained. Wherefore I will that the said monks shall uplift annually the foresaid £33, 6s. 8d. without any hindrance or contradiction from anyone as is above said until I shall provide in a competent place to the said monks as much or a more ample annual rent to be granted by me or my successors. And all these donations lands possessions pensions and liberties, the said monks shall hold by this present charter in free forest in fee and heritage of me my heirs and successors whomsoever in wood and in plain in meadows and pastures in moors and in marshes in ponds and mills in waters, fishings and with all other easements and liberties as well not named as named as well under the earth as above the earth which to the same lands pertain or may pertain in anyway in future with sac and soc, thole and theme infangandthefe,¹ in free pure and perpetual alms as freely quietly fully and honourably as any alms by the order of the Cistercians in the kingdom of Scotland is freely quietly fully and honourably held or possessed, and knowing that I and my heirs and successors whosoever shall answer to the King for forinsec service for the said lands forever, so that no man for whatsoever cause or reason shall be able to ask exact or extort anything by reason of the foresaid lands rents and possessions from the said monks in my name or in that of my heirs or successors, except only the suffrage of their devout prayers. In witness whereof to this present charter my seal is appended. Witnesses, Laurence son of Osuey, Nesis of Ramsay, Big Peter his son, William de Wallonis, Hugh of Abernethy, with many others.

This charter is confirmed by King Alexander II. on 24th February 1225, at Dundee, before these witnesses: Thomas of Stirling, Archdeacon of Glasgow; Henry of Stirling, son of the Earl; John of Maxwell; John of Hay; and this confirmation is in its turn confirmed by King Robert the Bruce on 5th December 1318, at Scone, before these witnesses: Bernard Abbot of Aberbroth our chancellor, William of Lindesay our chamberlain, Duncan Earl of Fife, Malise Earl of Stratherne, Robert of Keth, Gilbert le Hay knights.

The following is an abstract of the other charters included in the transumpt:—

REGINALD DE WAREN'S CHARTER.

[1231?] Charter by Reginald de Waren,² granting in perpetual alms to

¹ Suits-at-law within the jurisdiction; the right to exact toll; and the right to punish a thief caught within the grantee's jurisdiction.—Cosmo Innes's *Legal Antiquities*, pp. 57-8.

² Reginald de Warenne grants a charter, before 1231, to Laurence Oliphant, of lands near Forgan-denny, and the above charter may possibly be of about the same date (*Scots Peerage*, vi. p. 530).

the monks of Culenros, for the weal of his soul, &c., 30 acres of land in feu, lying in the territory of Gilgerhistun,¹ viz., 21½ acres bounded, as described in these words, "que jacent a fonte ex orientali parte de Gosganlu sursum per Milneburne usque ad oppositum magni fontis de Kyntulane et inde ascendendo versus aquilonem usque ad nigram moram et sic inter moram et terram arabilem usque ad Farniflat," and within Ferniflat 8½ acres next to the land of Robert de Waren. Holding of me and my heirs with all the easements and liberties pertaining to Gilgerhistun as freely and quietly, fully and honourably as any other alms is held in the kingdom of Scotland; and the said monks and their assignees are free and immune from the charge of multure, and they shall have the right to grind their corn, immediately after harvest, at the mill of Gilgerhistun before anyone whomsoever. The clause of warranty runs in these words:—"Et ego et heredes mei warantizabimus predictis monachis et eorum assignatis predictam terram cum omnibus asiamentis et libertatibus predictis et acquietavimus ab omni exacsione et terreno servicio et demanda seculari in perpetuum erga omnes mortales." Witnesses, Master John de Enerleya; Reginald younger of Waren, Malcolm his brother, Robert de Waren, David de Waren his brother, Philip de Ebb, Robert Raa, Osberto, masons.

ALEXANDER II.'S CHARTER.

Charter by Alexander II., granting and confirming Earl Malcolm's gift to the monks of Culross, of the pension of £43, 6s. 8d. from the rents and small customs of the town of Cupro in Fyffe, and from the mills of the same town, and also from the lordship, and from the rents of Earlsferry (*de redditibus passagii sui de Norberwic integraliter annuatim precipiendis*),² for the resignation of the lands of Bothulith and Amerham.³ Holding of the said earl and his heirs in free pure and perpetual alms, as any money alms or pensions of the Cistercians in Scotland are held or possessed. Therefore let no man in any way deprive the said monks of the said £43, 6s. 8d. nor make any demands or extortions save of their entirely devout prayers.

At Cuprum. Witnesses: Robert and Randolph chaplains, Henry de Stirling son of Earl David: the 15th day of November and 16th year of our reign [1230].

¹ Gilgerhiston was the old name for Kilgraston near the Bridge of Earn, and Kintillo, close by, corresponds to Kyntulane; but Kilgraston does not appear in the gift to Lord Colville.

² From this it may be inferred that the boats plied between Earlsferry and North Berwick.

³ Probably a mistranscription for Rathulyth and Munchay (see Earl Malcolm's charter, p. 70).

ERRATA.

P. 73. line 9. *for* 1234 *read* 1231.

P. 89. lines 10 and 12. *for* 1229 *read* 1232.

P. 93. line 2 from foot. *for* 1586 *read* 1568.

ALEXANDER II.'S CHARTER.

Charter of Alexander II., forbidding any to vex the monks of Culenros by demands for secular service:—"Mandamus vobis firmiter precipiendo quatenus monachos de Culenros non vexetis auxilium quod ad terras eorum pertinet exigentes Comes enim de Fyffe pro omnibus forinsecis serviciis earundem terris contingentibus sicut per cartam ipsorum perpendimus tenetur respondere Unde volumus ut a dicto Comite auxilium quod ad terras dictorum monachorum pertinet exigatis.

At Edinburgh, 12th November, the 17th year of his reign [1234].

ALEXANDER II.'S CHARTER.

Charter of Alexander II., forbidding any to sow or hunt in the lands of the monks of Culross, within the shire (*schyra*) and lands of Abercrumby, Ennevert, Gogar, and of Quyltis, all held in free forest by the Abbot and Convent, without licence from the monks, under penalty of £10.

At Stirling (Striuelyn). Witnesses: William Earl of Marr, Nicholas of Foullys, John of Stirling: the 17th December and 21st year of his reign [1234].

ALEXANDER WALLACE'S CHARTER.

Charter of Alexander Wallace son of Sir John Wallace resigning the feu of Pouerhuch and Duberney and in Gilestone¹ into the hands of the Abbot & Convent of Cullynnros. He swears, touching the holy evangels, that he never for himself nor for his heirs shall claim in anyway any right in the said lands, and if anyone shall make any claim to his right in the said feu at any time he shall declair it by the tenor of this present writing to be wrongful and void.—At the Monastery of Culenros, Sunday, the feast of the Appostales Simon and Jude 1341.

DUNCAN, EARL OF FIFE'S CHARTER.

[Before 1320] To all the sons of the holy mother church both clerics and laymen present and to come who shall see or hear this charter Duncan Earl of Fife, son of Earl Duncan, son of Earl Colban, sends greeting in the Lord. Wit ye all that I have given granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to God and

¹ "Pureheuch prope pontin de Irne" occurs in the charter to Lord Colville in 1589 (see p. 88). Dunberney is also near the Bridge of Earn, and Gilestone is, as before suggested, Kilgraston.

St Mary and St Servanus of Culenros and to the monks of the Cistercian order serving or who shall forever serve God there, all the donations rents pensions all the lands possessions and liberties which umquhile Malcolm Earl of Fife my ancestor, patron and founder of the foresaid Monastery of Culenros, freely gave to the said Monastery and monks thereof, and by his charter fully confirmed, towards a new foundation of the same, for the weal of the souls of King William and his predecessors and for the weal of the souls of Lord Alexander King of Scotland, and all his parents and successors, and for the weal of his own soul and of his father and mother, and the souls of all his predecessors and successors, the whole land of Culenross and the shire [*schryam*] thereof by all its right marches, with church and castle and with all the just pertinents of the said shire, and the land of Quhiteys¹ by its right marches and with all its just pertinents, and the land of Enuerth² by its right marches and with all its just pertinents, and the land of Abercromby³ by its right marches and with all its just pertinents, and a certain croft within the town of Casteltone⁴ with its right marches and liberties, and the church of Tulybothwyn⁵ with all its just pertinents, and the land of Gogeris⁶ next the water of Bonane by its right marches and with all its just pertinents, together with sixty shillings of sterlings of the rents of Logynthray⁷ annually for ever to be taken, for sixty acres of the said land of Gogeris, taken away from the same monks by perambulation of the country made in the presence of lord Malcolm the Earl, and £33 of sterlings and 6s. 8d. of annual rent in the town of Couper and mills of the same town, according to the tenor of Earl Malcolm's charter concerning the said sum, and £20 of sterlings to be taken annually forever of the Monastery of Northberwic, and £10 of sterlings of the Earl's ferry (*passagio comitis*) to be taken annually for ever. All these donations lands possessions pensions and liberties, this my present charter confirms. To be held by the foresaid monks of me and my heirs in wood and plain in meadows and pastures in moors marshes in ponds and mills in waters and fishings and with all other easements and liberties which pertain to the said lands or may in anyway pertain, in free pure and perpetual alms as freely quietly fully and honourably, as any alms of the order of the Cistercians is in the

¹ Miscopied for Quhitlys, *i.e.* Cults.

² Innevert in Earl Malcolm's charter, *i.e.* Inzievar.

³ Crombie.

⁴ Now Dunimarle.

⁵ Tullibody.

⁶ Gogar lies in the parish of Logie, Bridge of Allan, and is near the Devon.

⁷ Logynathrane in Earl Malcolm's charter, *i.e.* Logie-Airthrey.

kingdom of Scotland, freely quietly fully and honourably held or possessed. And although among other goods that may be lost through war and violence of war, owing to the loss of the charters and confirmations of the foresaid lands, I will and concede to the said monks, for the weal of the soul and prosperity of my lord Robert King of Scotland and all his relations and successors, and for the weal of the souls of my father and my mother and of all my predecessors and successors, that the foresaid monks may fully enjoy and possess all their lands, donations and pensions and rents foresaid, with all their liberties, as in any time they were enjoyed and possessed before the foresaid war, notwithstanding the loss of their charters and their foresaid confirmations. And knowing that I and my heirs undertake to perform all secular service due to the lord the King for the foresaid lands (*sciendo quod ego et heredes mei manucapimus forinsecum servitium domini Regis de omnibus predictis terris facere*), shall warrant and defend the foresaid monks in all, as becomes all the foresaid lands donations pensions annual rents and liberties. Witnesses: William de Lambertoun Bishop of St Andrews, Robert Abbot of Dunfermline, Sir Michael of Wemyss, his son Sir David of Wemyss, knights, and many others.

The following additional gifts to the Abbey have been gleaned from the Register of the Great Seal.

ROBERT I.'S CHARTER.

[1327] King Robert I.¹ grants to the Abbot and Convent of Culross for the weal of his soul, and of the souls of all his predecessors and successors, the barony of Phillipston of Eu² in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh and Constabulary of Lithcu (Linlithgow), which the said monks had formerly held of him for forinsec service and with attendance at courts, to be held now in free pure and perpetual alms, without any forinsec service. Given at Scone, 16 Jan. in the 21st year of his reign [1327].—*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1306-1424, App. I. No. 25.

¹ During Edward II.'s invasion of the Lothians (Aug. 1322), King Robert the Bruce retired to Fife, and camped with his army at Culross (*Annals of Scotland*, ii. p. 127). This grant may have been a reward for services then rendered by the monks.

² The barony thus gifted seems to have consisted of some half-dozen acres lying on the south shore of the Firth of Forth between Grangepans and Bridgeness, and within sight of Culross Abbey across the water. It is now partly built over, and the name survives in "Philpington Terrace," not far from the stone which marks the east end of the Roman wall. In the 1587 *List of Temporalities* it is named "Grange of Philpewstoun," and in Lord Colville's gift "Grange of Carriden." In a sasine of 1602 to John Hamilton it is named "Philpeustone, otherwise called Culrois-grange."

WALTER MURRAY OF TULLIEBARDINE'S CHARTER.

[1363?] Walter Murray of Tulliebardine grants to the Monastery and Monks of Culross for the weal of the souls of himself and Margaret his wife and of those of his parents, etc., his lands of Auldtone of Pethwere, the lands of Cuthildurane and the lands of Castelbege¹ lying in Stratherne. To be held of him as freely as any other lands are held by any Monastery of the order of Cistercians. And he warrants the monks free and quit of all service for the said lands except for the mass for the dead, a daily requiem, the help of their prayers, and for the service due to the King so far as attaches to the said lands. Confirmed by Robert III. in the first year of his reign [1390].—*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1306-1424, No. 825.

JAMES IV.'S CHARTER.

1490, 14 Ap.—James IV.'s charter to Sir John Hog, Abbot of Culross, grants that the town of Culross be made a free burgh of barony.—*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, No. 1944.

JOHN LISTOUN'S CHARTER.

1505, 7 May.—James IV. confirms a feu charter by the Provost (John Listoun) and Canons of St Salvator's to the Monastery of Culross of the lands of Balgonquhare² supporting two chaplaincies in that church.—*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, No. 2850.

ALIENATION OF CHURCH LANDS.

The alienation of the church lands of Culross appears to have begun when the Commendators granted leases and feu-farms to provide money for various purposes such as, as is stated in a 1538 charter (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1513-46, No. 1923), for the repair of the Monastery and houses of the monks, for the relief from the hands of creditors, and especially for their part of the composition of the great tax imposed on the prelates of the Scottish Church by the Apostolic See. A number of the Commendators' charters are recorded in the *Reg. Mag. Sig.* from 1538 onwards, the first being granted to Lord Erskine of the lands of Gogar and Gargrais. There are others noted in Laing's *Charters*, the first being by Thomas Nudre in 1525, granting to John Fethy a 19 years'

¹ Pitfar and Castlebeg are named on the 1-inch O.S. map, lying 3 m. east of Dollar. Coldrain is given (*Scots Peerage*, i. p. 455) as the modern name of Cuthildurane. In Lord Colville's charter Pitwar appears.

² Balgonar lies 1 mile north of Saline.

tack of the Foddismill (No. 350). There are some in other collections, such as those belonging to the Register House and to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (vol. xli.). There are also some Culross charters in the possession of Lord Sands, one of which, of date 1543, grants the Chapeltown of Both to David May, and there are two of 1550 and 1553 in my own possession which grant the Fullermills of Crummy and the lands of Barhill to Andrew Wilson and Thomas Mason respectively.

These charters are signed by the Commendators and the monks, and it is interesting to observe that most of them are also signed by Robert [Reid], bishop of Moray and abbot of Kinloss, in token of his assent as father abbot of Culross, showing that the abbey was attached in some way to that of Kinloss.

POST-REFORMATION DOCUMENTS.

By Acts of Parliament 22nd December 1561 and 15th February 1561-2 one-third of the revenue of the Roman Catholic Church was constituted into a fund for, among other purposes, the sustentation of Protestant ministers, leaving the other two-thirds in the hands of "the auld possessouris," and the Bishops, Abbots, and other church dignitaries were ordered to make a return of their total rentals. One of these returns will be found in a MS. volume in the Advocates' Library (No. 31, 3, 12), and in it (on pp. 30-4 unnumbered) appears a detailed note of—

"The rentale of the haille benefice of the Abbaye of Culross in all thingis als weill of fermes as of mailles, annuellis, teinds and all uther deweteis quhilk the said Abbay and plaice hes bene in possessioun of in zeirs bigane. Made the xxiii. day of Januer in the zeir of God 1561."

This list contains many names of interest, both of persons and lands, but as most of these occur again in the 1587 list, it is not given here, further than to mention that the names of Lady Staynhous for the lands of Blair Poffillis and Wedderhill, David Waid for Wester Ingzewer, Lord Lindesay for Cassinduly, Richard Carmychaell for Atherny, Andrew Hoberne for Tuliboll, John Fewthe for Corn-mills of Crumy, Andrew Wilson for Walkmyln of Crumy, John Callander for Powys, and others seem to have dropped out from the fuller list of 1587. There is another MS. in the Advocates' Library (No. 31, 3, 13) giving "The Rent of the whole of Great Benefices within this Kingdome as they were given up att the Generall Assumption in the yeare 1561." That for the Abbacy of Culross is as follows:—

In Money	.	.	.	.	.	£768 16 0
						<i>ch b f</i>
Wheat	.	.	.	.	.	3 3 0

	<i>ch</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>
Beare	15	10	2
Aittis	13	13	0
Capons	7	doz.	
Poultrie	26	doz.	
Salt	22	b.	
Straw	8	truses	
Cheese	80	staine	
Butter	8	staine	
Wedders	7		
Lambs	22		

paid out of the annuells Saltpans and Ackers about Culross, the Lands of Blair and Poffallis, the Granges, Balgonnie, Inzevers, Blairhall, Valleyfield, Pitferrin, the Quilts Atherny Couper Milne in Fyfe, Carriddin, Gogar, Jargrays, Crummie, the Lands of Lurg and Kincardin and the two pairts of the kirk of Tulliboll and the teynds of some of the Laird of Cleyhes lands and others.

Then followed the Act of Parliament of 26th July 1587 for the *Annexatioun of the Temporalities of the Benefices to the Crown*, when all the revenue of the Church was annexed to the Crown, on the ground that the Crown had been greatly hurt and impoverished in past times by the gift of the greatest part of its proper patrimony to the Abbeyes, Monasteries and Clergy, and that the necessity for such disposition had ceased.

One of the lists of rentals relative to the annexation in 1587 is in the Register House under the title *Charge of Temporality of Kirklands*. The MS. is bound in two volumes, and contains a long detailed list of the Culross Abbey possessions. As this does not appear to have been printed before, and as it continues the story of the lands gifted to the Abbey, it is printed here in full.

CHARGE OF THE TEMPORALITY OF KIRKLANDS, NORTH SIDE OF THE FORTH

(relative to Annexation of Benefices to the Crown in the year 1587).

PERTHSHIRE.

ABBEY OF CULROSS.

1. Feu-maills of the Lands of Lurg and Kincardin in the Lordship of Culross, and 17 acres on east and west sides of town of Culross, set in feu to John Colville, eldest lawful son of Alexander, Commendator of Culross

Lurg and Kincardin	£85	16	0
17 acres	17	13	4
augmentation of both	3	6	8

2. Feu-farm of half lands of Sandis and Kellewod, set in feu to George Bruce
in Culros £5 0 0
8 poultry 0 8 0
augmentation 0 5 0
3. Feu-farm of lands of Bargadie, Corstoun, Brigtoun, Curreishoill, part of
mill called Schyrismilne, with the new mill, all set in feu to Robert Bruce
of Blairhall £19 3 4
poultry fowls 52, 32 thereof sold for 0 16 0
one "eik wedder" for arriage, &c.
grassum 0 14 0
augmentation 5 16 0
4. Feu-farm of lands of Blairhall (with teinds). £5 5 0
poultry 6
(teinds) 6 bolls of bere
also 3 tenements lying contiguous, 2 acres in Over Gachie, 2 pieces of land
in Pettie-commoun £4 6 8
a saltpan and 5 roods of land whereon it is built 4 0 0
a piece wasteland within the sea, called Oxeraig 0 0 6
another saltpan beside the kirk of St Mungo 2 0 0
all set in feu to Robert Bruce of Blairhall.
5. Feu-farm of lands of Valafeild set in feu to John Prestoun . . . £13 17 4
augmentation 0 12 8
capons 24
1 eik wedder
6. Feu-farm of lands of Wester Cumray, with tower, &c., set in feu to Alex-
ander, Commendator of Culross, and Nicolas Dundas his spouse £4 12 0
poultry 11
1 wedder
7. Feu-duty of West quarter of the lands of Kincardin (and teind sheaves) in
barony of Culross, set in feu to Henry Prymrois, son and apparent heir of
Peter P. of Kincardin :
wheat 6 bolls ; bere 6 bolls ; oats 26 bolls ; capons 3 ; "wodder scheip,
a half and a quarter" ; straw 1 turse :
augmentation, wheat 6 pecks ; bere 6 pecks ; oats 26 pecks.
(entry deleted)
8. Feu-farm of half lands of Ovirtoun of Pitfar £2 8 4
augmentation 0 12 0
4 poultry fowls
also the quarter town and lands of O. of P. 1 4 2
augmentation 0 6 0
2 poultry fowls
set in feu to William Tempilman in Pitfar.
9. Feu-farm of lands of Castelbeg and quarter of Over Petfar, set in feu to
Helen Rowane in liferent and David Crystie her son heritably £3 3 6
augmentation 0 0 6

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10. Feu-farm of lands of Heuchfeild, set in feu to John Oliphant, third lawful son of dec. Peter O. of Turingis £1 12 0
 augmentation 0 3 4
11. Feu-farm of lands of Wester Boith Kirkcoun called Wallis and Eschis, 1 acre in Nether Gagie, 3 acres of land called Barcroft, and 4 acres beside the chapel called Barchapell : set in feu to Alexander Gaw of Maw £16 0 0
 poultry 21
12. Feu-duty of lands called Woudmylnis croft (and teindsheaves), set in feu to Robert Norwell in Wodheid :
 bere 2 bolls
13. Feu-farm of part of the arable land lying on east side of Culros in Petty Commonis, set in feu to Robert Bruce of Blairhall £1 11 4
14. Feu-farm of 4 tenements of land in town of Culros, and 2 acres in Over Gagie, set in feu to Mr Edward Bruce of Easter Kennet £1 14 0
15. Feu-farm of 2 meadows called Brydeis meadow and Bruces meadow, set in feu to Robert Bruce of Easter Kennat (*sic*) £0 13 4
 (entry deleted)
16. Feu-farm of lands of Westcroft of Barhill, set in feu to John Broun £2 5 4
17. Feu-farm of lands of Burwen and half lands of Quhitehilis, set in feu to William Aitkin £4 3 8
 wedders 1
 cane fowls 10
18. Feu-farm of lands of Lambhill, set in feu to Henry Bairner £6 3 8
 (entry deleted)
19. Feu-duty of fourth part of Barnhill of Pitfer, set in feu to John Thomesoun £1 9 0
 (entry deleted)
20. Feu-farm of a tenement and yard in Culros and 3 acres in Saltoun croft, set in feu to Andrew Gibsoun £1 3 0
21. Feu-farm of 6 acres in Over Gagie, set in feu to William Broun £0 18 0
22. Feu-farm of lands of Castelhill, 2 tenements and 2 acres, set in feu to James Bla £4 10 8
 poultry 8
23. Feu-farm of half Sandis and Kelliwod, mansion, &c., set in feu to Robert Sandis £5 10 10
 capons 8
 eik wedders 1
24. Feu-farm of 3 acres in barony of Culross, set in feu to Thomas M'Brek £0 9 0
25. Feu-farm of lands of Wester Grange, Badfische and Catterflatis, set in feu to Andrew Stewart £7 10 4
 poultry 12
 lambs 1

26. Feu-farm of lands of Fernyhirst, set in feu to Robert Hutoun . . . £1 5 0
27. Feu-farm of lands of Cokclairis, set in feu to Mr John Hutoun of Easter Ballelisk £1 5 0
28. Feu-farm of lands of Chapelton of Both, and pasturage to 1 bull, 12 soumes, and 2 horses in Souterrig, set in feu to David May . . . £1 13 4
 poultry 4 } or in money 0 3 4
 lambs 1 }
29. Feu-farm of lands of Easter Grange and pendicles thereof called Devoly, set in feu to Adam Maistertoun £11 0 0
 capons 16
 wedder sheep 1
30. Feu-farm of lands of Ovirtoun and half part of the Hedis, set in feu to Robert Sandis £5 16 8
 poultry 12
 wedder sheep 1
31. Feu-farm of 1 tenement and yard in Culros, 5s.; west half of 5 acres in Gutterflat, 19s.; and 1 acre in Nether Gagie, 6s. 8d., all set in feu to William Henrie in Culros £1 10 8
32. Feu-farm of lands of Bordy, mansion &c., set in feu to Walter Callender . . . £6 1 8
 poultry 14
 eik wedders 1
33. Feu-farm of 1 piece land called Cristinis Welpark, a house, green and 2 tenements with yards in town of Culross, and 2 salt pans, all set in feu to Alexander Gaw of Maw £8 12 0
34. Feu-farm of lands of Lambhill, set in feu to Henrie Bairner now of Lambhill £6 0 4
 augmentation 0 3 4
 poultry 8
35. Feu-farm of lands of Crummy and anchorages of mussels thereof (and teinds), set in feu to James Colvile, for 6 ch. wheat, 7 ch. 1 f. $\frac{1}{2}$ peck bere, 15 ch. oatmeal, 16 bolls horse-corn, 8 bolls oats, 4 doz. capons, 16 truss of straw : sold yearly for £186 17 5
 (entry deleted) "Fife."
36. Feu-farm of certain pieces of land with a tenement and certain meadows in and about Culross, set to said James Colvile £5 3 4
37. Feu-farm of lands of Easter Cumrie and Easter Inzevar, set in feu to John Blacader £15 0 0
 poultry 10
38. Feu-farm of the fourth part lands of Barnhill of Pitfar, set in feu to John Thomsoun £1 9 0
39. Feu-farm of lands of Keir, set in feu to Halbert Broun £2 13 4
 Poultry 6

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40. Feu-farm of lands of Middle Grange and half of the "Heidis," set in feu to James Fentoun £6 6 8
Poultry 12
"Gude wedderis" 1
41. Feu-farm of an acre of land lying beside Culross, set in feu to Gilbert Prymrois, chirurgian : £0 6 8
42. Feu-farm of a tenement and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable land of Merisden, set in feu to Gilbert Prymrois, son of Duncan P. in Culross : £1 12 7
43. Feu-farm of two tenements in town of Culross, set in feu to Gilbert Prymrois, chirurgian : £0 6 8
one acre in Nether Gagie, and two acres called "Burrellis aikeris" 1 0 0
a waste place and saltpan, paying for the pan 4 0 0
salt, 2 bolls
and for each saltpan to be built on the said waste, "alsmekle"—
4 acres of land in Byrefield, with two yards, barn, and wasteland=6 bolls
3 f. here :
all set in feu to the said Gilbert.
44. Feu-farm of an acre of arable land in Over Gagie, set in feu to Mr Edward Bruce, Commissary of Edinburgh : £0 3 0
45. Feu-duty of tenement of houses and yards in Culross. set in feu to said Mr Edward : £0 3 0
46. Feu-duty of two-part lands of Kincairdin with yard adjacent called the Greneyaird (teinds included), set in feu to John Younger £1 0 8
wheat, 8 bolls ; bere, 8 bolls ; oats, 32 b. 3 f. ; capons, 6 ; wedders, 1 ;
trusses of straw, 2 :
augmentation, wheat, 8 pecks ; bere, 8 pecks ; oats, 2 b. 3 pecks ;
and money 6s. 8d.
To the convent :—wheat, 8 pecks ; and money, 6s. 8d.
(Deleted) "registrat befoir and convertit."
47. Feu-duty of half of the quarterlands of Lurg (teinds included), set in feu to Henry M'Brek in Kirkcoun :
wheat, 3 bolls ; bere, 3 bolls ; oats, 13 bolls ; capons, 2 ; a half
wedder :
augmentation, wheat, 3 pecks ; bere, 3 pecks ; oats, 13 pecks.
(Deleted). "registrat befoir and convertit."
48. Feu-duty of a quarter of Lurg (with teinds), set in feu to David Mitchell :
wheat, 6 bolls ; bere, 6 bolls ; oats, 26 bolls ; capons, 3 ; wedders,
half and quarter :
[*augmentation*], wheat, 6 pecks ; bere, 6 pecks ; oats, $1\frac{1}{2}$ bolls, 2 pecks.
(Deleted) "registrat and convertit."
49. Feu-duty of lands of Valeyfeild, with mansion, orchards, &c., set in feu to James Prestoun : £13 6 8
capons, 24
eik wedders, 1
(Deleted) "registrat befoir."

50. Feu-duty of lands of Bad, set in feu to Alexander Maistertoun : £5 6 8
 poultry, 16
 kids, 2 (or 6/8 apiece)
 augmentation £1 6 8
51. Feu-duty of great and small coal in the bounds of lands of Bad, set in feu to Ronald Maistertoun, fiar of Bad : £6 13 4
52. Feu-duty of two yards within the "dykis of the monastrie of Culros with the hous mansioun and cloise thairof on the south syde of the same," set in feu to John Colvill : £1 2 5
53. Feu-farm "of the fewferme and victuellis" of the lands of Lurg and Kincardine, "estimat to xxxij caponis and viij turss of stray," set in feu to said John Colvill : £2 2 0
54. Feu-farm of lands of Wester Cumrie, set in feu to Nicholas Dundas, spouse to the Abbot of Culros £4 12 0
 poultry 11
 wedders 1
 (deleted)
55. Feu-duty of a particle of land called the Coilfauld, a tenement and houses with a little yard "lyand fra the said abbay at the west," and a particle of waste ground "on the west and north partis of the port of the said abbay," and a tenement with close and yard occupied by Alexander Hunter, set in feu to John Colvill £0 13 4
56. Feu-duty of the "half pairt" of the lands of Barhill, lands of Barcruik and tenement of land called the Innis, and yard adjacent, and two waste lands in Culross, and a saltpan and pertinents, set in feu to Mr James Prymrois, viz.
 Barhill £3 6 8
 poultry 8; areage and carriage 0 0 12
 Barcruik 2 0 0
 tenement and yard 0 5 0
 first waste land, and saltpan built thereon 4 0 0
 second, "yeirle quhill it be biggit thereon" 0 0 6
 'and quhen it is biggit' 4 0 0
 teind of the first saltpan 2 bolls of salt
 teind of the other when built, Do
57. Feu-duty of a yard occupied by Archibald Prymrois in Culros, lying within the walls of the monastery, set in feu to Alison Pett, spouse to the said Archibald, and to Mr James Prymrois their son £0 5 0
58. Feu-duty of quarter lands of Lurg (with teindsheaves) and "Coilheugh" thereof, and a saltpan in the lands of Sandis (with power to win coal in said lands and Kellywod and quarter lands of Lurg at their own expense), set in feu to Thomas Sandis of that Ilk
 wheat, 6 b. 1 f. 2 p.; bere, the same;
 oats, 1 ch. 11 b. 2 f. 2 p.
 caponis, $4\frac{1}{2}$; wedders, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$;
 augmentation, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ wedder; 1 capon.
 the said saltpan £2 0 0
 salt, 2 bolls
 (deleted) "registrat befor and convertit."

59. Feu-duty of quarter lands of Lurg (with teindsheaves), set in feu to William Cumyng—

wheat and bere as above; and the rest as above, including augmentation.

(deleted)

60. Feu-duty of following lands, set in feu to George Bruce in Culros :—

a piece of land of Wodheid	£1 0 0
bere 6 firlots	
the 'conventis yaird' in Culros	1 0 0
tenement and yard in Culros	0 2 6
a saltpan with 'craigleif' in bounds of Culros (and teinds)	4 0 0
salt, 2 bolls	
particle of land to build pan on, lying be-east Henry Coweis saltpan (and teinds)	£2 0 0
salt, 2 bolls	
another piece land with saltgirnell and stable thereupon, and 'craigleif' within the bounds of Kincardin	£0 4 6

61. Feu-duty of manse and house adjacent to the 'eist part' of the tolbooth, with the green lying 'at the north and south partis thereof,' with a tenement lying 'on the north part of the Hill,' and 2 pieces of land beside the Abbay, extending to 8 acres or thereby, with the meadows called 'Stewartis waird,' 'Kellie medow,' 'Bruce medow,' and 'Braideis medow,' all feued to James Colvill

the mansions and tenements	£2 10 0
the meadows	2 13 4

62. Feu-duty of a saltpan and 'bray' whereupon the same is built, with lands adjacent extending to 5 particles, set in feu to Mr Edward Bruce, with liberty of 'craigleif' to win panwood in bounds of Sands, Lurg and Kincardin £4 0 0

63. Feu-duty of 2 saltpans lying together beside the town of Culross, with "houssis, biggingis, girnellis, stabillis, and libertie to wyn coillis for sustentatioun therof," lying beside the town, set in feu to George Bruce

£8 0 0

"for the teind in salt . . ."

"Nota, not exprest in the rentall."

64. Feu-duty of the great and small coal in the common mure of Culross, "territorie of the same" and acres lying about the town, "and samekill coill as restis undisponit to utheris be the said abbot," set in feu to James Colvill, son and apparent heir of James Colvill of Easter Weymis, Mr Edward Bruce, Commissary of Edinburgh, John Colvill, son to the abbot, and George Bruce in Culros £20 0 0

reserving 'craigleif' to the Abbot: and providing that if there be "na coill gangand" in the said bounds they shall pay only 40/.

65. Feu-duty of lands of Casteltoun, with pasturage in commony thereof "to the burne of Glencoyis," lying in barony of Muckart, set in feu to David Broun £6 13 4

augmentation £0 8 8
and 26/8 for the herezeld when it shall happen.

66. Feu-duty of a tenement of houses, with 2 yards, in town of Culross, set in feu to Matthew Tailzeour there £0 8 0
67. Feu-duty of lands of Middilgrange and half of the Heydis, in lordship of Culros, set in feu to Patrick Fentoun £6 6 8
 poultry 12
 wedders 1
 (deleted) "antea"
68. Feu-duty of a saltpan at the east part of the town of Culros, houses thereof, and waste land adjacent on west and east, set in feu to George Bruce in Culros £1 0 0
 salt. 2 bolls
69. Feu-duty of lands of Byregrange ($53\frac{1}{4}$, 4 poultry, $13\frac{1}{4}$ augmentation); an acre of arable land in Nether Gagie (6/8); half tenement and yard sometime pertaining to Eupham Patersone in town of Culross (5s.) and all set in feu to Robert Aitkin: £3 18 4
70. Feu-duty of west quarter of lands of Kincairdin, set in feu to Henry Cowhie: wheat and bere, each 6 b. 6 pecks: oats, 26 bolls: capons 4: wedders $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$: straw, 1 truss: (augmentation) oats 26 pecks, wedders $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$.
 (deleted)
71. Feu-duty of a saltpan and 5 particles of land around, in town of Culros, with power to build girnells and stables, and liberty of 'craigleif,' set in feu to Robert Colvill. £4 0 0
72. Feu-duty of saltpan, houses &c. and "liberteis as said is." set in feu to George Bruce in Culros £1 0 0
 salt, 2 bolls.
73. Feu-duty of a tenement and yard in Culros feued to said George 2 0 0
74. Feu-duty of the erection of the town of Culros in a free burgh 10 0 0
 (blanch)
75. Feu-duty of third part lands of Chapelton in lordship of Couper, set in feu to Andrew Campbell in Chapelton £6 10 0
 oats, 2 bolls
 poultry, 12
 (deleted) "Vide Perth, Couper."
76. Feu-duty of lands of Westkirk, Horswaird, and an acre on west part of Nether Gagie, lands of the Heugh with 3 tenements of land, houses and yards adjacent, and 2 houses with pertinents, all in lordship of Culros, set in feu to Alexander Blaw £4 4 4
77. Feu-duty of lands of Lambhill in lordship of Culros, set in feu to Henry Bairdner of Lambhill £6 3 8
 poultry, 8
 (deleted) "antea"

86 PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER 14, 1925.

78. Feu-duty of 2 acres arable in Nether Gagie, set in feu to Walter Sandis
the one acre, in money £0 6 8
the other, in bere, 1 boll $\frac{1}{2}$ boll
79. Feu-duty of lands of Birkinheid, set in feu to David Sandis . . . 1 13 4
poultry, 4
80. Feu-duty of a barn and yard, with transe and passage to east of barn, called
Byrefeildbarne and yard, and 2 acres arable (teinds included) in Byre-
feild, set in feu to William Chatto
the barn and yard £0 4 0
acres and teinds, in bere, 3 bolls
81. Feu-duty of an acre arable in Byrefeild, set in feu to William Chatto
bere, $1\frac{1}{2}$ bolls
82. Feu-duty of two saltpans, with lands, houses, &c., and privileges, set in feu
to John Porterfeild, burgess of Edinburgh £8 0 0
salt, 4 bolls
83. Feu-duty of third part of the half land of Kincarne "rinrig with the rest of
the tennentis thairof" (teinds included), set in feu to David Sandis
wheat and bere, 4 bolls each ; oats, 17 b. 6 pecks ; capons 3, wedders
2, straw 1 truss :
augmentation, wheat and bere 4 pecks each ; oats, 18 pecks.
(deleted)
84. Feu-duty of a saltpan lately built "lyand besyde the sey schore in ane
certane yle ther." with craigleave, &c., set in feu to David Sandis
. £4 0 0
salt, 2 bolls
85. Feu-duty of lands of Wester Comrie with pendicles and pertinents, set in
feu to Nicolas Dundas, wife of Alexander, Commendator of Culros, and
their heirs £4 12 0
poultry 11
wedders 1
(deleted) "antea"
86. Feu-duty of 4 tenements and yards in Culros, 2 acres arable in Over Gagie
with free entry in the mire of Baid to cast turf, heather, &c. in the
common pasturage and myre of Gagie, and of the "wester peice land" of
Pittiecommoun, and another piece arable land there, and meadows called
Braideis medow and Bruce medow, set in feu to Robert Bruce of
Blairhall £4 12 4
87. Feu-duty of lands of Blawkery and half lands of Quhythillis, with meadows
and mures adjacent, set in feu to Edward Sandis £5 16 0
wedders 1
88. Feu-duty of $\frac{1}{2}$ part lands of Ovirtoun of Pitfer, set in feu to William
Rowane, portioner of Pitfer 13s. 10d., ob.
poultry 1
(deleted) "upone Thomsones resignatioun"

89. Feu-duty of lands of Castelbeg and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Ovirtoun of Pitfer, set in feu to David Christie £3 2 6
poultry, 2
(deleted)
90. Feu-duty of $\frac{1}{2}$ lands of Barnhill and $\frac{1}{8}$ of Ovirtoun of Pitfer, set in feu to Andrew Rowane £5 9 0
poultry, 7
91. Feu-duty of lands of Gogar and Jargrayis Easter and Wester, set in feu to John, Lord Erskine £50 0 0
lands of Gogar, in wheat, 1 chalder.
92. Feu-duty of lands of Blair, with tower, fortalice, &c., set in feu to John Hamiltoun younger of Blair and Jean Fairny his spouse . . £2 7 0
poultry, 5
lamb, 1
93. Feu-duty of lands of Patispollis, set in feu as above 3 6 8
poultry, 7
lamb, 1
94. Feu-duty of a saltpan in Culros "with the craig quherupon the same is biggit," and 5 particates of land adjacent, and houses &c., set in feu as above £4 0 0

SOUTH SIDE OF THE FORTH

LINLITHGOWSHIRE

"ABBACIE OF CULROS"

95. Feu-duty of lands of Grange of Philpewstoun, with tofts, crofts, mills and multures, saltpans, coals, coalheughs, and teinds in barony of Carribdin, set in feu to John Hammiltoun £13 6 8
augmentation 3 13 4

On the 20th June 1589 the whole property of the Abbacy of Culross was erected into a temporal lordship and given by King James VI. to Sir James Colville of East Wemyss in consideration of his services at home during the King's infancy and afterwards abroad. Sir James was created Lord Colville of Culross in 1604. The lands thus gifted are detailed in the following charter (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1580-93, No. 1675).

James VI.'s charter to Lord Colville grants the lands, teinds, canes, customs, coal-fields as specified below, with all liberties and jurisdictions pertaining to the Monastery of Culross, viz.:—

The manor of Culross called of old "the abbay of Culros," with fortalices, manors, gardens, and all within the closes and precincts of the place of Culross.

The lands of Newmyle and Schyrysmylne with their multures and sequels.

The lands of Valayfeild, Coustoun, Blairhall and Bargattie, Easter and Wester Inzewaris, Easter Wester and Middle Grangeis, Easter and Wester Cunryis, Ovirtoun, Bothe and Bothebog Balgony, Burvane and Blairkenney, Dawellie, Bad and Keir, Castelhill, Blair and Poffillis, Langsyid, Bourdy and Birkinhead, Sandis and Fardill with the salts pans thereof, Greneyaird, Lurge and Kingearne with salt pans and Byregrange, all lying within the lordship of Culross and sheriffdom of Perth.¹

The lands of Crumby with fortalice and manor, the lands of . . . with the corn and fuller mills and their multures.²

The lands of Pitwar Cultis and Quhytmyle with multures³ the lands of Bussis and Vedderhill in the sheriffdom of . . .

The lands of Gogare, Jargrayis Powis and Atheray in the sheriffdom of . . .⁴

The lands of Grange of Carridein in the sheriffdom of Linlithgow.⁵

The lands of Craighflour in the lordship of Culross; and the annual rents.

£5 2 8 from the lands of Carnok.

17 6 8 „ „ mills of Cowper in Fife.⁶

1 2 0 „ tenement of Richard Bell in Perth.

12 0 „ „ of Henry Davidson in Inverkeithing.

8 0 „ „ of W. Blaikburne in the burgh of Inverkeithing.

1 0 0 „ the lands of Coutra in Fife.

1 6 8 „ „ mill of Murecammis in Fife.

4 0 „ „ „ of Balgony in Fife.

16 0 „ „ tenement of Mr Alexr Wod in Ersilferrie.

2 0 „ „ „ of Haldanis in the burgh of Stirling.

1 2 0 „ „ lands of Pureheugh near the Bridge of Irne.⁷

THE ABBOTS OF CULROSS.

The line of Abbots of this Monastery can only be very imperfectly traced, and the following list leaves many blanks which I have been

¹ All these places lie near the Abbey, and can be readily identified with the aid of the list of localities on pp. 367-85 (vol. ii.) of David Beveridge's *Culross and Tulliallan*. No doubt all these places were given to the Abbey by Earl Malcolm under the name of the "whole land of the schyre of Culenros."

² Also Earl Malcolm's gift.

³ Murray of Tulliebardine's donation.

⁴ Earl Malcolm's gift. The present forms of these names are Gogar, Jerah, Powis and Airthrey in the parish of Logie, Bridge of Allan.

⁵ King Robert I.'s gift: Philipston of Eu.

⁶ Earl Malcolm's gift.

⁷ Alexander Wallace's gift.

unable to fill. The seal of the Monastery is described by Henry Laing (*Scottish Seals*, p. 177) from the original brass matrix, which was then in the Advocates' Library, as "within a Gothic niche a full-length figure of the Virgin, crowned with a royal crown, holding the infant Jesus in her arms." Legend: "Sigillum Communi Monasterii de Culross."

1217. HUGH, a prior of Kinloss, became the first Abbot of Culross (*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 129). In 1218 he visited the Papal Legate at York, and got from him the absolution he had asked for (*Ibid.*, p. 133). In 1221 he was a witness to two charters (*Charters of Inchaffray*, p. 277).

1229. WILLIAM of Ramsay, the second Abbot of St Serf, died before August 25th (*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 142).

1229. HUGH, "magister conversorum de Melros,"—that is, master of the lay-brothers, called converts (*conversi*)—was elected Abbot August 25th (*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 142). In 1235 he subscribes a charter of confirmation by the Bishop of Dunblane (*Chartulary of Lindores*, p. 55).

1290. The ABBOT of Culross (unnamed) counsels marriage between the Prince of England and the Maiden of Norway (*Nat. MSS. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 1).

1327. The ABBOT in King Robert the Bruce's charter is not named (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, vol. i. App. 1, No. 25).

1333. Letters of Pope JOHN XXII. to the Abbot of Culross give authority to him to prevent church-lands in Scotland from being wrongfully used (*Ayr and Wigton Collection*, i. p. 150).

1391. The ABBOT in Murray of Tullibardine's charter is not named (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, vol. i., No. 825).

1415. JOHN, Abbot of Culross, is present in general council held at Perth (*Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, i. p. 588).

1436. Laurence, a monk of Balmerino, is provided by the Pope to the Abbey of Culross on the death of John (*Papal Letters*, viii. p. 613).

1436. ROBERT was "elected abbot by the Convent at the death, without the Roman Court, of Abbot John, and duly confirmed by the father abbot" (*Papal Letters*, ix. p. 349). In 1442 he is one of the witnesses to a charter of James II. (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1425-1513, p. 159). In 1443 he petitions Rome "that Laurence de Lundoris, falsely alleging that the monastery of Culross belonged to him, with the aid of lay power caused Robert to be dragged out (*extrahi*) by force and imprisoned in a certain tower, took possession of the monastery and despoiled it of goods to a value of about 300 marks." He adds that he has now recovered possession, but prays for a commission to hear the case, and if they find the said dragging out and imprisonment true to proclaim Laurence excommunicate (*Papal Letters*, ix. pp. 349-50).

1467-1470. RICHARD MARSCHELL, Abbot of Culross, was compelled to

resign by James Guthry, Abbot of Kinloss (*Records of Kinloss*, p. xli). He died in 1470 (Walcott, p. 271). "Richard Merchel late abbot of Culinros" was the writer of "Kalendar of Culross" printed in Forbes' *Kalendar of Scottish Saints* (pp. 51-64), the original MS. of which forms part of the volume in the Advocates' Library under the title of *The Culross Psalter*, and is the subject of an interesting paper by Dr Kirk Dickson in vol. li. of our *Proceedings*. In this paper it is mentioned that even after the invention of printing the Abbey was a great school of ecclesiastical caligraphy.

1481. JAMES "by the tholyng off God Abbot of Culross." So he is designated in a Letter of Sasine which I have, and as this is the only place in which his name occurs I give it in full:—

Till all and syndry to quhais knowlage thir present lettres sall to cum greting in god aylestand. For quhy it is neidfull and merytable to beir witnessing to the suth fastnes and specially quhair occultatioun thiroff ma gender prejudice skaith or hurt to the Innocent. Heirfor is that I David Stevart balzhe till a Wenerable fadyr in cryist James be the tholyng off god Abbot off Culros and to the convent off the samyn be the command off the said Venerable fadyr gaff stait and heretable possessioun as off the fe off a portioun off land lyand in the barony off Abircrummy and within the sheref-dome off Fyff that is to say of all the landis fra the south est nwk of Cragflowr ewyn up the stane dyik and as the stane dyik lyis furth ewyn to the kyngis gate to the est syid off that ilk with all the telyt land ennawtht the dykis stretand to the town of Torry to the west nok off the zhard off Stevyn Richardsoun north to the Wattir and as the Wattir rynnis by the kyrkland of Torry sowth to the See in lenth and in breid till a dyscreit woman Elenne Hawyk the spowss of a worthy man Robert off Glen the quhilk land wes resignyt and upgein be a worthy man Jhon off Hawyk the fader of the said Elenne in the handis of the said Wenerable fadyr. The franktenement of the said landis beand reservyt to the said Jhon off Hawyk and Emme his spows and to the langast lifand of thai eftir the tenor off the charter maid thirupon And this till all and syndry to quhom it sall pertene I mak knawyn be thir present lettres. In witnessing off the quhilk thing I the said David balzhe has hungyn to my seill procuryt with instance be the said Elenne the sewytend day off the moneth of May the zheir off god a thowsand four hundreth achty and ane zheirs before thir witnes Den. Mathew Takkat, monk of the said Abbey. Wilzhame Echlyn of Pettachro Henry Sandis Robert Ruch Nycoll Henrysoun George Multray Jhon Gray Robert Ramsay Robt. Pattosoun Gilbert off Berudy Adam Scharp Jhon Webstar Jhon Neillsoun with others dyveris.

1490. JOHN HOG, Abbot of Culross, was one of the Lords of Council (*Acta Dom. Con.*, i. p. 151). King James IV. grants to him the erection of the town of Culross into a free burgh of barony (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, No. 1944). He witnesses a charter in 1492 (*Ibid.*, No. 2141). The "Abot of Culroyse" sends a hawk to the King in 1491 (*Lord High Treas.' Acc.*, i. p. 184).

1498. ANDREW MASOUN. Four persons are granted remission by the

Privy Council for "forthocht fellony" done to Sir Andrew and Robert Rede at the Abbey (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, i. No. 182). In 1505 he gets a charter as Abbot of the lands of Balgonquhare, which in the following year he sets in feu to the Earl of Argyll (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, Nos. 2850 and 2971). ANDRO, Abbot of Culross, is mentioned in letters of protection granted by King James IV. to the Archbishop of Glasgow (Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. p. 42*).

1513. JAMES witnesses a charter by King James IV. (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, p. 850).

[About 1520 Culross had become remiss in its rule, and Thomas Crystall of Kinloss was vigilant in paying it a visit (*Records of Kinloss*, p. xlvii).]

1516-26. THOMAS NUDRE is mentioned in a charter of 1516 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1513-46, No. 113). He is one of the Lords of Council in 1523 (*Chartulary of Cambuskenneth*, p. 181). He grants in 1526 a nineteen years' tack of the Foddismills, Crummy, to John Fethy (Laing's *Charters*, Nos. 350 and 356). In 1512 Pope Julius II. assigns a yearly pension of £100 Scots from the church lands of Culross to Mr Thomas Nudre, arch-deacon of the church of Moray (*His. MSS. Com. Mar and Kellie*, p. 8).

1527. JAMES INGLIS was appointed Abbot of Culross about 1527, and on 1st March 1531, for a reason unknown, he was murdered by his neighbour John Blacater, baron of Tulliallan, and William Louthian, who were tried, found guilty, and beheaded (Pitcairn, i. p. 151*). He had been Secretary to Queen Margaret and chaplain to the Prince (afterwards James V.), and was also the author of many ballads, farces, and pleasant plays (see *Dic. Nat. Bio.*).

THE COMMENDATORS OF CULROSS.

I. 1531-67. WILLIAM COLVILLE, natural son of Robert Colville of Hiltown, was provided to the Abbacy of Culross 20th October 1531, and bore the title of Commendator of Culross. In 1544 he was appointed a Lord of Session, and also filled the office of Comptroller from 1546 to 1550. He died in 1567 (*Scots Peerage*, ii. p. 545). I have a Precept of Sasine dated 27th April 1555, granted by William, Commendator of the Monastery of Culross, for the infetment of Andrew Wilson and his spouse in the feu of Fullermills of Abircrummy. It is signed by Willelmus Commendatarius de Culrois Frater Robertus Holkat, Archibaldi Prymross, and eight others.

II. 1534-52. JOHN COLVILLE, the second natural son of Robert Colville of Hiltown, was also provided to the Abbacy on 28th Feb. 1534, reserv-

ing William's life-rent. He styled himself Abbot. He died in 1552 (*Scots Peerage*, vol. ii. p. 546).

[1566. FRANCIS STEWART, Earl of Bothwell; "when in 1566 the lordship of Badenoch was restored to the Earl of Huntly, Queen Mary granted to Francis Stewart the Commendatorship of Culross and a portion of the Earl of Morton's forfeited rents of Aberdour and Dalkeith" (*Scots Peerage*, ii. p. 170).]

III. 1567-87. Mr ALEXANDER COLVILLE, second son of Sir James Colville of Ochiltree, and afterwards of East Wemyss, was on 4th Feb. 1566-7 provided to the Abbacy of Culross by a royal grant as successor to his uncle William. He was one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and became a Privy Councillor. In Sept. 1587 he gave up his rights over the property of the Abbacy, which King James afterwards conveyed to his nephew, the first Lord Colville of Culross. He died in 1597 (*Scots Peerage*, ii. p. 549). I have a Precept of Sasine, dated 10th June 1568, by Alexander, Commendator of the Monastery of Culross, for the infettment of Thomas Wilson, son of Andrew Wilson, in the Fullermills of Abircrummie, reserving the life-rent to Andrew. It is signed Alexr, Commendatarius de Culros, Robertus Cristesoun and eight others.

IV. 1597. JOHN COLVILLE, the eldest son of Mr Alexander, succeeded his father as titular Commendator of Culross in May 1597. In 1580 he had a grant from his father of two gardens and a house within the walls of the Abbey (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, xlvii. f. 133). In 1587 he had a special grant from King James of the lands of Lurg and Kincardine as a reward for resigning the Abbacy (*Ibid.*, lvi. f. 33). He died before 1650 (*Scots Peerage*, ii. p. 550).

Mr D. Hay Fleming, in his *The Reformation in Scotland* (pp. 515-6), says:—

"That there was a pre-Reformation grammar-school in Culross Abbey is implied in the statement, made in 1589, that there had been 'in all tyme bygane' a grammar-school within the abbey of Culross, 'in the quhilk the youth of the burgh and land of Culross wer instructit in grammer and trainit up in vertew and letters, to the commonweill of the haill cuntrey, and that Mr Williame Home is now present master of the grammer scole within the abbey foirsaid' (*Reg. of the Privy Seal*, lix. 116, 7)."

THE MONKS OF CULROSS FROM 1525 TO 1587.

In thirteen charters¹ dating from 1525 to 1587, and signed by the Commendators, twenty-three monks also sign. The earliest charter

¹ Nine are in Laing's *Charters*, two in the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xli., and two in my collection.

contains the names of fifteen, but the number becomes less as time goes on. It is interesting to note that even after the Reformation so many as ten remained to sign a charter in 1568. After that date the number becomes less, and only two, Archibald Prymrose and Walter Miller, are appended. In 1561, according to a note by the Abbot, there were nine monks in the convent, "five whereof had recanted, but the other four would not by any perswasion." He made a certain allowance to those who had recanted, but gave nothing to the others.¹

Armstrang, Henry.
 Bavirige, Alexander.
 Conray (or Gray), James.
 Cristesoun, John.
 Cristesoun, Robert.
 Cristall, Andrew.
 Dewquhir, Robert.
 Donaldson, Mechael.
 Ewynsoun, John.
 Halkerston, Alexander.
 Holkat, Robert.
 Hudson (or Huchoun), John.

Kynpont, John.
 Millar, Walter.
 Patersoun, George.
 Pringill, Andrew.
 Prymross, Archibald.
 Rait, Alexander.
 Trumbull, Andrew.
 Trumbull, David.
 Wastwater, John.
 Wynter, Robert.
 Zowng (or Yowng), John.

In 1563 four of these monks, viz. Robert Dewquhir, Robert Holkat, John Wastwater, and Andro Trumbull, complain, "be ressoun of their said possessioun wer providit to ane monks portion of the said abbacie induring their lifetyme," that William, the Commendator, has applied their portions to his own use. The Lords of Council ordain that the said Commendator shall pay them twenty pounds Scots, "modifeit be the said Lords to them in part of payment of their portions" (*Acts and Decrees*, vol. 26, p. 382).

THE HEREDITARY BAILIE.

The Abbots of Culross were temporal as well as spiritual lords, and they had, prior to 1567, made over to the Argylls the office of hereditary bailie of the lordship lands. On the 19th of March 1567 this office was resigned by the Earl of Argyll into the hands of Alexander, Commendator, as lord superior in favour of Robert Colvill of Cleish, an ancestor of the Lords Colvill of Ochiltree, for the sum of 300 merks. This resignation and the following discharge for the money, signed by the Earl of Argyll at Dunoon on the 2nd Jan. 1586, are both in my possession, as well as a Charter of 15th Jan. 1617 by Lord Colville of

¹ Keith's *History of the Affairs of the Church*, 1844 ed., vol. iii. p. 377.

Culross, in which he grants to Robert Colvill of Cleish a house within the precincts of the Abbey in which to hold the bailie's court. The house is thus described: "that laigh house (*domum inferiorem*) which lies within the precincts of the said Abbey of Culrois on the west part of the same below that house now occupied and inhabited by Mr Robert Colvill minister of the word of God at the church of Culrois, having the common kings high way leading from the burgh of Culrois to the church of the same on the west part, a piece of waste land lying below the said house and garden which was formerly occupied by Andrew Forratt on the south part, that part of the said Abbey of Culrois which is called the west part on the east. And that hill which is called the Parlor hill on the north part and with its parts and pertinents and all other commoditatis and easements which to the said lower house pertains."

In the compilation of the foregoing notes I have had much help from numerous friends, and particularly from Mr William Angus of the Register House. I have also to specially thank Professor Hannay, who first recognised the importance of the transumpt, for his kind encouragement and practical help, without which this paper would never have been completed.

The original transumpt has now been lodged in the Historical Department of the Scottish Record Office, and will thus be available to anyone who may wish to compare it with the translations here given.

MONDAY, 11th January 1926.

GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., D.LITT.,
in the Chair.

Before proceeding with the ordinary business of the Meeting the Chairman intimated that the following letter had been received from the Secretary for Scotland in reply to the message of sympathy with His Majesty the King, on the death of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, sent by His Grace the Duke of Atholl on behalf of the Society:—

SCOTTISH OFFICE,
WHITEHALL, S.W. 1.
8th December 1925.

MY LORD DUKE,

I am directed by the Secretary for Scotland to inform you that the loyal and dutiful message of the Members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, on the occasion of the lamented death of Her late Majesty Queen Alexandra, has been laid before the King, who has commanded the Secretary for Scotland to convey to you His Majesty's thanks for this expression of sympathy.

I am, my Lord Duke,

Your Grace's obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN LAMB.

His Grace the DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T., C.B.,

President of the Society of

Antiquaries of Scotland.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows:—

Lieut.-Colonel WILLIAM FRASER DOBIE, V.D., J.P., Edgemont, Paisley.

H. DRUMMOND GAULD, Allandale, Corstorphine.

THOMAS HENDERSON, J.P., Actuary of The Savings Bank of Glasgow,
5 Belmont Crescent, Glasgow, W.2.

Mrs ELIZA MARGARET KING of Arntomy, Port of Menteith, Perthshire.

LESLIE BERNARD WILLIAMS, 23 Belmont Street, Glasgow, W.2.

JOHN W. WILLIAMSON of Westsidewood, Lanarkshire: Athole Lodge,
7 Spylaw Road.

EDWARD DRUMMOND YOUNG, 27 Nile Grove.

The following Donations to the Museum were intimated and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By Colonel A. H. FARQUHARSON of Invercauld.

Silver-gilt Highland Brooch, measuring $3\frac{3}{16}$ inches in diameter, found at Kindrochit Castle, Braemar. (See subsequent paper by J. Graham Callander, F.S.A.Scot.)

(2) By JAMES CURLE, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

Large Wooden Quaich, with silver mounts, measuring $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height; it is formed of staves feathered on the sides and bound by hoops of withies; from Bemersyde, Berwickshire.

(3) By F. D. STEWART SANDEMAN, The Law, Kingennie, Forfarshire.

Flanged Bronze Axe, measuring $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in breadth across the cutting edge, and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch across the flanges, found on the south shore, near the eastern end of Loch Dhugaill, Auchna-shellach, Ross-shire, in July 1925.

(4) By JOHN W. M. LONEY, F.S.A.Scot.

Flat water-worn Pebble, with a rude Cross incised on one face, measuring $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches, by $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, found near the inner end of St Ninian's Cave, Whithorn, Wigtownshire, by the donor in August 1911.

(5) By A. W. INGLIS, F.S.A.Scot.

Two wrought-iron Door-plates from the Hammermen's Chapel and Parliament House, Edinburgh, the first bearing the initials and date D.W.B. and M.H. 1694, pierced through it, and the second P.M. and E.B. 1674, similarly formed.

(6) By Mrs MACKENZIE, 2 Rillbank Crescent.

Brass Mount of cruciform shape, measuring $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in total length and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch in breadth, pierced near the ends of the side and top arms, and having an elongated acorn-shaped pendant hinged to the short arm below; from the Greyfriars' Church, Dumfries.

Jougs of Iron, with a chain of eight links and a swivel attached to the collar, from Dumfriesshire.

(7) By the Legatees of the late Mrs MACFIE of Borthwick Hall.

Part of the Branks of Iron from the old Church of Kintore, Aberdeenshire.

Kail Gully of Iron, with a very small part of the wooden shaft remaining within the ferrule, which is fixed near the end of the tang.

(8) By WILLIAM KIRKNESS, F.S.A.Scot.

Candle-mould of Tinned Iron, with four tubes.

(9) By WILLIAM BANNERMAN, M.D., F.S.A.Scot.

Sword worn by the grandfather of the donor while acting as an officer of the Banffshire Local Militia, in the early part of the nineteenth century.

(10) By JOHN BORLAND, F.S.A.Scot.

Stone Bead of discoidal shape, measuring $\frac{7}{16}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{3}{16}$ inch in thickness, from Pothouse, Auchencairn, Thornhill, Dumfries.

(11) By JOHN M. CORRIE, F.S.A.Scot.

Crosraguel Penny, from Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire.

(12) By the Antiquity Section of the Royal University of Norway, Oslo.

Fourteen Castings of Celtic Bronze Ornaments and Mounts of the Viking period, found in Norway. Nine of these are illustrated in Rygh's *Norske Oldsager*.

(13) By Lady FARQUHAR, Dungrianach, Oban.

Wooden Lock from St Kilda, acquired, while in use, by Sir Malcolm McNeill, C.B., father of the donor, in 1883.

(14) By A. W. HOLDING, 86 Easter Road.

Wooden Snuff-box with invisible hinge, made in Cumnock.

(15) By Mrs MACINTOSH, F.S.A.Scot.

Metal Button, with armorial bearings and date 1797, found in the garden at 23A Dick Place.

It was announced that the following objects had been purchased for the Museum :—

Whetstone of light grey sandstone, measuring $3\frac{11}{16}$ inches in length, of square section, tapering from $\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the centre to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch at each end, found under 18 inches of peat, some 300 yards south of Torrie Cottage, near Callander.

Bead of Vitreous Paste, measuring $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{5}{16}$ inch in thickness, the colour being yellow and blue in alternate bands placed

obliquely, there being short transverse inlays of white colour in the centre of the blue bands; from Aberdeenshire.

Fragment of the wall of a yellow glazed Earthenware Vessel, showing part of a human mask on the outside; from the Lesser Cumbræ, County of Bute.

Large Wooden Quaich with two lugs, measuring $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter at the mouth and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height; the staves of which it is formed are feathered on the sides and it is hooped with withies.

Silver-mounted Tortoiseshell Snuff-box, which is said to have belonged to Dr ALEXANDER ("JUPITER") CARLYLE.

Socketed Bronze Axe, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $1\frac{2}{3}\frac{7}{8}$ inch across the cutting edge; the socket, which is oval and measures $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in cross diameters at the mouth, is surrounded at the lip by a slight moulding and by another at the top of the loop, which is large and perfect; from Alford, Aberdeenshire.

Flanged Bronze Axe, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches across the cutting edge, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across the flanges; locality unknown.

Flat Bronze Axe, measuring $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the cutting edge, and $\frac{5}{16}$ inch in thickness, found $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface, in 1891, at Collynie, Tarves, Aberdeenshire.

Flat Bronze Axe, measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, $3\frac{1}{16}$ inches across the cutting edge, and $\frac{7}{16}$ inch in thickness, found in 1897 at Newseat of Ardo, Methlick, Aberdeenshire.

Flint Axe, measuring $5\frac{7}{16}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness, of grey colour, ground on the cutting edge and sides but otherwise flaked; found on the croft of Warlsend, Tarves, Aberdeenshire, when reclaiming ground about 1850.

Butt-end of a Stone Axe, used as a Hammer-stone, and partially perforated on one side, found at Catteraig, Auchnagatt, Aberdeenshire.

Hammer-stone, abraded at both ends, encircled near the thicker end by a groove, from Haddo House estates.

Stone Cup, measuring $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the mouth externally, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, with a vertically perforated handle projecting $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch from one side, the top of the handle being $\frac{9}{16}$ inch below the rim. The cup is encircled, $\frac{9}{16}$ inch below the lip, by a flattish moulding, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad, which is carried round the handle, and which is decorated by vertical incised lines, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch apart; above and below this moulding is a single line of incised chevrons, the angle of those above pointing to the right, and of those below to the left; found at Methlick, Aberdeenshire, in 1882.

Beaker (fig. 1), measuring $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter at the neck, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches at the bulge, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom, of

reddish ware. It is decorated by a broad band of ornamentation encircling the neck and brim; another, rather narrower, at the widest part; and a third of still less width near the base. The designs consist of vertical zigzags, lozenge and herring-bone patterns, between transverse divisional lines, all impressed with a comb-like stamp. The greater part of the rim is wanting. Found at Bruckleseat, Fyvie in 1854.

Food-vessel with vertical brim (fig. 2), measuring 4 inches in height, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter at the mouth, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches at the shoulder, and



Fig. 1. Beaker from Bruckleseat, Fyvie,
Aberdeenshire.

$2\frac{3}{16}$ inches at the base, of dark stone-coloured ware with a pinkish tint in it. At the shoulder are two mouldings with four surviving pierced lugs between them, the fifth having been broken off. Running round the top of the rim, which is bevelled slightly towards the inside, are three impressed lines. Two similar lines encircle the mouth on the outside. In the hollow beneath the rim are two horizontal rows of small crescents, and on the tapering lower part of the vessel, from the shoulder to the base, are vertical rows of similar markings, the crescents being placed vertically. Below the lugs are groups of three vertical straight lines. All the designs have been formed by the

impression of a cord, apparently formed by winding a thin thread round a core. The urn was found on the Haddo House estates.

Food-vessel (fig. 3), measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter across the mouth, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the shoulder, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches across the base, of drab-coloured ware very faintly tinged with pink. The vessel is surrounded at the shoulder by three thin sharply projecting mouldings crossed by four vertical projections, like incipient lugs, irregularly spaced. Between the upper moulding and the brim is a broad shallow hollow, decorated with a zigzag pattern of double



Fig. 2. Food-vessel from Haddo House estates, Aberdeenshire.

lines between single marginal transverse lines. On the upper moulding at the shoulder is a row of small circles, while the whole of the tapering lower part of the vessel is covered with small loops and short straight lines. On the top of the rim, which is bevelled towards the interior, are five concentric lines. All the ornamentation, with the exception of the small circles (which have been formed by the impressions of a small tube, probably a reed or straw), has been made by pressing a loosely twisted cord in the soft clay before the vessel was fired. The base of the urn is slightly concave. It was found on the Haddo House estates.

Cinerary urn (fig. 4), measuring $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height on one side,



Fig. 3. Food-vessel from Haddo House estates, Aberdeenshire.

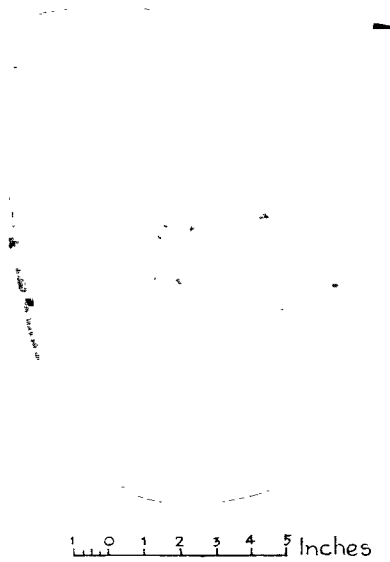


Fig. 4. Cinerary Urn from Haddo House estates, Aberdeenshire.



and $12\frac{7}{8}$ inches on the other, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at the mouth, $11\frac{3}{8}$ inches at the widest part, and 6 inches at the base, of drab-coloured ware. It is encircled by two cordons, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches below the lip, which is slightly incurved and has a small moulding on the inside, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch below the rim. On the part between the upper cordon and the brim it is decorated by a series of large triangles between single marginal lines, the hanging triangles being hatched with oblique parallel lines, and the other alternate triangles plain, all formed



Fig. 5. Cinerary Urn from Haddo House estates, Aberdeenshire.

by cord impressions. There is a hole broken in the base, and the urn is half full of incinerated human bones. From Haddo House estates.

Cinerary urn (fig. 5), of drab-coloured ware, the base and greater part of rim restored; height, as restored, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at shoulder, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It is surrounded at the shoulder by a single cordon, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches below the rim. The upper part is almost vertical, and has a series of large triangles filled in with oblique lines, the lower part being also covered with oblique lines running from right to left, in places crossed by similar lines from left to right. On the top of the

brim, which is flat, are oblique lines. The whole of these markings have been incised with a sharp-pointed implement. The urn is one-quarter full of cremated bones, and is from the Haddo House estates.

Carved Stone Ball, with four large projecting discs and four small ones in the interspaces (fig. 6), measuring 3 inches in diameter, from the village of Methlick, Aberdeenshire.

Casket of Cetacean Bone with mountings of bronze, measuring $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches broad, and $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches deep at the corners, and $3\frac{7}{8}$



Fig. 6. Carved Stone Ball from Methlick, Aberdeenshire.

inches at the centre of the lid, elaborately carved with interlaced designs, from Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire. (See subsequent paper by J. Graham Callander, F.S.A.Scot.)

Basket-hilted Back Sword with an Andrea Ferara blade, measuring 3 feet $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in total length.

The following Donations of Books, etc., to the Library were intimated:—

(1) By R. S. ALEXANDER, F.S.A.Scot.

Burgess Act, in vellum, in favour of Robert Anderson, Baker in

Elgin, dated 28th September 1784, bearing the remains of the seal of the town in red wax.

Burgess Ticket of Dysart, in vellum, in favour of Francis Grant, Merchant in Inveravon, dated 8th May 1738. Attached to it is a disc of yellow wax without any traces of the impression of a seal.

(2) By ALEXANDER O. CURLE, F.S.A.Scot.

English Church Woodwork. By F. E. Howard and F. H. Crossley, F.S.A. London, N.D.

English Church Monuments, A.D. 1150-1550. By F. H. Crossley, F.S.A. London, 1921.

(3) By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A.Scot.

The Book of the Pistol and Revolver. By Captain Hugh B. P. Pollard.

(4) By THE GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.

Catalogue of an Exhibition of Bibles. By George Milligan, D.D. Glasgow, 1925.

The Hunterian Museum in the old College of Glasgow. By David Murray, M.A., LL.D. Glasgow, 1925.

(5) By A. STANLEY CARRUTHERS, A.C.A., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Carruthers Records. Typewritten Copy.

(6) By THE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES.

Eighteenth Annual Report, 1924-25.

(7) By THE SECRETARY TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. i. Inscriptions of Asoka. New Edition. By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D. Oxford, 1925.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTES ON (1) A CASKET OF CETACEAN BONE, AND (2) A HIGHLAND BROOCH OF SILVER. BY J. GRAHAM CALLANDER, F.S.A.Scot., DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES.

(1) A CASKET OF CETACEAN BONE.

One of the most important objects recently acquired by the National Museum is a casket of whale's bone with bronze mountings, decorated with Celtic interlaced designs carved in fairly high relief, which had been preserved in Eglinton Castle, in Ayrshire (fig. 1). The casket measures $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches in breadth, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height at the corners, and $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches at the centre of the lid, which is curved transversely. It is formed of six plates of bone about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, five dovetailed together forming the box, and one the lid, the latter being rebated on the four sides so as to fit inside the walls of the box. At the corners the box is strengthened by vertical angle-plates of bronze with scalloped edges, each kept in position by two horizontal straps of metal fixed at the ends by a dome-headed stud, while at the top of the ends is a narrow band milled on the upper edge. On the top of the ends of the lid is another band of metal scalloped on the inner side, with a small circular depression punched in the centre of each scallop and a slight notch cut in the middle of its outer margin. The casket has been further strengthened by four transverse metal straps on the top, bottom, back, and front, these being hinged at the back of the lid. There is also a vertical strap in the centre of each end, and aligned with them on the bottom is a short band carried from the ends as far as the nearest cross strap. All these straps, with the exception of those on the bottom, which are flat and plain, have a double bead moulding on the surface, and are fixed by three dome-headed studs, one placed at each end and one in the centre, the straps being flattened and widened where the studs are inserted. On the front of the box is a lock with a double hasp, one arm of which, judging from the positions of the slots for the keepers (one being higher than the other), seems to have been rather longer than its neighbour. This hasp is hinged to the two central straps crossing the lid. Between the lock and the bottom of the casket there have been two short straps in line with the central pair on the top.

Three of the metal mounts—the two short ones on the front just

mentioned, and one of those across the bottom—have disappeared, and three of the bone plates are cracked, the front showing a fracture extending its whole length, the lid a crack for half its length, and the bottom a break across one of the dovetails; otherwise the casket is in a wonderfully good state of preservation.

In accordance with the arrangement of the metal mounts, the front, top, and back of the casket are each divided into five oblong panels, and the ends into two, all these divisions being filled with carved interlaced designs, which are separated from those adjoining by narrow plain bands covered by the metal mounts; there is also a plain narrow margin at the ends of each panel. On the bottom are two large squares of interlaced knot-work, with an oblong plaited

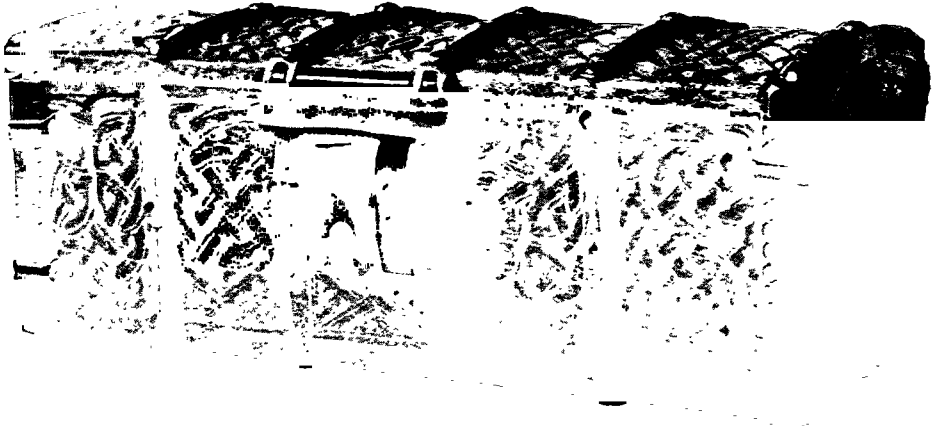


Fig. 1. The Eglinton Casket—Front.

pattern in the centre, but there are no plain divisional bands between them.

In discussing the carved designs on the casket we shall number them from left to right, taking them in the order of the front, lid, back, ends, and bottom.

The Front (fig. 1).—Although the presence of the lock on the exterior of the front of the casket curtails and breaks up the space available for decoration, there are five panels on it, as on the lid and the back, only the central one is small and horizontal, as it occupies the space between the lock and the bottom. The designs on the four vertical panels are all different. The first consists of a six-cord plait, with two of the strands returning towards the sides at a sharp angle so as to form a broken ring pattern; but the want of

space has prevented the repetition of the design, and it is finished off as a four-cord plait at the top. The second is a plait of four cords with a circle introduced in the centre. The third design to a slight extent resembles the first, as certain of the cords return at an acute angle from the centre to the sides; the main pattern is a six-cord plait, which at the top and bottom runs into two loops formed by four of the cords. The fourth is a complicated interlaced design, with the pattern unbalanced or bungled at the top. The fifth panel, the small one below the lock, shows four triangles, two at the ends and two at the sides, correctly interlaced at their apices.

The Lid (fig. 2).—It will be seen that there are three distinct

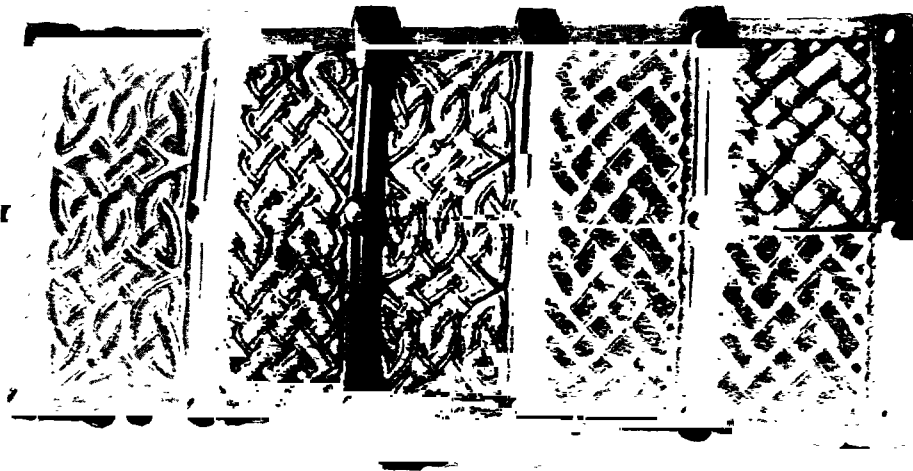


Fig. 2. The Eglinton Casket—Lid.

patterns on the lid, two of these being repeated; the first and third are similar, as are also the fourth and fifth. The first pair consist of a well-composed pattern of eight cords, plaited so as to form two complete and two half-lozenge designs in the centre, and three simple knots on each side; the second pair show an angular direct six-cord plait, with pellets in the marginal angles; and the remaining pattern, which occupies the second panel, shows only a slight variation from the last, inasmuch as there is a break in the middle of the design caused by turning back two cords at the centre instead of carrying them straight forward; further, owing to a want of accuracy in spacing, it has been necessary to insert an extra loop at the corners of one end to fill up the panel.

The Back (fig. 3).—Each of the five panels on the back bears a

different pattern, although there is a strong affinity between the first and second, and to a less extent between the fourth and the fifth. The first and second are composed of eight cords, but in the first only two of the cords are carried diagonally from one corner to another, while in the second four cords are thus treated, the result being that there is a more elaborate piece of interlacing in the corners of the first. The designs in the fourth and fifth panels consist of six-cord plaits, with a circle introduced into the centre of the former, and a lozenge into the centre of the latter. The remaining panel, that in the centre, is a simple six-cord plait.

The Ends (figs. 4 and 5).—No two of the four panels on the ends are alike. The first panel on the left end (fig. 4) contains a pattern composed of four interlaced triquetras, the one on the inner side

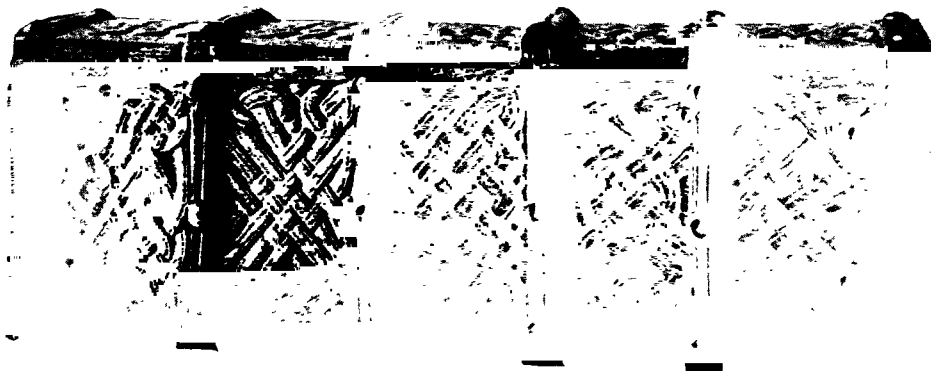


Fig. 3. The Eglinton Casket—Back.

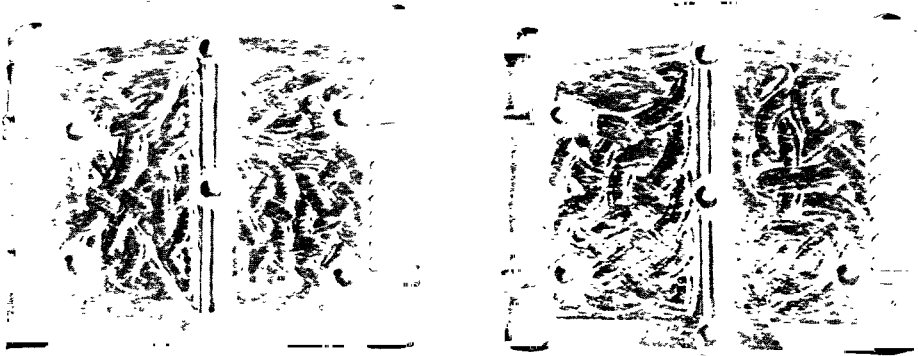
having an extra twist added at the top and bottom, owing to the greater length of this side. The other panel shows a pattern of eight cords in a simple interlacement at the top, running into an intricate plait below, a combination of patterns which we shall have to consider later. Both of the designs on the opposite end (fig. 5) consist of six cords forming complicated plaits not correctly balanced.

The Bottom (fig. 6).—Both of the knot designs which occupy the ends of the bottom resemble each other in showing two diagonal bands extending between opposite corners; but the one on the left has interlaced circles in the centre, and the other an interlaced lozenge instead; the plaits at the corners are also different. The narrow oblong panel between the knots bears a simple plait of six strands.

Although there are twenty-two carved panels on the casket, there are only eighteen different patterns, as the six-cord plait, which appears

twice on the lid, occurs once on the back and once on the bottom as well, and the design in the first panel on the lid is repeated in the third.

All the cords of the interlaced designs are flat and relatively broad,



Figs. 4 and 5. The Eglinton Casket—Ends.

and the edges are pared down slightly, leaving a higher band in the centre, so as to give them the appearance of being longitudinally divided into three parts. It is not an uncommon feature of the plaited bands on

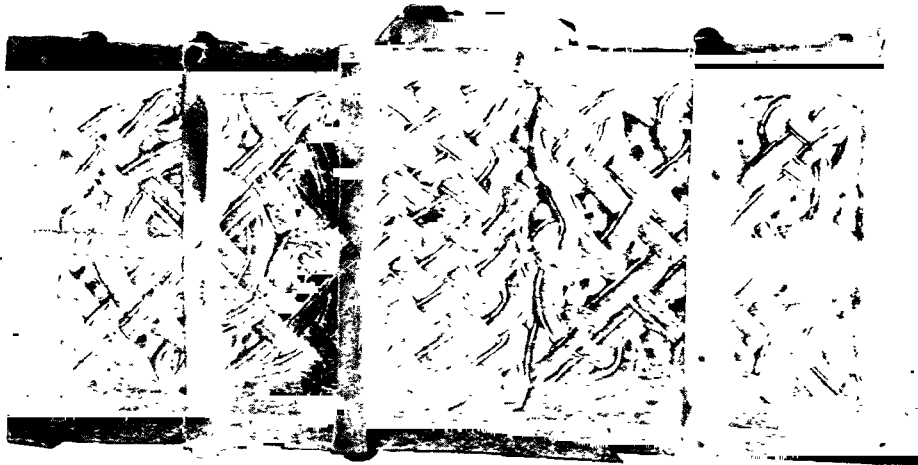


Fig. 6. The Eglinton Casket—Bottom.

the crosses and cross-slabs of Scotland, belonging to Early Christian times, to be divided into two strands by a medial line: but cases where they are divided into three are very rare, the only two of which I am aware

occurring on a cross-slab at Ardchattan, Argyll,¹ and on another at Farnell, Forfarshire.²

In addition to the interlaced bands, some of the panels show small carved bosses or pellets in the angles between the plaits. In several of the designs, such as the second, fourth, and fifth on the lid, and the third on the back, these pellets are regularly placed and form a part of a regular ornamental scheme; but on others, such as the two-knot patterns on the bottom, they have been added simply to fill up vacant spaces, as two or three pellets appear in one part of the design, and only one or two in the corresponding space opposite. This motif does not occur in the earlier sculptured stones figured in the *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, although bosses of large size are carved on some of them. However, it is often seen in the dirk handles of the eighteenth century, where

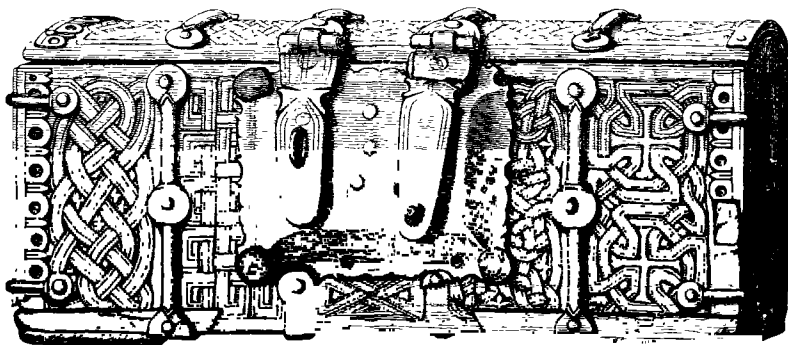


Fig. 7. The Fife Casket—Front.

the small pellets introduced into the angles of the plait-work form a distinct feature of the design.

The Eglinton casket is not the only example of its class known in Scotland, as another, from Fife (fig. 7), was exhibited to the Society forty years ago, and was described and illustrated in the *Proceedings* (vol. xx. p. 390) by Dr Joseph Anderson. The Fife casket, of which we have a replica in the National Museum, bears a wonderful resemblance to our newly acquired specimen although it is rather shorter and broader, its dimensions being $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, 5 inches in breadth, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height at the centre of the lid.

The same number of plates of bone are used in making each casket, and they are dovetailed together in similar fashion. The form and ornamentation of the metal mountings at the corners of the boxes and

¹ *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, p. 378, fig. 393.

² *Ibid.*, p. 219, fig. 232A.

ends of the lids—scallops with punched centres; the number, arrangement, and method of fixing (by round-headed studs) of the metal straps, and the shape and position of the locks, are practically the same. There are minor differences in the locks and in the form of the straps, the hasps on the Fife casket being hinged separately, and the straps on it being narrower, with more pronounced expansions where the studs are inserted, than those on the Eglinton casket. It has also to be noted that in the Fife specimen the straps on the lid (fig. 8) are fixed with four studs, and also the bottom of the box is uncarved, but for part of a design scratched at one end. As the metal

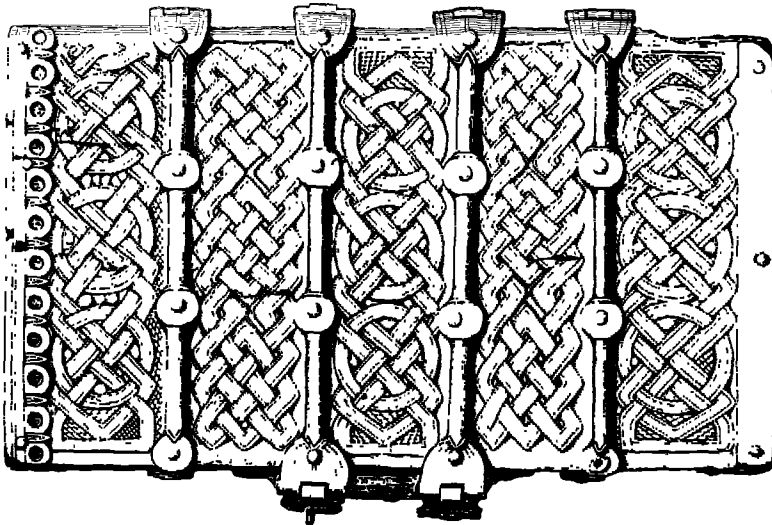


Fig. 8. The Fife Casket—Lid.

mounts are similarly arranged on both caskets, it follows that the panels formed by these divisional members are of the same form, even on the ends and front.

A comparison of the interlaced designs on the two caskets is also illuminating. The bands forming the designs on the Fife casket have the same tripartite form as those on the Eglinton casket, but owing to a greater repetition of patterns on the former, it shows only thirteen different designs on the front, back, lid, and ends, against sixteen on the other. The duplicated designs on the Fife example generally show a better balanced arrangement than those on the Eglinton one. Three patterns appear on both caskets: the six-cord plait, which occurs four times on the Ayrshire example and twice on the one from Fife, the

interlaced triangles on the small panel below the lock, and an intricate pattern which is seen once on the end of the first casket and twice on the second. The repetition of the first two designs need occasion little comment, as both are quite simple, and might be produced by any artist engaged in this Celtic style of decoration. But the occurrence of the third pattern (fig. 9) on both caskets is most surprising, because it consists of two distinct parts—a simple plait at the top, and a very complicated piece of interlacing below it, occupying the greater part of the panel.

The points of resemblance between the two caskets, and especially the repetition of the last-mentioned carved design, are so striking that one is tempted to suggest that the two caskets may have emanated from the same workshop. The designs on the Fife casket, as they appear on the

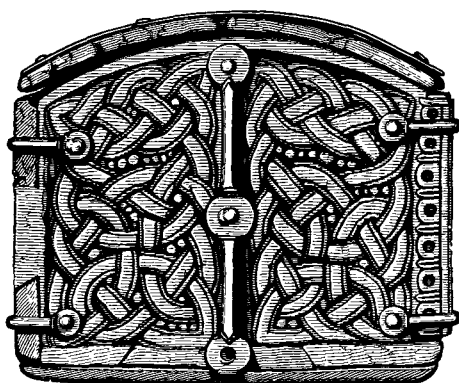


Fig. 9. The Fife Casket—End.

replica, are not quite so effective as those on the one from Ayrshire, because they are not carved in such high relief; but where the interlacing on a panel consists of a recurrence of its component parts, these are better and more carefully spaced. The Fife casket also shows some of the interspaces between the plaits occupied by cross-hatching, which occurs nowhere on the other.

If the two caskets were not the products of the same centre of manufacture, it is quite evident that the persons who made them were working to a pattern well known in Scotland. This is amply demonstrated by an examination of some of the designs which are cut on the late mediæval sculptured grave-slabs of the western parts of the country—a line of investigation which also furnishes a clue to their date.

In many of the kirkyards of the West of Scotland, both on the mainland and in the Outer and Inner Hebrides, are to be found a distinct class

of beautifully sculptured slabs belonging to late mediæval times. Generally they bear foliaceous and interlaced designs, the centre of the stones being very often occupied by the representation of a sword. In addition there are occasionally depicted grotesque animals, hunting scenes, galleys, shears, combs, and other objects of domestic use. A small proportion of the slabs bear inscriptions and dates, but usually, owing to the wear and decay of the stones, these are not now decipherable. Still, there are a few examples which have been read, and thus their date is known.

Among the designs which occur on the sword-slabs, a rectangular figure carved in relief is not infrequently seen, but in many cases it is so much weathered or defaced that it appears as a plain panel, devoid

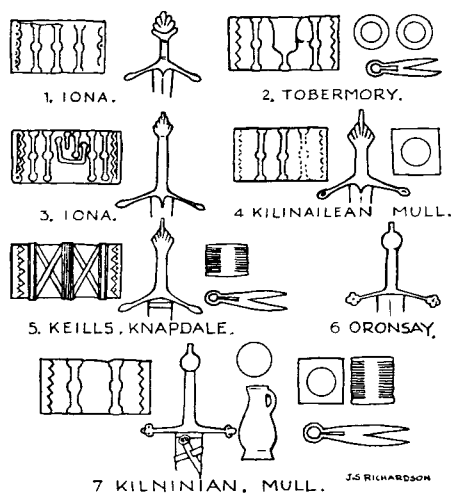


Fig. 10. Caskets and other Objects sculptured on West Highland Grave-slabs.

of any further sculpturing. What this figure represented has proved a puzzle to archæologists, a common suggestion being that it was a book. This, however, does not seem to be a correct reading of the design, because we shall see from illustrations of books dealing with these monuments, that a few of the better-preserved stones undoubtedly bear carvings of caskets with metal mountings of the same character as the two which we have been discussing. By a strange coincidence three of the sculptured stones, which are to be described in the next paper to be read to-night, show fairly well-preserved figures of caskets (fig. 10, Nos. 2, 4, and 7), as well as other designs which have proved very helpful in the matter of dating the stones and the type of casket sculptured upon them.

In fig. 10 are shown sketches of six of the best representations of these

caskets with their associated objects carved on grave-slabs, which have come under my notice.¹ Where swords occur, a drawing of the hilt only is given, because, as we shall see, one of the few dated slabs has a sword with a very characteristic hilt sculptured on it. Five of the caskets on the stones, it will be noted, have metal mountings very similar in form to, and fixed in the same way as, the Eglinton and Fife caskets. The number of the transverse straps on the sculptured caskets, however, varies from two to four. The illustrations Nos. 1 and 3, from slabs at Iona, are of special interest, as the first has the end-bands scalloped and punched, and the other shows a lock on the front with two hasps of different lengths—features seen on the surviving caskets. Drawing No. 2, from a slab at Tobermory, Mull, like No. 3, seems to give a view of the front of the casket, with its lock, but this design is much defaced. The remaining sketches show views of the tops or lids. The other objects figured consist of shears; double-toothed combs; a pitcher, of a form which might easily belong to the fifteenth century; a bowl beside the last; and circular and square objects with a circle in the centre, which probably represent trenchers.² The other designs which, in addition to the swords, appear on the slabs referred to, are grotesque animals, plaited patterns, foliage with interlaced stems, a harp; and in the case of No. 1, a mounted warrior armed with a spear, and a kneeling figure with a rosary in its hands. The slab

¹ As the sketches are intended only to indicate the form of the sculpturings, neither the caskets nor their associated objects are drawn to scale, neither are they shown in the relative positions they occupy on the slabs. Nos. 1 and 3 are taken from Drummond's *Sculptured Stones of Iona*, Pls. xxvi. and xxviii.; No. 5 from White's *Archæological Sketches in Scotland—Knapdale*, Pl. xxxvi., and Drummond's Pl. lviii.; No. 6 from the cast of a slab at the Priory, Oronsay, in the National Museum; and Nos. 2, 4, and 7 from figs. 7, 8, and 10 on pp. 127-9 of this volume. I am indebted to Mr Jas. S. Richardson for making these drawings.

² It has been suggested that the circular plate-like objects may have been pattens, but this is unlikely, as some of them would have been shown with an accompanying chalice. That they, like the square objects, represent trenchers, seems more likely. Mr A. O. Curle has directed my attention to the article on "Trenchers" (*Tranchoir*) in Havard's *Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement*, vol. iv., col. 1504, which states that trenchers were an important feature in the furnishings of the mediæval table, and that they are often mentioned in documents relating to such matters between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Trenchers, at first made of wood, towards the end of the fifteenth century were replaced by those made of pewter, and such continued in use until the end of the seventeenth century. From the fourteenth century there were trenchers of silver, of silver-gilt, and even of gold, in princely houses. Illustrations in illuminated MSS. and in pictures of the period show that they were of various forms—round, oblong, and especially square. Many are referred to in inventories. In the Inventory of the Duc de Berry (1416) six square trenchers are listed; in the Inventory of the silver plate of Anne of Brittany (1505), four of gold, of which two were round and two square, are mentioned. Many entries such as these could be quoted from other French inventories.

Another suggestion regarding the circular objects is that they represent mirrors, as those made during the Middle Ages were generally of circular shape. In this connection attention may be directed to a slab at Tobermory illustrated in the present volume on p. 126, fig. 5, which shows two of these circular objects along with two pairs of shears and a comb.

at Iona, on which the designs shown as No. 3 appear, exhibits a further feature which is of particular importance in our inquiry, as it bears a cross and a knot, both of interlaced work, the cords of which are divided longitudinally into three strands, like those on the Eglinton and Fife caskets. The evidence for the contemporaneity of caskets like the two whale's bone examples with many of the West Highland grave-slabs is very strong, although it cannot be claimed that those represented on the monuments must necessarily have been made of cetacean bone.

When we try to determine the date of the two caskets, it is to be regretted that the chronology of the West Highland slabs has not been satisfactorily worked out. It is clear, however, that many of them belong to the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries. From the sketches on fig. 10, it is seen that four of the caskets are associated with a sword with a fan-shaped pommel, and drooping quillons with bulbous ends, and one with a sword with a circular pommel surmounted by a blunt spike, and straight quillons with quatrefoil terminals. The first of these two varieties of swords seems to have been well known in the fifteenth century in Scotland, and no doubt it survived into the sixteenth. Swords of this class are seen over and over again on the stone effigies, with their monotonous conical bascinet, camail, and quilted jupon, of the west of Scotland, as well as on the grave-slabs; but again their exact period is not known. As for the second variety of sword, that with the quatrefoil terminals on the cross-guard, one of which occurs with a casket on the slab at Kilninian, Mull (fig. 10, No. 7), we know that it goes back at least to the early part of the sixteenth century, because on the slab at the Priory, Oronsay, Argyll, which bears a sword of this type with slightly depressed quillons (fig. 10, No. 6), the name Murchardus Macduffie (Macphee), and the date, 1539, are easily deciphered.

Grave-slabs are not the only monuments on which caskets are carved, as there is a good example on a cross-shaft at Kilkerran, near Campbeltown.¹ This cross, in addition to foliaceous and interlaced designs, shows two persons standing face to face in a niche, a man on horseback armed with a sword and a spear, and a galley, carved upon it. It also bears the inscription—HEC EST CRUX CRISTINI MACT[?] ET UXOR EIUS. Although there is no date on this cross, and the man whose name it bears cannot be identified, there is no doubt that the monument belongs to about the end of the fifteenth century, as there is another cross-shaft in the same burying-ground which, if not cut by the same hand as the first,

¹ Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 29, Pl. lv.; and White's *Archæological Sketches—Kintyre*, p. 96, Pl. ix.

was sculptured about the same time.¹ It also shows two human figures face to face in a niche, a horseman with a sword and a spear, and a galley, with an inscription on the same lines as that on the first cross. The inscription runs—HEC EST CRUX CALANI McHEACHURNA ET KATIRINE UXORIS EIUS. This man is believed to have been a Colin MacEachern, who was chief of the MacEacherns of Kilellan in 1493.

From the monuments it is quite clear that caskets, with metal mountings similar to those on the Eglinton and Fife examples, were well known in Scotland about the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries; and we may safely claim that our two surviving specimens date back at least to that period. It is quite possible that they may even be somewhat earlier—how much I do not venture to suggest—but I do not think that their period is so early as the eleventh or twelfth centuries, although many of the interlaced patterns on the boxes are worthy of the artists who designed and executed the crosses and cross-slabs of that time. But in the pellets introduced into the spaces between the plaits on both caskets, and in the cross-hatching used to fill vacant spaces on the one from Fife, we encounter motifs which we have not met with on the early stones. The same may be said with regard to the tripartite cords on the caskets, although we have been able to cite two examples on the early monuments, but the latter are abnormal; also the cords on the caskets are distinctly flat, while those on the monuments are round.

Another question to be considered is, whether the caskets were used for ecclesiastical or secular purposes. During the Middle Ages these objects were often mentioned in inventories of church properties; but while it is quite likely that some may have been so used in Scotland, the testimony of the monuments is that they were familiar objects in the homes of the wealthy,² the same as such objects of domestic use as the shears, combs, trenchers, and other articles portrayed with them. They are frequently associated with a sword on the gravestones of chiefs and warriors, but there is not a single instance of the occurrence of a casket on the twenty tombstones of ecclesiastics which I have seen figured from the west of Scotland.

A word may be added about the material—cetacean bone—of which the two caskets are made. The kind of bone used may seem peculiar, but round the western and northern coasts of Scotland there has been no scarcity of whales' bones. That they were very freely utilised in early times for the manufacture of implements, weapons, ornaments, and

¹ Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 29, Pl. liv.; White, *op. cit.*, p. 95, Pl. viii.

² In one kirkyard alone, that of Kilmory of Knap, Argyll, there are three grave-slabs with metal-mounted caskets carved on them, and on the small island of Oronsay there are at least other three.

other objects, is very evident from the large numbers of such relics which have been found in earth-houses and kitchen-middens, dating to the early centuries of the Christian era, in the Hebrides and in Orkney. Their use would no doubt continue through the Middle Ages.

As may be expected, whale's bone was not the only material from which this kind of casket was made, and it is more than probable that wood of various kinds would be more frequently used; but, being more perishable, and obviously of less value, there was less chance of such being preserved. Still, two examples, which have survived, have come under my notice, one being preserved in the National Museum, and the other at Craignish, Argyll. The provenance of the first is not known, but it is not surprising that the second should still remain in a part of the country where representations of such relics occur so frequently on its monuments.

The two boxes are made of oak with bronze or brass fittings, and both have been saved from utter destruction by woodworms by preservative treatment in recent times. The specimen in the Museum measures $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth, and 4 inches in height, and the one at Craignish 13 inches by $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.¹ Both of them have flat lids, the first with a bow handle, and the second with a ring fitted into the centre, for lifting them, and they are entirely devoid of carving. Neither of them is so carefully made as the bone caskets, and the one in the Museum is not dovetailed together. However, it has a "shottle," or small box in the upper half of the right-hand end, like those seen in farm servants' chests of modern times. Caskets of the size and shape of these two might be made at any period, but a glance at their metal mounts shows so many of the characteristics of form and disposition of those on the whalebone examples, that there seems to be little difference in their periods, although traditionally the Craignish box is claimed to be much older. The metal straps are broad and thin, but where they are tacked to the wood they have the same circular expansions which appear on the bone caskets; the mounts on the ends of the lids of both, and at the angles of the Museum specimen, are also scalloped, even the circular punched depressions in the scallops being repeated on the Craignish box. Further, the one in the Museum has a vertical strap in the centre of each end. All four caskets have the angle plates strengthened and kept in position by horizontal bands very similar in form and position, and every one of the locks has one keeper slot placed higher than the other.

¹ My information regarding the Craignish casket is obtained from *The Scottish Antiquary*, vol. viii. p. 78, where it is described and illustrated by a photograph.

(2) A HIGHLAND BROOCH OF SILVER.

Last autumn a party of Boy Scouts, working under the expert supervision of Dr W. Douglas Simpson, F.S.A.Scot., commenced to excavate the ruins of Kindrochit Castle, Braemar, Aberdeenshire. On the first day of their operations, while removing the rubbish from the surface inside the prison of the great tower, they unearthed, at a depth of

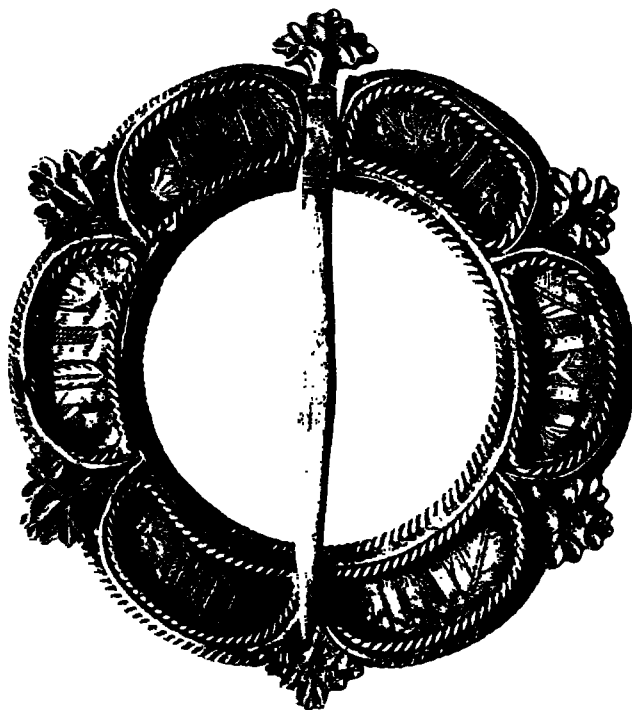


Fig. 11. The Kindrochit Brooch. (†.)

18 inches, a very beautiful silver-gilt Highland brooch, of a type which has not been recorded hitherto, in a perfect state of preservation. Colonel A. H. Farquharson of Invercauld, the proprietor of the castle, very kindly presented the brooch to the National Museum, and to him the warmest thanks of the Society are due for this handsome gift.

The brooch (fig. 11) has a flat ring, the outer edge cut in six scallops, and the inner edge circular. On the front of the ring, in each scallop, is

a large kidney-shaped bezel, with a vertical setting and wire-twist edge inside, set with a flat plate bearing an engraved inscription in Gothic ribbon letters and foliaceous designs. The outer and inner margins of the ring are bordered with a twisted wire of similar size to that in the bezels. At five of the junctions of the scallops are projections in the form of a triple sprig with trefoil ends, and a sixth is fixed to the front of the head of the pin, which is hinged between the remaining pair of scallops. The pin is of flattened fusiform shape, with a head of barrel-shaped section, split at the top (fig. 13, A), the ends gripped together again after being attached to the hinge of the brooch, and it bears an engraved design on the front of the stem. The whole of the brooch, back and front, with the exception of the engraved panels sunk in the bezels, is gilded.

The ornament measures $3\frac{3}{16}$ inches in diameter across the ring, and $3\frac{7}{16}$ inches across the projections, while the open space in the centre is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The pin is $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length, and the sub-oval bezels are



Fig. 12. Inscription on the Kindrochit Brooch. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

$1\frac{1}{16}$ inch long by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad, the mounts being $\frac{5}{32}$ inch high. The weight is 3 oz. 6 dwts. 10 grs.

Although nearly all the letters of the inscription are clearly engraved as will be seen from the drawing on fig. 12, the meaning of the inscription has not been determined. Possibly it may have some talismanic or magical significance.

Even though we pay no attention to the fact that the Kindrochit brooch was found in a Highland district, it is evident from its general appearance—the broad flat ring and the special method of attaching it to a garment—that we have to deal with a variety of the well-known Highland flat-ring brooches, in spite of the absence on it of the usual interlaced designs and grotesque animal forms which appear on them. But as it differs from all recorded examples, whether Highland or Lowland, in such details as its scalloped outer edge and inscriptions in sunk panels on the front, a comparison with dateable Scottish flat-ring brooches is required in the attempt to ascertain its approximate period. Three distinct groups of such ornaments are recognised—one belonging to the fourteenth, another probably to the sixteenth, and the third to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

There is no question of a fourteenth-century date for the Kindrochit brooch, because those made at that time have a narrow ring, generally

bearing talismanic inscriptions in Lombardic characters, and a different form of pin, one with a distinct flange or collar encircling it just under the hinge. Nevertheless, it is of interest to recall that one of the fourteenth-century brooches in the National Museum, found at Langhope, Selkirkshire,¹ which has a stout wire ring with applied rosettes on the front, has one of the rosettes fixed to the front of the head of the pin

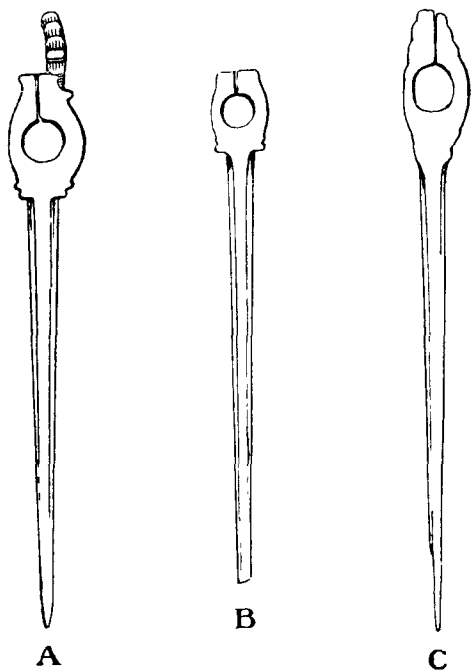


Fig. 13. Pins of Highland Brooches. (1.)

to assign the brooch to a different period. Seeing that the Kindrochit brooch cannot be later than this group, it must be earlier than the seventeenth century.

We have now to examine the remaining group of brooches, which consists of five handsome jewelled specimens, named after the lands belonging to the Highland families in which they were or are preserved. These ornaments are known as the brooch of Lorne, the Lochbuy brooch, the Lossit brooch, the Ballochyle brooch, and the Glenlyon brooch; and though a greater antiquity has been claimed for some of them, it is unlikely that the oldest could have been made much earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. Indeed, the

in much the same way as the trefoil attached to the head of the pin in the Kindrochit brooch.

Before considering the next group, the sixteenth-century brooches, it will be better to look at the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century examples. These brooches, with broad flat rings made of silver or brass, are amongst the most common and characteristic of Highland relics made in those times which have come down to us. The ornamentation on them generally includes interlaced patterns and grotesque animals, and the pin has a long head of lenticular section, split at the top and clasped together again after being fixed to the pin (fig. 13, C). As none of these designs appears on the Kindrochit brooch, and as the head of its pin is of barrel-shaped, not lenticular, section (fig. 13, A), it would seem that we have

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. lviii. p. 167, fig. 5, No. 2.

Lochbuy brooch bears on the back an inscription stating that, according to the family tradition, it was made about 1500 A.D. The first three may be ruled out of our survey, as the centre of each is set with a large crystal, and their ornamental designs and pins show little resemblance to these features on the Kindrochit brooch. The remaining two, however, do show certain points in common. The Ballochyle brooch has the same hexagonal form, with trefoil projections at the angles: but

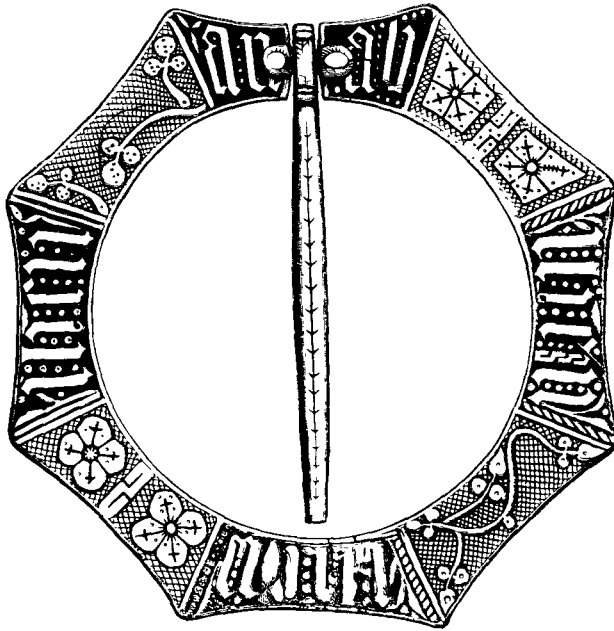


Fig. 14. Silver Brooch from Mull—Front. (½.)

its sides are concave, not convex, and the trefoils have more the form of conventional fleurs-de-lys than natural leaves. As for the Glenlyon brooch, which has an open centre cut through by a flat cross-bar, like the one from Kindrochit it has a twisted wire edge on the outer and inner margins of the ring, and it bears an inscription—a talismanic one—in Gothic letters.

Before finally deciding on a probable date for our brooch, there is still another example, preserved in the National Collection, which invites comparison. Found at Kengharair, Kilmore, Mull,¹ it is made of silver, inlaid with niello, and ornamented on both front and back, its form

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xvii. p. 76, fig. 1.

being octagonal with slightly concave sides. On the front of four of its sides are inscriptions in Gothic letters, which apparently are repeated on the opposite panels (fig. 14). Owing to the letters being badly formed, there is again difficulty in making out the meaning of the inscriptions. A suggested reading is IHSN and ANAN, which may possibly be a bungled and contracted rendering of IHESVS NAZAR[ENVS], which is met with so frequently on Scottish fourteenth-century talismanic brooches. The other designs consist of diapers, foliaceous designs, and grotesque weasel-like animals, some of which have human heads. The pin resembles that on the Kindrochit brooch inasmuch as its head is of barrel-shaped section split at the top (fig. 13, B).

In determining the period of the Kindrochit brooch, it is to be noted that although it is not so elaborate in form as the large sixteenth-century brooches we have referred to, yet more work has been bestowed on its manufacture than on those of the earlier or later periods with which it has been compared. and also that two of its features, the twisted wire edge and the trefoil projections round its circumference, are found only on brooches of the first-mentioned period. This is suggestive of a sixteenth-century date. But what is perhaps more important is the inscription which it bears, and the shape of the head of its pin. The form of the letters and the probability of its inscription being talismanic point more to pre-Reformation than to post-Reformation times, and the form of the pin seems earlier than the seventeenth century. It would thus appear that the Kindrochit brooch and the one from Mull may be assigned to the first half of the sixteenth century.

At the conclusion of Mr Callander's paper, on the motion of the Chairman, the Society decided to send their warmest thanks to Colonel A. H. Farquharson of Invercauld for so kindly presenting the brooch to the National Museum.

II.

SOME CARVED STONES FROM ARGYLL. BY ANGUS
GRAHAM, F.S.A.Scot.

A preliminary word as to how this paper came to be put together will not be out of place, as otherwise the selection of subjects for illustration might seem haphazard, and the notes both meagre and ill-prepared.

The late R. C. Graham, F.S.A.Scot., the father of the present author, after publishing *The Carved Stones of Islay*, with which some members may be familiar, embarked on similar researches in the island of Mull. Certain photographs of grave-slabs and crosses which he took there and in other parts of Argyll remained unpublished at the time of his death, and only came to the author's notice a few years ago. Unfortunately no written matter of any kind was preserved along with the negatives. The author wished to publish the photographs in order to make them available for students of this type of art, but was in something of a quandary for lack of descriptive notes; in most cases, indeed, even the provenance of the stones was unknown, and he was himself furth of Scotland, and quite cut off from books of reference. However, the Council considered that the beauty and interest of the photographs were in themselves sufficient to warrant publication, and during the past two summers two indefatigable workers, Mrs O. St C. O'Malley and Mr J. Graham Callander, have succeeded in locating nearly all the stones, and have supplied the author with notes as to dimensions, material, etc., on the strength of which he prepared such descriptive matter as he was able. He wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his indebtedness for this very kind assistance, and also to Mr Callander and Mr James S. Richardson, Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland, for help and advice in the writing of the paper.

The subjects illustrated are as follows:—a cross-shaft at Kilmore, Dervaig; a cross-shaft at Pennygowan; a slab and fragments of two others at Tobermory; two slabs at Kilinailean, and another at Kilninian, all in Mull; and a slab at Kilmory, Knapdale; another at Kilfinan, Cowal; and two fragments at Saddell, Kintyre, all on the mainland.

CROSS-SHAFT IN CHURCHYARD AT KILMORE, DERVAIG.

A portion of the head of this cross has disappeared, leaving the greater part of the shaft. The upper fragment is 1 foot 5 inches long and the lower 3 feet 10 inches; breadth at bottom, 11½ inches; breadth

below arms, 10 inches; thickness of top, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The head is unusual and at present consists of two crescents, the upper end missing, placed back to back, with a third interlaced across them, all consisting of a double-beaded cord.



Fig. 1. Cross at Kilmore,
Dervaig (front view).



Fig. 2. Cross at Kilmore,
Dervaig (back view).

The front (fig. 1), which bears a panel within a double-roll margin, shows immediately below the head a representation of Our Saviour on the Cross, flanked by the figures of SS. Mary and John, somewhat rudely executed. The top of the cross terminates in a fleur-de-lis. The arms of Our Lord sag, instead of stretching along the arms of the cross, which probably indicates a late period. The two saints are supported on the

heads of two monsters whose open jaws and tongues point upwards, and whose necks develop into foliated intertwined scrolls which occupy the whole of the rest of the shaft. At the bottom is a pair of shears.

The back (fig. 2), which also bears a panel within a double-roll margin, shows a surface completely covered with scroll-work similar to that on the front.

The difference between the shapes of the fracture as shown in the two photographs is due to the fact that the photographs were made from plaster casts, which reproduced the flat carved surfaces only.

CROSS-SHAFT AT PENNYGOWAN.

This cross-shaft of schist stands inside the ruined church at Penny-



Fig. 3. Cross-shaft at Pennygowan (front).



Fig. 4. Cross-shaft at Pennygowan (back).

gowan. It measures 5 feet in length above ground, 15 inches in breadth tapering to $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and 3 inches in thickness tapering to 2 inches.

The front (fig. 3) shows in the centre of the shaft a figure of the Virgin and Child, seated on a throne, the podium of which is ornamented with a motif of Gothic tracery, and the front of the legs with small dog-tooth ornament in very high relief, the details of the drapery, the head-dress, and the throne being clearly seen. Below the figure are nine lines of inscription which are not legible in the photograph, and beside and above it is a simple and beautiful foliated scroll. Round the margin is a roll moulding with nail-head ornamentation inside.

The back (fig. 4) shows at the base a clinker-built galley with high bow and stern, oar-holes, and sail set, and above this a very fine griffon, the tail of which becomes a foliaceous scroll and occupies the remainder of the surface. The griffon and scroll are full of character, and form a most satisfying piece of ornament.

This stone, in several of its features, notably the griffon with the tail running into a foliaceous scroll, so closely resembles the Mackinnon Cross-shaft at Iona, which bears the date 1489, that there seems little doubt that both were cut by the same sculptor.¹

SLABS IN CHURCHYARD AT TOBERMORY.

The first slab (fig. 5), which is of blue schist, measures 7 feet 1 inch in length, 1 foot 11 inches in breadth at top, and 1 foot 10 inches at bottom, and 3½ inches in depth. It contains three main divisions. The top one shows two recumbent human figures clad in long dresses with their feet resting on cushions, set in panels of debased Gothic treatment, composed of column supports and canopied heads enriched with crockets and finials; the middle one an elaborate floreated device on a geometrical basis of eight radii, and the lower one a striking diaper of interlaced and foliaceous designs. A broad border surrounds the decorated space, and this carries an inscription of which only three words are legible in the photograph; these are "OBIIT ANNO: DOMINI:". The inscription is not carried round the lower part of the slab, but there is a series of pateræ instead. The top and middle panels are also separated by a band of illegible inscription, and the middle and lower ones by a row of domestic objects comprising two plates, two pairs of shears, and a double-toothed comb.

Fig. 5. Grave-slab at Tobermory.

¹ Drummond, *Sculptured Monuments of Iona and the West Highlands*, Pl. xxxvi.

The next is a fragment, the upper portion of a slab (fig. 6), of blue slate, scaling badly, and measuring 2 feet 11 inches in length, 1 foot 9 inches in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. At the top is a panel of foliaceous and interlaced work, based on eight branches radiating from the centre. Below the panel is part of a helmeted head, much damaged. The helmet appears to have been in the form of a cap strengthened with two rings round the temples, and to have had side-plates for the protection of the ears and cheeks.

The third (fig. 7), also a fragment, is of schist, measuring 2 feet 3 inches in length and 1 foot 5 inches in breadth on the face, increasing to 1 foot 7 inches at the back. The edge is chamfered. It appears to have formed



Fig. 6. Cross-slab (fragment)
at Tobermory.



Fig. 7. Cross-slab (fragment)
at Tobermory.

the lower half of a recumbent slab, as there is a strip of irregular foliated ornamentation along the fracture, which no doubt was part of a panel. Below this ornamentation is a blank space, and at the bottom a collection of objects. These comprise (i) a pair of shears; (ii) two round plates; (iii) an irregular five-sided object; (iv) a metal-mounted casket; (v) a rectangular object of indeterminate use. The whole is enclosed by a border, the broad raised bead of which is interrupted by diamond-shaped pateræ at regular intervals.

SLABS IN OLD CHURCHYARD OF KILINAILEAN.

The first slab (fig. 8), of bluish schist, measures 6 feet in length, 1 foot 8 inches in breadth at top and 1 foot 5 inches at bottom, and 4 inches in depth. The sides are sloping so that the slab thickens slightly

towards the back. It is bordered by a double-roll moulding with nail-head ornament between.

The slab bears in the centre a claymore with a fan-shaped pommel and depressed quillons with swelling ends of common type. This is

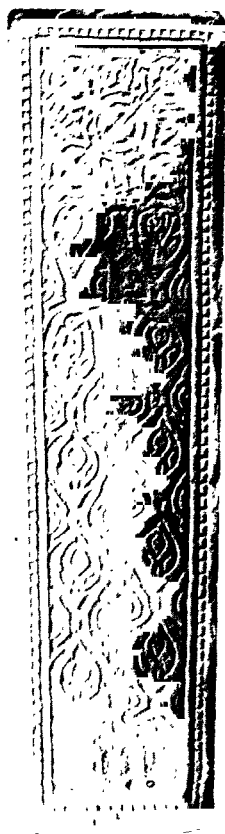


Fig. 8. Grave-slab at Kilinailean,
Mull.



Fig. 9. Grave-slab at Kilinailean.

surrounded by an interlaced foliaceous design which runs into a semi-geometric interlaced device at the head. The ornamentation at the foot is much damaged, but suggests a casket and a square object with a circular depression in the centre, like the one on the stone (fig. 10) at Kilninian, which is doubtless meant to represent a trencher.

Kilinailean churchyard is situated on the northern slope of Glen Aros, between Tobermory and Salen.

The other slab (fig. 9) is of grey-green schist and measures 5 feet 6½ inches in length, 1 foot 1 inch in breadth at top, 1 foot 4½ inches at middle, and 1 foot 1½ inch at bottom, and 3 inches in depth.

The very crude representation of a sword forms a decided contrast to those on figs. 8 and 10. It will be noticed, however, that the sculptor has made some attempt to indicate a blood-rib and some constructional detail in the pommel. There are also other indistinct markings at the top of the slab. The spaces on both sides of the blade are broken up by horizontal lines.

SLAB AT KILNINIAN.

This slab (fig. 10) is of blue-green schist and measures 5 feet 11 inches in length, 1 foot 5 inches tapering to 1 foot 2½ inches in breadth, and 3 inches in depth. The edge is chamfered.

The principal ornament is again a sword, evidently sheathed, with a round pommel with a blunt-ended projection on the top, straight quillons with quatrefoil terminals, a chape, and a baldric showing the buckle wound round the scabbard. To the right of the hilt are a pitcher and bowl, and to the left a casket with its serrated metal-edge binding and cross-straps on the lid clearly defined. There is running scroll with leaves and fruit on each side of the sword and a splendid foliated cross above the pommel. A separate panel at the foot of the slab contains a pair of shears, a comb, and a square plate with a circular depression in its centre. The slab is surrounded by a double-roll moulding with a twisted cord pattern between.

SLAB AT KILMORY, KNAP.

The upper part of this slab (fig. 11) is occupied by a pattern based on two tendrils carrying leaves and fruit. These form a circle and then, crossing one another above, unite to form a square panel of floreated decoration on the radial plan. The lower part bears in the centre a pair of shears, and on the left an axe. The shears, besides being large, are of an unusual pattern, the ends being broad and blunt, and not pointed as they generally

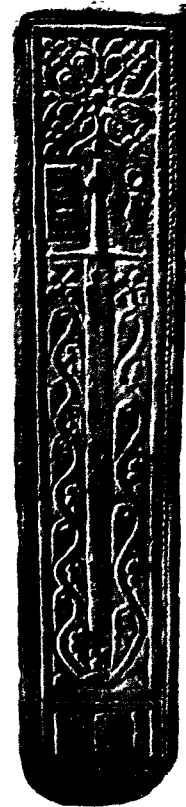


Fig. 10. Grave-slab at Kilninian, Mull.

are on these monuments, and within the circular spring head is a quatrefoil ornament. The axe has a triangular blade similar to that



Fig. 11. Grave-slab at Kilmory, Knap.



Fig. 12. Grave-slab at Kilfinan, Cowal.

appearing in the hand of the figure carved on the shaft of Macmillan's Cross, also at Kilmory, Knap. Round the slab is a double-roll moulding with a fillet between.

SLAB FROM KILFINAN, COWAL.

This slab (fig. 12) is narrow, particularly at the lower end, and unsymmetrical in shape. The upper two-thirds of its length appear to have been occupied by two panels of interlaced work with a blank space

between them, and the lower portion by a pattern built up of circles; but the details are not well preserved. The stone is bordered by dog-tooth ornamentation.

FRAGMENTS OF SLABS AT SADDELL, KINTYRE.

One fragment (fig. 13) is evidently the upper end of a slab which has lost its upper left-hand corner. The chief feature is a panel containing

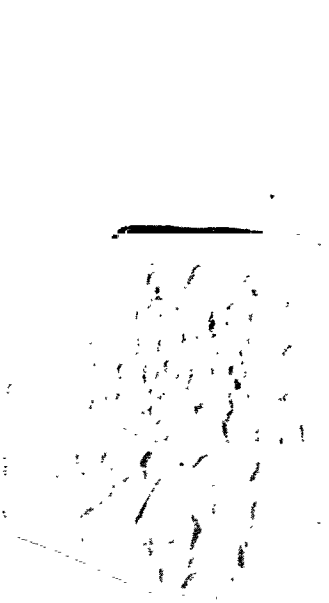


Fig. 13. Grave-slab at Saddell

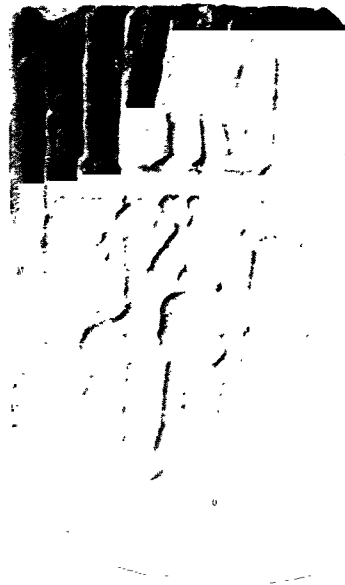


Fig. 14. Grave-slab at Saddell.

five lines of inscription, of which the following can be made out: "HIC JACET" in the first line and "DVGALLDI" in the third.

Below this panel is seen the top of a niche with pointed roof, side finials that carry bulbous swellings just below their tips, and crockets of debased foliaceous character. Inside the niche is a head wearing a conical helmet.

The other fragment (fig. 14), which is very similar in style to the last (particularly as regards the detail of the border), shows two figures enclosed in niches. The upper figure, from which the head is missing, is in a standing posture, wears a jupon and greaves, has a scabbard across

the left thigh, and appears to hold in the right hand a spear, or some other weapon, the end of which rests on the ground. Below this is a smaller niche with pointed roof and side-posts that are similar to those of fig. 13, containing an unarmed figure in an attitude of prayer. It also carries a decoration of tendrils and fruit. There is a broad border round the whole of the worked space.

It is possible, but not certain, that these two fragments (figs. 13 and 14) are really parts of the same slab; in this case the head appearing at the bottom of the former would belong to the standing figure just described upon the latter.

III.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALVENIE CASTLE. BY W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.Scot.

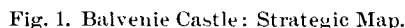
I. HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The ruined castle of Balvenie, in Banffshire, occupies a strong position on the left bank of the River Fiddich, a little below the point where that beautiful stream receives the Dullan Water, and about half a mile north of Dufftown (O.S. Map, 6", Banffshire, Sheet xxv). From the knoll on which the castle stands an extensive view over the surrounding country is obtained. It commands (see Sketch Map, fig. 1) the approaches both down and up Glen Fiddich; blocks the outlet from Glen Rinnes, down which the Dullan Water flows; and forbids the passage through the narrow "slack" which leads by the modern Drummuir Castle to Glenisla, and is now traversed by the railway. Moreover, it also sentinels the old hill-road leading over by the Cabrach to Donside, which Edward I. used on his return journey from Elgin, in July 1296.¹ The position of the castle is thus one of considerable tactical and strategic importance; and it may be regarded as a link in the great chain of early strongholds guarding the avenues into the unruly Celtic palatinate of Moravia.² From Huntly or Strathbogie Castle, where on their timbered *motte* the Normanised Celtic Earls of Fife were settled under William the Lion, the high-road led past Balvenie to the de Moravia castle of Boharm, thence to the castle of the de Pollocs at Rothes, and so through the Glen of Rothes towards the Laigh of Moray and the royal castle at Elgin.

¹ For this road, see J. Taylor, *Cabrach Feerings*, pp. 12-16.

² See my paper on Huntly Castle in *Proceedings*, vol. lvi. pp. 148 and 150; also my *The Castle of Kildrumny*, pp. 49-51.

The history of the castle, so far as germane to our present purpose, may be very briefly told. In the thirteenth century the lordship of Balvenie is said by old writers¹ to have belonged to the Comyns, but no contemporary verification of this statement seems to be known. Authentic records do not appear until the early fifteenth century, when we find Balvenie in possession of James Douglas, surnamed "The Gross," afterwards seventh Earl of Lord Balvenie. As James Douglas Council held at Inverkeithing on 19 a commissioner to treat in London. It has been stated that he obtained Moray, heiress of Bothwell.³ If



³ Sir W. Fraser, *The Douglas Book*, vol. i. p. 431, footnote.

have belonged to the great northern family of de Moravia, who in the thirteenth century held the neighbouring castle of Boharm. In Mortlach Church is a slab with a cross of Calvary, inscribed to a *constabularius de Balvenie*, who died in 1420. This is evidence of the existence of a castle, at all events, by that date. With the downfall of the Black Douglasses under James II., Balvenie was involved in the general forfeiture of their estates (1455); and on 25th March 1460 the lordship and castle were bestowed upon John Stewart, first Earl of Atholl, and his wife Margaret, widow of Earl Douglas. The *reddendo* is "one red rose at the chief messuage of the said lordship, at the feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist, in name of blench farm, if asked only."¹

In the hands of the Stewart Earls of Atholl Balvenie remained until the beginning of the seventeenth century. On 24th September 1562 it was honoured by a visit from Queen Mary, then on her northern campaign against the Gordons.² Dying in 1595, John, fifth Earl of Atholl, left four daughters, who in 1610 resigned their interest in the lands to the Crown, by whom the lordship was granted on 6th April of that year, as a new infeftment, to James, Lord Innerneath, second Earl of Atholl in the new creation.³ He had already executed a contract of alienation, disposing it to Lord Abernethy of Saltoun (13th December 1609), who, on 20th April following, received a charter under the Great Seal.⁴ From Lord Saltoun the property passed in 1612 to Sir James Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, who two years later sold it to Robert Innes, fifth baron of Innermarkie, the new owner obtaining a charter under the Great Seal, 26th December 1615.⁵ This Robert Innes was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I. in 1631. In the Civil War his son and grandson bore themselves as staunch Royalists, and as a result of their loyalty they incurred heavy losses, which brought about a sale of their estates in or before 1658. After various vicissitudes, Balvenie was purchased in 1687 by Alexander Duff of Braco, ancestor of the ducal house of Fife, in whose possession it still remains. The castle itself had a disturbed history during the civil tumults of the seventeenth century,⁶ and was finally unroofed in 1724, when the new house of Balvenie was built.⁷

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Appendix to Seventh Report (Atholl Papers), p. 708, No. 48; see also *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1424-1513, p. 157, No. 750. Later, the *reddendo* is fixed at two roses (*Ibid.*, 1580-93, pp. 3-4, No. 8; 1609-20, pp. 493-4, No. 1357).

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 579, 584, 586.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1609-20, p. 101, No. 275.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103, No. 279.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 493, No. 1357.

⁶ See Wishart's *Deeds of Montrose*, ed. A. D. Murdoch and H. F. Morland Simpson, p. 244, note 3, and p. 304, note 47; also *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ix. pp. 447-8.

⁷ See Cramond, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 26.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINS.

The framework of the castle (see Plan, fig. 2) is a large and ancient quadrangular wall of *enceinte*, into which have been worked additions

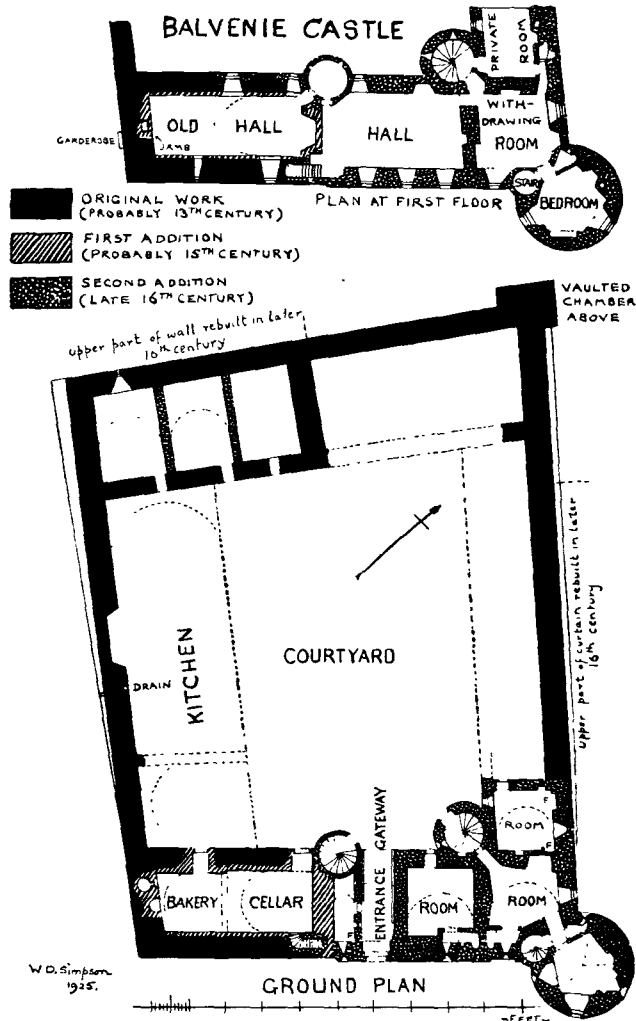


Fig. 2. Balvenie Castle: Plans.

of various subsequent epochs. This wall measures about 158 feet by 131 feet exteriorly, and is built of massive, well-coursed rubble-work, 7 feet thick, and remains in most places to a height of over 25 feet, and

on the south front¹ to a height of fully 35 feet. Small scraps of the parapet wall still remain at one or two places. There are no indications of a hoarding or any other mode of oversailing parapet defence.² The two western angles of the *enceinte* are unfurnished with any sort of flanking protection, although an evident patch in the wall, and a large relieving arch, suggest that there may at one time have been a tower with westward salient at the north-west angle. On the other hand, the battered base of the wall below here shows no sign of disturbance. The south-east angle has been altered in connection with the later buildings at this point. The remaining angle, to the north-east, is strengthened by a rectangular buttress, 12 feet 6 inches by 15 feet 6 inches, large enough to contain a vaulted chamber, now ruinous, at the first-floor level. Along the east and west curtains massive sloped plinths are found; midway in the west curtain opens a basal drain from the kitchen, and near its south end a garderobe shaft has been corbelled out from the first floor; but its outer walling was removed and the vent blocked, apparently, when the building containing the old hall was erected inside against this part of the wall. In connection with the later buildings at the opposite or south-east corner of the *enceinte*, the whole of the upper part of the east curtain, except a length of 42 feet at its north end, has been rebuilt.³ A similar reconstruction of the upper part of the north curtain has been effected where a range of internal buildings abuts against its west end. Of the south curtain, only the western portion (see on the left in fig. 5) is original, and contains a plain loop with sandstone dressings, now much weathered. In the total absence of distinctive detail, it is hard to form any opinion as to the date of this great quadrangular wall of *enceinte*; but the masonry is of early character, and the general design recalls the simpler enclosure castles of the thirteenth century, such as Kinclaven or Kincardine.⁴

All round the court there have been buildings of various ages, but these survive only in two places, along the south side and at the north-west corner. At the latter point we find against the north wall a building of two storeys, containing a basement divided into three cellars, the two western only of which are vaulted, with an upper floor now

¹ For purposes of description I have referred to the side containing the entrance as the south front, and to the others accordingly. The correct orientation is shown on the plans.

² The present mode of access to the parapet walk is from the upper floor of the building at the north-west corner, but it is not clear how the walk was originally reached. It may have been from the buttress tower at the north-east corner.

³ The different style and tint of the masonry are clearly visible in the upper part of the curtain wall, as shown on the left in fig. 6.

⁴ The general style of the battered base and the character of its masonry forcibly recalls similar features in the thirteenth-century castle of Coull (see my paper in *Proceedings*, vol. lviii. pp. 45-99).

ruined. The west cellar shows an original blocked¹ loop piercing the north wall of the *enceinte*. The external walls of this building seem contemporary with the curtain, into which they bond; the vaults were inserted later, and an upper room provided above them, the north curtain here being rebuilt with suitable windows. To judge by the style of masonry, these alterations were effected in the later sixteenth century.

The buildings on the south side are grouped round the main entrance, which has probably always been in this position, although the present work dates only from the latter half of the sixteenth century. The entry (fig. 5) is by a segmental arched gateway, 5 feet 9 inches wide and 8 feet in height. It is moulded with a half-engaged filleted round set on a chamfer between wide cavettos, all springing from a stop-chamfer with foliated enrichment. There have been double doors, and behind them still swings, in perfect preservation, the massive two-leaved iron "yett"² (fig. 3). Within is found a vaulted trance, on either side of which is a stone bench or offset, while a door on the left leads into the guardroom—a mere slip or tunnel of an apartment, with a splayed gunloop to the field, another raking the trance, and a small fireplace in the south-east corner. The west wall of this guardroom is formed by the more ancient gable end of the old hall.

In the interior or courtyard view of the castle (see fig. 6), a couple of large wheel-stairs in projecting towers dominate the composition. The smaller of these stairs served the apartments west of the trance. These consist of the old hall, and another room above it which is much destroyed. Below the hall, on the ground floor, are a cellar and bakehouse, both of which were vaulted; but the vaults have now fallen. The old hall measures about 40 feet by 15 feet 8 inches, and is covered in by a lofty pointed barrel vault. There are good-sized

¹ The blocking is due to a modern repair.

² The "yett" is described by Dr D. Christison in *Proceedings*, vol. xxii. p. 305, from which the drawing given herewith is reproduced. Dr Christison's description may be quoted. "With the exception of the one at Doune, this is the only 'yett' with two leaves. It is round-headed to suit the arched doorway, and measures 8 feet 9 inches by 7 feet 1 inch. The usual alternate penetration of the bars occurs throughout in only one leaf; in the other a number of the cross-bars simply pass behind the uprights, and are riveted to them at the intersections. In both leaves all the bars are similarly riveted to the framework, instead of passing through it. We may conjecture, therefore, that this 'yett' has undergone a comparatively rude reconstruction after being half destroyed. The two hinges for each leaf are of the usual type. There is no bolt, and there is no hole in the wall for the customary bar; but their place is supplied by the singular contrivance of a bifurcated bar turning on hinges fixed on an upright bar of the 'yett' itself; how fastened on the opposite side does not appear. The 'yett' is withdrawn fully 3 feet within the entrance, behind a rebate; and further out are two other rebates, behind each of which a hinge remains, evidently for two other doors, the first 22 inches in front of the yett, and the second 6½ inches in front of the first."

windows on two sides, and a large fireplace in the east end. The vault is plainly an insertion. In one of the windows on the courtyard

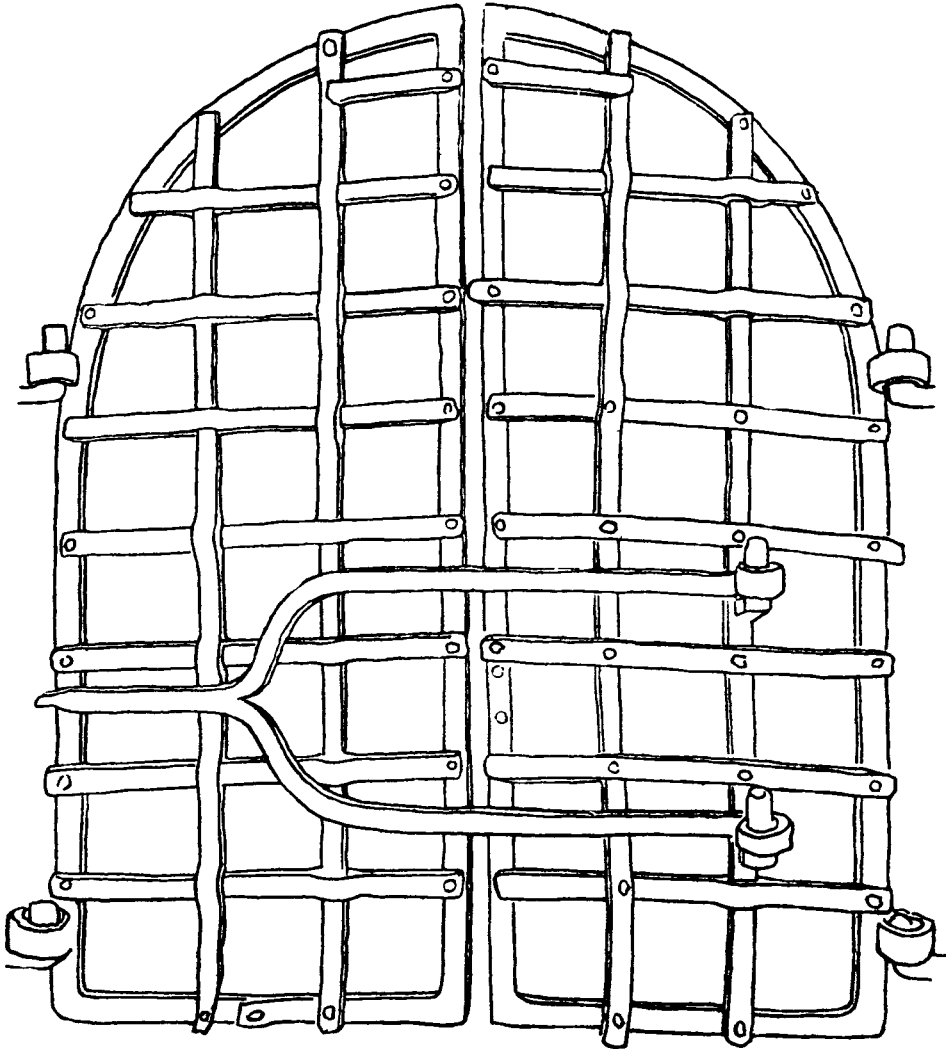


Fig. 3. Iron Yett at Balvenie Castle.

side, the vertical face of the older wall, with the scoinson arch of the window, are visible inside the later ingo, which opens in the haunch of the vault (fig. 4). The ingo of the other window on this side

is lintelled, but in the jambs the joint between the older and newer masonry is clearly evident. Similarly, on the opposite side, a breach in the vault exposes the older vertical wall above, with an original window. In this wall also another window, now blocked, pierces the haunch of the inserted vault, and here again the masonry of the original outer wall is visible in the jambs. The west gable wall of the hall has been greatly altered, its northern section having been almost completely rebuilt to provide for the flues of the bakery inserted in the basement; but there still remains one jamb of a door (shown on plan), apparently opening to the garderobe whose flue exists outside, but which was built up when the later hall was inset.

From all this evidence it is clear that there was originally an unvaulted hall on the first floor against the south wall of the *enceinte* here, with two windows overlooking the courtyard, two others on the opposite side, and a garderobe in the west wall: and that subsequently the present vaulted hall, with a vaulted basement, containing cellarage and bakehouse, was inserted, the windows of the older hall being made available to light the new one by leaving apertures in the haunch of the inserted vault. These windows themselves on the north side were subsequently enlarged so as to give more light to the gloomy vault, for the masonry around them, as seen from the courtyard, has evidently been slapped and rebuilt.¹ To judge by the style of the inserted stonework and the chamfer found on the rybats, this final alteration took place about the end of the sixteenth century, and was doubtless part of the general re-organisation of the castle carried out when the large additions providing new domestic accommodation were added eastward from the old hall. Lastly, it appears that the upper storey, over the pointed vault, is an afterthought; for the wall facing the courtyard has been heightened above the vault, the upper level of masonry being of a different tint and texture,² and set back somewhat from the older wall-plane below. This upper masonry, like that round the slapped windows underneath, is similar to that of the late sixteenth-century buildings now occupying the south-east corner of the castle. One window in the upper level (to the left in fig. 6) has a plain round un moulded



Fig. 4. Balvenie Castle: west window in north wall of Old Hall, seen from interior.

¹ This is clearly visible in the window beside the stair tower in fig. 6.

² This can be seen in fig. 6.

arch of a type sometimes found in sixteenth-century work, for example, at Dunnottar Castle.

The pointed barrel vault and other features of the old hall would suggest a date probably in the fifteenth century. The doorway into the bakehouse shows a $3\frac{3}{4}$ -inch chamfer, as distinct from the $2\frac{3}{4}$ -inch chamfer found generally in the sixteenth-century buildings. A heavy chamfer was usual in Scottish work of the fifteenth century. The original unvaulted hall which preceded these changes was contemporary with the early castle, as its north wall bonds into the west curtain, while the south curtain with its windows is all of one build. The



Fig. 5. Balvenie Castle: View of Entrance Front.

blocked garderobe in the west curtain is a relic of the original arrangements, and passed out of use when the vaulted hall was built.

The bakehouse contains a well-formed oven, with semicircular arched entry and flue in front. The oven is of a domed shape, measuring 5 feet 7 inches in diameter, and about 4 feet high. It is very neatly lined with small bricks, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

East of the trance we have on the ground floor three vaulted rooms, of which one extends northward along the east curtain, the whole thus forming an L-shaped block, in the re-entrant angle of which is placed the main-stair tower. The two rooms forming the limbs of the L are entered from the court, while the third room in the heel between them is reached through the stair tower. All three were living apartments. The two southern ones are each provided

with a low garderobe, over which is a window, and from the garderobes wide-mouthed gunloops open below these windows. It is curious that neither of these rooms has a fireplace. There are, however, some indications that the east room once possessed a fireplace, later withdrawn, on the east side of the deep recess at its north-east corner. The vaults of both rooms have now fallen. The third or



Fig. 6. Balvenie Castle: View in Courtyard.

Photo by G. W. Wilson.

north room still has its vault, and is provided with a couple of fireplaces.

On the first floor is a similar arrangement of rooms, but all unvaulted. That on the east side was a private room, and the centre one formed a withdrawing-room. The western apartment is carried right over the trance, so as to abut against the east gable of the old hall. Thus a spacious dining-room, measuring 36 feet 6 inches by 20 feet 8 inches, was secured. It seems to have been meant to supersede the old hall, being unvaulted and much more cheerful. The withdrawing-room and private room are entered from the main stair, and also communicate with one another by a narrow mural passage, off which is a garderobe common to both. The new hall, or dining-room, is

entered from the withdrawing-room as well as from the second stair, beside the entrance. Like one of the rooms below, it presents the uncommon peculiarity of having two fireplaces, both apparently original. It has three large windows on the south side and one looking to the north, while at the south-west corner a narrow service stair leads down to the cellar below the old hall. This stair has been cut through the gable-end masonry of the old hall after the dining-room was built. Over the dining- and withdrawing-rooms there has been a third storey, now inaccessible, and above the wall-head garret accommodation was provided under the roof, which, where it abuts against the cape-house of the main-stair tower, has subsequently been raised to obtain more head-room, as appears from a new raggle, which shows that this later roof had partly masked a window of the capehouse. The east room on the upper floor has a fireplace with double roll-and-hollow moulding, stop-chamfered below.

On the east side the sixteenth-century house was of two floors only. The roofing of the upper room originally butted, or was designed to butt, pentice-wise against the east and south walls, as appears by the water-table, corbels, and raggle still extant (see fig. 6). Subsequently a new roof was formed against the south wall, at a slightly lesser pitch, the two successive raggles being visible against the stair-tower. When this alteration took place it is clear that there can have been no further extension of buildings along the east curtain: and indeed it is probable that these were never built, the failure to complete the design being responsible for the altered roofing arrangements of the private room. The main stair in the south-east corner had steps about 4 feet 3 inches wide; the other stair was somewhat narrower, and was contracted above the first-floor level, but both are now reduced to mere empty shells, all the steps having been torn out.

There remain to be described the rooms in a massive and striking round tower (see fig. 5), which projects from the south-east angle. This tower is 28 feet in diameter, with three-quarter salient, and thus provided a formidable flanking defence for the entrance gateway, which otherwise would have been a weak element in the design. The basement of the tower contains a pentagonal vaulted living-room with fireplace. The passage leading into this room through the gorge-wall of the tower has a door on each side, of which that to the left enters a mural garderobe, while the other gives access to a wheel-stair in a turret corbelled out in the west re-entrant. This staircase served the two upper rooms of the tower, but, like the others, it is now merely a shell. The room on the first floor is also entered from the withdrawing-room,

and appears to have formed a bedchamber. It is hexagonal, and is furnished with a fireplace and garderobe. The upper room, now inaccessible, was also a sleeping apartment.

With the exception of the three cellars already noted at the north-west corner, the other apartments round the courtyard are entirely destroyed. Along the west curtain indications of a vaulted basement remain, but elsewhere these apartments had timbered flooring, as appears from joist-holes in the walls. On the west side was the kitchen, the huge ruinous fireplace of which, about 16 feet in width, with slop-drain adjoining to the south, still remains in the curtain. Of the other rooms grass-grown mounds alone are visible. All these apartments were of two storeys only.

The external aspect of the south front (fig. 5) is imposing, with the great south-eastern round tower dominating the composition. Between the old hall and the newer buildings to the east a perpendicular joint traverses the masonry from top to bottom. All to the eastward of this, as the design and details clearly prove, is work of the later sixteenth century. Its masonry shows the uncoursed rubble and frequent use of pinnings common in the north at this period, and contrasts markedly with the older masonry of the walls of *enceinte*, in which the coursed boulders are much more massive and pinnings are sparingly employed. All the approaches to the entrance are commanded by splayed gunloops in the front wall and in the tower, and the windows have all been heavily grated, the bars of those on the first floor being projected to form a cage. At the basement level the walling of the sixteenth-century house projects slightly from the plane of the older *enceinte* to the westward. The projection is reduced above by an offset, which is carried vertically up the joint with the older work as far as the first-floor level, thereafter traverses the front of the sixteenth-century building below the dining-room windows, and is continued round the south-east tower. The dining-room windows have square heads beneath elliptic relieving arches, and have been shuttered in their lower parts, the upper being grooved for glass. Between two of them over the gateway is the empty niche for a coat-of-arms, having a depressed trifoliated head, of which the central lobe is triangularly pointed. A cable moulding with external cavetto is continued round the head and jambs of the niche. The windows on the second floor are peculiar, and form a very interesting feature of the design, having projecting moulded canopies and continuously corbelled bases. There are also two of these windows on the round tower and one on the east gable adjoining. Above these windows a string-course is carried partly across the south front and round the tower, and on the east side across the sixteenth-

century gable. The staircase turret adjoining the tower is corbelled out very near the ground, as often in late work; at the level of the offset it is enlarged by a collar of corbels. There are three coats-of-arms, two on the main front and one on the stair turret. One of these, over the entrance, has the royal arms and thistle of Scotland. The other, on this front, bears the arms of the Stewart Earls of Atholl: quarterly, 1st and 4th, paly of 6, for Atholl; 2nd and 3rd, a fess chequy for Stewart; also the initials I.S. Below it on a long scroll a hand points to the proudly self-reliant motto: "FVRTH·FORTVIN·AND·FIL·THI·FATRIS"¹ The shield at the head of the stair turret is blazoned: dexter, Stewart and Atholl quartered, as on the first shield; sinister, quarterly, 1st and 4th, 3 boars' heads coupé, for Gordon; 2nd, 3 garbs for Buchan; 3rd, 3 crescents for Seton. This suggests that the builder of the sixteenth-century extension was John Stewart, fourth Earl of Atholl (1542-79), who married Lady Elizabeth Gordon, third daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntly.

The interior or courtyard front of the castle (fig. 6) is not less interesting. While partaking of the same massive character, it has a more residential aspect. Both stair-towers are traversed at the first-floor level by a string-course with hollowed under-profile, and on the floor above are indrawn by an offset. The main stair-tower is corbelled out into the usual square oversailing gabled cape-house, reached by a corbelled turret stair on the east side. The doors leading into these stair-towers have the same mouldings as the main gate,² and over each is the empty recess for a coat-of-arms, framed in a cabled moulding set on a chamfer within a wide cavetto. A shield, apparently from one of these towers, now lies defaced in the trance; in the first quarter the six pales of Atholl are alone distinguishable.³ The wall-head is finished with a cornice, and there are the usual tall coped chimneys, decreasing by successive intakes. The gables have not been crow-stepped. Some of the gargoyles are wrought as imitation cannon. The windows of the dining-room have a half-engaged roll set on a chamfer.

An interesting peculiarity in the design of the sixteenth-century house is the way in which the vaulted basements, usually apportioned as offices, are here planned as living-rooms. Doubtless, this special feature is due to the fact that in this case the sixteenth-century house was fitted into

¹ Surely "Forth, Fortune, and File thy Fetters," and not the almost meaningless "Fill the Fetters" usually given.

² As clearly shown in fig. 6, the right jamb of the door in the east tower has been torn out, and the overhanging masonry above is caught up with rough modern under-pinning, the gun-loop shown on plan being thereby masked.

³ A. Jervise (*Epitaphs and Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. 334) and Cramond (*op. cit.*, p. 8) speak of a shield "over which is the motto: SPES MEA XPS, Christ my Hope."

a courtyard castle, in the other buildings round whose walls ample storage accommodation was available.

III. THE EVOLUTION OF THE BUILDING.

Although the absolute dates of the successive alterations and additions are to some extent a matter of conjecture, the development of the castle in its main outlines is tolerably distinct. It began as a great quadrangular enclosure, screened by thick and lofty walls of *enceinte*, and dating probably from the thirteenth century. This early castle was an ill-contrived, home-grown structure, lacking adequate flanking and parapet defence, and relying for its strength mainly on the great outer ditch and the mere passive resisting power of its massive walls. It stands at the opposite or vernacular end of the scale, in the same great building epoch which saw the erection of such noble castles of foreign *provenance* as Dirleton, Kildrummy, and Bothwell. Along the north side of the enclosure there was an unvaulted range, on the west side was the kitchen, and along the south side at its west end was a building two storeys in height, with an unvaulted hall on the first floor, lit by two windows on either side, and having a garderobe corbelled out from the curtain at its west end.

In the fifteenth century, apparently, a lofty pointed barrel vault was inserted in this hall, with a vaulted basement below it, containing at the west end a bakery, the oven of which was afterwards lined in brick. Towards the end of the succeeding century, when the whole castle was reorganised by the building of the new house to the eastward, the courtyard wall of the old hall was heightened, and an extra storey built above it, while more light was admitted to the hall itself by enlarging its windows towards the courtyard.

To build the new house, the whole of the south curtain eastward from the west gable of the old hall, and the east curtain northward for a length of some 45 feet, were pulled down. Into the gap thus formed was fitted a lofty building, which comprised a complete house in itself, having vaulted living-rooms in the basement, dining- and withdrawing-rooms on the first floor, and ample private accommodation overhead, with two wheel-stairs providing easy access to all storeys. Only there are no kitchen, bakery, and offices, these being already elsewhere to hand. Through the basement of this building was carried the new entrance, having a guardroom on the left, built against the gable wall of the old hall. Flanking defence for the entrance was secured by the big tower built at the south-east angle, which also supplied much additional domestic accommodation, just at a time when, with improved social

standards, such extra space was urgently desired. This tower has its own stair, and was clearly designed to be in some measure private, serving perhaps as the lord's own suite, like the similar tower at Huntly Castle,¹ to which this sixteenth-century house at Balvenie has many points of resemblance. Communication with the cellarage below the old hall was gained by cutting down a narrow service-stair through its west gable.

About the same time when the new house was built, the east curtain, for about three-quarters of its length northwards, was heightened, in order no doubt to give an extra storey of lean-to buildings against its inner side. These buildings were designed to have a pentice roof, for which provision was made in the curtain; but, except for the room at the south end forming part of the main house, this range was probably never completed, and the open end of the main house was roofed in by a lean-to constructed against the south wall, and subsequently raised, as was also the roof on the south side.

To the sixteenth century also must in all likelihood be ascribed the erection of a two-storey building, with vaulted basement, at the north-west corner of the courtyard, lying between the west curtain and old partition walls running out from the north and west curtains. As on the east side, so also here, when this later construction was built against the north curtain, the latter was heightened or rebuilt, with large windows lighting the first floor within.

IV. THE OUTWORKS.

The castle has been enclosed by a wide ditch (see plan, fig. 7) on all sides except the east. On this side, where the ground descends very steeply towards the Fiddich, no ditch is found. Instead, a level terrace, about 35 feet broad, intervenes between the edge of the bank leading down to the river and the knoll on which the castle stands, the knoll rising some 10 feet above this terrace, and having its scarp about 30 feet out from the curtain wall. This terrace extends round the north-east angle of the castle, and then falls gradually away in a north-westerly direction, until it merges in the general slope of the eminence, upon which at this point an elbow of the turnpike road below has somewhat encroached. The terrace is clearly artificial, and suggests an ancient drive, approaching the castle from the north, and swinging round its east flank to gain the entrance in the south front.

Under the north-east buttress of the castle, and at a distance of about 30 feet out from the curtain, the huge ditch begins, and is continued

¹ See my paper in *Proceedings*, vol. lvi. pp. 134-63.

round the north, west, and south sides of the *enceinte*. It averages about 40 feet in width; in places on the north front is still fully 12 feet deep,

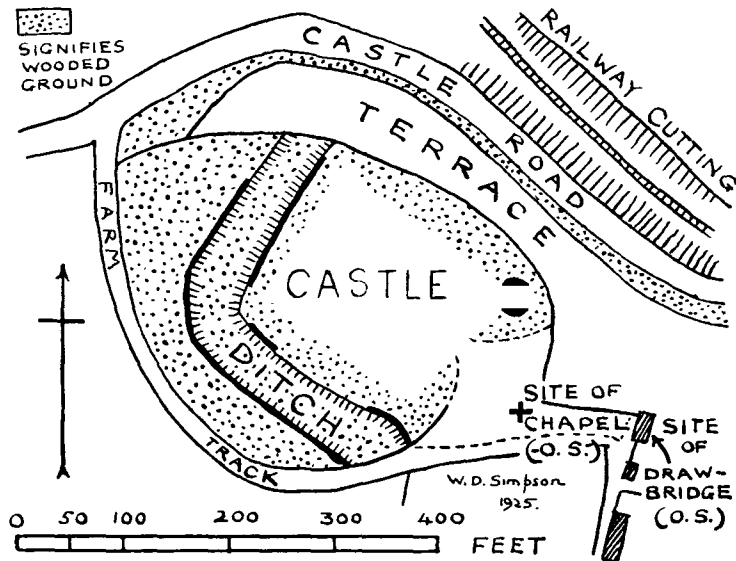


Fig. 7. Balvenie Castle: Plan of Precincts.

and has been enclosed within vertical revetment walls of solid grouted masonry. On the south side the ditch is considerably obscured by a cart-track leading to the adjoining farm, although its sinking is still very apparent. This ditch is a very remarkable feature of the fortress; but its character is wholly mediæval, and there is nothing about it that suggests a prehistoric origin.

At the foot of the counterscarp or *glacis* slope, on the west side of the ditch, the mediæval bronze censer shown in fig. 8 was found about the year 1890. It measures over 6 inches in diameter at the mouth, and weighs about two pounds. On each side is a small circular aperture for the chains used in suspension; around the circumference are set six groups of openings in a cruciform pattern, probably for air, and the rim shows

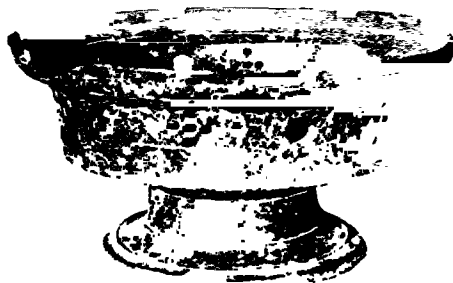


Fig. 8. Bronze Censer found at Balvenie Castle.

six indentations, apparently to fit the cover. The censer is now preserved in the Roman Catholic church at Dufftown.¹

It is deplorable to have to conclude this paper by observing that the ruins of this fine and deeply interesting castle are now in a shocking state, utterly neglected, and overgrown with young trees whose expanding roots threaten every day to bring large portions to the ground. The whole castle is absolutely buried in large old timber, growing close up against its walls, which render it impossible to get a photograph of the exterior.

I have once more to make grateful acknowledgment of my indebtedness to Dr Thomas Ross, F.S.A.Scot., Edinburgh, who has kindly allowed me to base my own survey on the plan prepared by his colleague, the late Dr Macgibbon, for their joint work on *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*. In making my own measurements, I have again enjoyed the assistance of Mr Thornton L. Taylor, Aberdeen.

¹ See *Proceedings*, vol. xxix. pp. 59-60. On the level ground in front of the castle the Ordnance Survey map, I do not know on what authority, marks the site of a chapel. In this connection it is interesting to note that St Walloch, who died in 733, and was one of the last evangelists sent out into Northern Pictland from St Ninian's missionary centre at Candida Casa, is recorded to have had a church at Balvenie (see David Camerarius, *De Scotorum Fortitudine*, 1631, p. 91, wrongly numbered as p. 75). Jervise (*op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 333) says that at Balvenie was a well noted for curing various diseases. For St Walloch, see my *Origins of Christianity in Aberdeenshire*, pp. 30-1. There is an interesting paper on him by Sir A. Mitchell, in *Proceedings*, vol. x. pp. 604-13. Camerarius says also (p. 202) that St Manire of Crathie, in Braemar, whose death is given in the year 824, was honoured at Balvenie. The Ordnance Survey map indicates the "site of a drawbridge" east of the chapel site.

MONDAY, 8th February 1926.

JAMES CURLE, LL.D., in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows:—

JOHN C. GARDNER, B.L., Solicitor, Cardowan, Stonehaven.

JAMES GEBBIE, Bank Agent, Northview, Westerton, by Drumchapel, Dumbartonshire.

Mrs VIOLET M. HOOD, Midfield, Lasswade.

JOHN S. KAY, "Thor," Bath Road, Colnbrook, Bucks.

Rev. T. PRIMROSE RANKINE, M.A., Minister of Rosehall United Free Church, 9 Salisbury Road.

ROBERT MARTIN SMITH, A.I. Arcts. (Scot.), "Windyknowe," Alexandra Avenue, Stepps, by Glasgow.

Professor HAROLD WILLIAM THOMPSON, A.M., Ph.D., of University Club, Albany, New York, U.S.A., Bruntsfield Hotel, 73 Bruntsfield Place.

LESLIE GRAHAME THOMSON, Architect, Inglewood, 18 Hermitage Drive.

Mrs A. E. NELSON, F.S.A.Scot., exhibited an ancient silver finger-ring (fig. 1), found in Perth in 1873. In forwarding the ring, Mrs Nelson sent the following note:—"The massive fifteenth-century silver ring (formerly in the Cook Collection, No. 478) has a flat shank with bevelled edges, the shoulders swelling to the bezel, which is a flattened oval, and has engraved upon it a merchant's mark within a cabled border. The mark is a combination of a shield, upon which occurs a chevron with the letters **J R**, and above it the usual flag ornament. The flag, which is seen on merchants' marks, was probably derived from the Lamb and Flag, the badge of the wool-staplers."

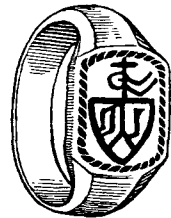


Fig. 1. Silver Finger-ring from Perth. (J.)

The following Donations to the Museum were intimated and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By Major BROUN LINDSAY and Mrs BROUN LINDSAY, F.S.A.Scot.

Bronze Spear-head of Arretton Down type (fig. 2), measuring $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $1\frac{13}{16}$ inch in breadth across the base of the blade, with a mid-rib of lozenge section bordered on each side by five slight

parallel flutings, and a tang, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, of rectangular section, thinning out towards the end, where there is a perforation $\frac{5}{16}$ inch in diameter; found in a drain on Whitehaugh Moss, Muirkirk, Ayrshire. (See Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times—Bronze and Stone Ages*, p. 180, fig. 185, and *Proceedings*, xxviii. p. 219.)

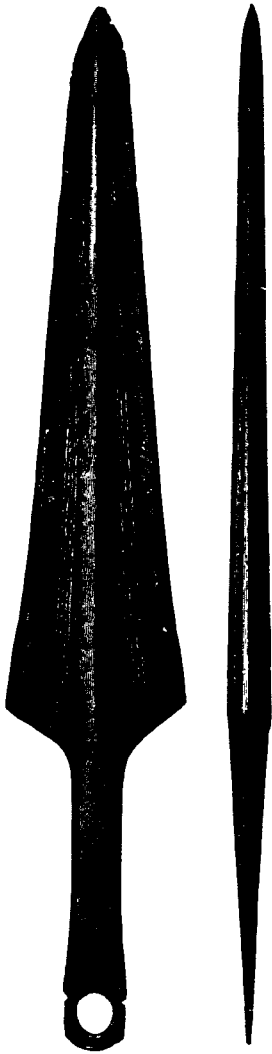


Fig. 2. Bronze Spear-head from Whitehaugh Moss, Ayrshire.

Flanged Bronze Axe (fig. 3), measuring $5\frac{13}{16}$ inches in length and $2\frac{7}{16}$ inches across the cutting edge, which re-curves backwards at the ends. At the front of the flanges, which are $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch broad, is a thickening of the axe, to act as a stop, and at the butt end, between the flanges, there is a

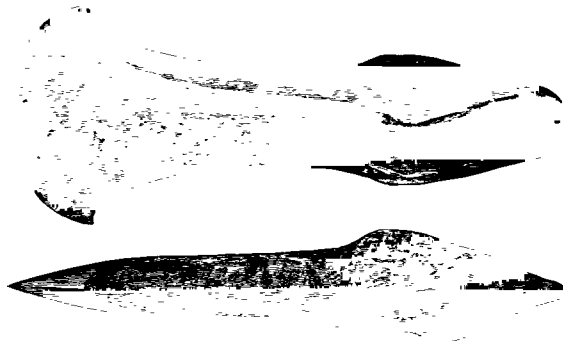


Fig. 3. Bronze Flanged Axe from West Glenbuck, Ayrshire.

small break in the metal. Turned up by the plough at West Glenbuck, Muirkirk.

Half of a Stone Axe (cutting end), measuring $3\frac{5}{16}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch, which has been used as a hammer-stone; found on the south side of the road almost opposite the west side of the cairn near Marchhouse, Muirkirk, which was described in *Proceedings*, vol. lviii. p. 333.

Fragment of a large Jet Ring, measuring $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, and $\frac{1}{16}$ inch by $\frac{1}{16}$ inch in cross-section, from a hut-site, Muirkirk. (See subsequent paper by Archibald Fairbairn, F.S.A.Scot.)

Food-vessel and rim of a Cinerary Urn, found in a cairn at Westerhill, Muirkirk. (See *Proceedings*, vol. li. p. 24.)

The food-vessel (fig. 5) measures $7\frac{5}{16}$ inches in height, 6 inches in

diameter at the mouth, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the shoulder, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the base, and is of buff-coloured ware. At the shoulder it is surrounded by

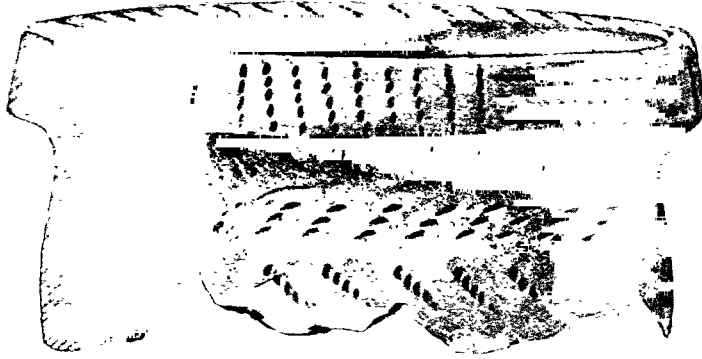


Fig. 4. Rim of Cinerary Urn from Westerhill, Muirkirk.

a double moulding, the higher being $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch below the brim. Between the shoulder and the brim it is ornamented by groups of short horizontal lines alternating with groups of short vertical lines, the top of the lip, which is bevelled towards the interior, being decorated by short oblique lines. A space round the shoulder is covered by oblique lines, and the whole of the lower part is covered by narrow panels, separated by single vertical lines, and filled with horizontal lines. The groups of vertical lines on the upper part are formed by impressions of some indeterminate object, but all the other lines have been made with a pointed tool. The rim of the Cinerary Urn (fig. 4) measures 7 inches in diameter across the mouth, and is of brownish, buff-coloured ware. From the neck the rim curves out slightly, and then contracts to the lip, which is narrow, and concave on the inside. Round the lip are groups of alternate horizontal and vertical impres-



Fig. 5. Food-vessel from Westerhill, Muirkirk.

sions of a twisted cord. On the top of the lip are similar markings set obliquely, and on the wall they form a series of vertical zigzags.

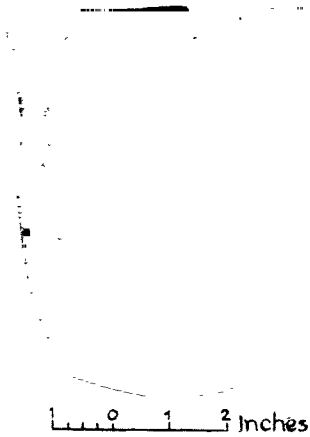


Fig. 6. Beaker-shaped Vessel from a Hut-circle at Muirkirk, Ayrshire.

Beaker of reddish Ware (fig. 6), measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter at the mouth, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the neck, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bulge, and $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches at the base. The vessel is thicker in the wall than the ordinary beaker, and the top of the rim is rounded. The neck is decorated with flattish oblique lines of impressions of a toothed stamp, and those are repeated, but sloping in the reverse direction, on the outside of the lip. Below the bulge the body of the vessel is covered with irregular herring-bone patterns. This beaker was found in a hut-circle at Muirkirk, Ayrshire, and probably it was a domestic vessel. (See *Proceedings*, vol. xlviii. p. 379.)

Fragments of Pottery showing finger-nail impressions; fragments of a Beaker decorated with the impressions of a toothed stamp; and Flake of greyish-white Flint, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch, from hut-circles at Muirkirk.

(2) By JAMES S. RICHARDSON, F.S.A.Scot.

Lead Button (fig. 7), measuring $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch in diameter, showing in the centre a small boss, from which four twisted-cord lines radiate to the edge so as to form a cross; in each angle between the arms is a heart, and round the edge is a border which is now indistinct; on the back is a rudely formed loop, not centrally placed; and there is an arris left, showing that the back flange of the mould must have consisted of two sections; from the Lothians.

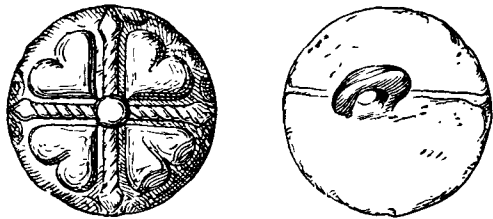


Fig. 7. Lead Button from the Lothians. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

Two Iron Cannon Balls, measuring $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, found close to the castle on the Bass; an Iron Cannon Ball, measuring 5 inches in

diameter, found on the beach below Tantallon Castle; a Stone Cannon Ball, measuring $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter, found in débris under the cliff on the north-east of Tantallon Castle; and two Lead Bullets, measuring $\frac{5}{8}$ inch and $\frac{9}{16}$ inch in diameter, from Tantallon Castle.

The following Purchases for the Museum were announced:—

Cinerary Urn (fig. 8), measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, $12\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter at the mouth, $12\frac{3}{8}$ inches at the bulge, and $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches across



Fig. 8. Cinerary Urn from Haddo House Estates, Aberdeenshire.

the base, with an upright brim and quickly tapering lower part, of drab-coloured ware, encircled by two raised mouldings, one at the shoulder and the other $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch below the brim. Both the vertical upper part and the lower part of the vessel are decorated with a lattice pattern of crossed lines made by a pointed implement, and the top of the rim is ornamented by oblique lines similarly formed. The urn was found on the Haddo House estates.

Dirk, with a blade measuring $12\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, showing two diamond-shaped and one heart-shaped perforations in the centre, near the top. The hilt, which is plain and cylindrical and made of bone, has a total length of $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches and a diameter of $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. Riveted on to the end of the tang at the top of the hilt is a cross-shaped washer. The blade, which is made of part of a sword, bears the maker's mark—a scimitar with the letter **B** reversed above it. Found in a bog at the Castle of Gight, parish of Fyvie, Aberdeenshire.

The following Donations of Books to the Library were intimated:—

(1) By Dr GEORGE F. BLACK, Corresponding Member.

Gold and Silver Ornaments from Mounds of Florida. By George F. Kunz. Reprint from *American Antiquarian*, July 1887.

Gold Ornaments from United States of Columbia. By George F. Kunz. Reprint from *American Antiquarian*, 1887.

Stone Implements from Trenton and Staten Island: Character and Sources of Materials. By J. Volney Lewis. Reprint from *American Anthropologist* (N.S.), vol. xviii. No. 2.

(2) By ROBERT MURDOCH LAWRENCE, F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

John Boyle, Bookseller and Bookbinder, Aberdeen.

(3) By Miss C. LOUISE LORIMER, 1 Bruntsfield Crescent, the Authoress.

Old Houses of our Parish: paper relating to the Parish of Carnbee, Fife.

(4) By GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A.Scot.

The Mummy: a Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archæology. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. Cambridge, 1925.

(5) By THE DELEGATES OF THE CLARENDON PRESS.

Prehistoric and Roman Wales. By R. E. M. Wheeler, D.Litt., F.S.A., Director of the National Museum of Wales. Oxford, 1925.

(6) By THE DIRECTOR OF THE NORSK FOLKEMUSEUM.

A Short Guide with Plan, Norsk Folkemuseum. Oslo, 1925.

Friluftsmuseet på Norsk Folkemuseum. Oslo, 1925.

Østlandsk Portrettkunst, 1675–1700, av Henrik Grevenor. Oslo, 1925.

(7) By Monsieur L. LEQUEUX, 60 Avenue du Général Moinier, Casablanca, Morocco, the Joint Author.

L'Age de la Pierre Polie dans la Vallée de la Vesdre. By L. Lequeux and C. Sladden. Brussels, 1924.

I.

A ROYAL GIFT TO THE HAMMERMEN OF EDINBURGH IN 1641.

BY JOHN SMITH, F.S.A.Scot.

The number of pre-Reformation buildings left in Edinburgh is singularly few. Those that remain have (with one exception) been either partially restored or are in ruins; and it is left to one modest little chapel, in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, to have the unique distinction of being, at least by its exterior, in the same condition as when it was originally built, now over three centuries ago. I refer to the Magdalen Chapel, which, if we exclude the spire, is the only religious edifice of pre-Reformation times practically untouched. Founded, as is well known, before 1544, it is not till 1547 that we are enabled to get authentic information as to the purpose and intention of the founders, Michael Macqueen and Janet Rynd, his widow. The charter containing the directions and rules for the working of this pious and useful Institution is of great length, and is considered to be the last of its kind executed in Edinburgh before the Reformation.

It is not my intention to go into any detailed account of this charter or description of the building, but to refer to a remarkable gift or mortification given to the chapel by King Charles I., nearly one hundred years after the founding of the Institution. According to the foundress's instructions, the Hammermen of Edinburgh were made patrons of the endowment, and it is to this fortunate circumstance that the preservation of the building is due. Founded primarily for the service of a chaplain to say masses for the souls of the pious founders and other relatives, it also included the maintenance of seven poor men known as "beidmen." The Reformation took away the necessity of the first part of the intention of the founders, but the Hammermen, with a noble and patriotic spirit, continued, as long as they remained an Incorporation, to carry out the wishes of Janet Rynd for the care of the poor with the means placed at their disposal. How earnestly they

succeeded in carrying out this trust is afforded by the fact that by 1640 they had increased the number of beidmen from seven to twelve, and it is at this date that the worthy craftsmen's hopes ran high by the gift of His Majesty King Charles I. of the sum of one hundred and nine pounds sterling annually (a very large sum in those days) for the beidmen. From a careful inspection of the notes of the accounts of the legacies left to the chapel and beidmen from 1555 to 1636, it appears that the whole sum invested available for the trust only brought fifteen pounds sterling annually, and during that period the amount not so earmarked was only a little over eighty pounds sterling. It can be seen that, considering the poverty of the endowment, the Hammermen nobly carried out the pious work; and it also is evident that they must have contributed largely themselves. In 1640 they were at their wits' end to carry on the charity, and we can enter into their feelings when the announcement of this regal, and to them magnificent, benefaction was made known. I quote the minute dealing with the matter, which is in language exceedingly quaint:—"20th October 1641. There compeared Richard Maxwell and in presence of ye Deacons Maisters and haill craft presentit yame an gift of mortification fra his Majestie to yame as patrons to ye use of ye beidmen of ane hundret and nyne pounds sterling yearly out of ye Bishoprik of Dunkeld. And desyrit that they would pay ye chairges yairof and give ye king thanks yairfor. To the quilks was answerit that they wald willinglie pay ye chairges. As also all in an vote give him heartie thanks for his pains." This gift, the largest the foundation ever received, is contained in a document, a copy of which fills up four folio pages of closely written manuscript. As it is too long for insertion here, a condensed account follows:—

CHARLES R.

Our Sovereign Lord understanding that yair is an hospital fundit and situated within ye towne of Edinburgh known of old and callet ye Magdalene Chapel quir of ye Hammermen of Edinbh. is patrons, quilk was appointet and fundit for ye maintenance and supplie of decayed aged distrest tradesmen. And ye quilk hospital through the failure of ye rents yairof yair was only at the beginning seven beidmen to quhand yay addit five, extending to twelve persons in number. The half yerof of ye rentes of ye said hospital being not able to sustain, and having suplicated other supplies of rent, as appointed to have been the intention of ye foundress of ye samyn, so as it wald sustain supplies and mainteun yame old aged distrestet persouns as occasions sould present. And his majestie being willing to gratify and suplie ye samyn.

Therefore our said sovereign lord out of his zeal and affection he carries to ye Lord of God and out of his pious and most cristian disposition as common father patron, and defender of all pious donations and mortifications to colleges, hospitals and schools. And for encouraging of all cristian disposed people to advance all godly works.

Ordains an list of mortifications and gift to be grantit under his highness great seal as divers service granted mortified donated and disposed.

To his majestie's leiges The present deacon and maisters of ye hammermen as representing ye haill body and to yair successors from tyme to tyme patrons of ye said hospital for ye suplie, use, and maintenance of beidmen and decayed tradesmen within ye samyn ye particular feus and tak duties under written payable furth of ye rents of ye Bishoprik of Dunkeld now vacant in his majestie's hands and as his highness's gift and disposition through ye abolition and suppression of Bishopsis within this realm in all tyme coming namely ye sum of one hundred and twenty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pennies annual duty be ye Marquis of Douglas his heirs and successors for his tounes of Boucle and Prestonmair, for ye feu duties of ye tounes and lands of Preston forty shillings. The sum of Twenty pounds of tak duties by James Earl of Murray for his toun of Graynock (probably Greenock), The sum of forty six pounds of tak duties by ye Earl of Cambell for his touns of Aberdagie, Ye sum of eleven pounds of feu duties be ye laird of Gairontoll for his feu duties of ye lands of Dalpwen. Ye sum of ten pounds thirteen shillings four pennies by ye laird of Inchmartin for ye lands of Sknago, Ridell, Markle and easter Caputet, Ye sum of Thirteen pounds six shillings and aucht pennies of feu duties by Mr. Robt Nairne Advocate for his lands of Mukarse, Ye sum of three score and twelve pounds of tak duties for ye Viscount of Stormeyth for ye touns of ye mains of Hunting tower and haill baronies yarof, Ye sum of Twenty five pounds six shillings and aucht pennies by Holbrant Oliphant of Condie for ye touns of Condie, Thirty eight pounds thirteen shillings and four pennies by William Oliphant and Dame Marjorie Graham his mother for ye tounes of Wester Kinnardis, Ten pounds thirteen shillings and four pennies be Holbrant Keir for ye tounes of nether Balcanger and Wester Kinnardis.

Four score sixteen pounds six shillings aucht pennies by Sir. Patrick Douglas of Kilspindie for ye lands of Aberladie.

Ane hundred pounds by James Inglis for Crawmond mains with ye tounes yairof. Thirty six pounds eleven shillings by ye Earl of Haddingtoun for his lands within ye toun of Aberladie and many others.

And yairby making and constituting ye said Deacon and Maisters of ye Hammermen and yair successors to ye use and maintenance of ye said beidmen and poor of ye said Hospitall to ye said tak and feu duties payable furth of ye rentes of ye Bishoprik of Dunkeld in all time coming."—The deed goes on in the then legal fashion, and giving them full power to take and uplift and pursue for these rents, and finishes up with: "Given at Holyrud Hous ye nynteen day of October ye year of God 1641."

It is difficult to understand what induced King Charles I. to make this donation, seeing that his great scheme of forming Edinburgh into a Bishopric, and St Giles Church the Cathedral of the new diocese, had been by the action of the inhabitants on the 23rd of July 1637 totally overthrown. Evidently bearing no ill-feeling for the unexpected tumult, King Charles, with a magnanimity that is remarkable, conveyed this mortification, and got it ratified by the Scots Parliament, as a token of his goodwill to the Hammermen of Edinburgh. One curious feature brought about in connection with the attempt to found Episcopacy in Scotland is, that from this date, 1641, down to within recent years, the Hammermen of Edinburgh professed more or less Episcopalian views; and it may have been for the part or sympathy they showed during the Jenny Geddes riot that the King was influenced to make such a bequest.

Be that as it may, the Hammermen entered with great zeal into the acquisition to the funds of their chapel, and having committed themselves to paying the charges of securing the rights, soon found that it was a dear gift to them. The scattered locations of the feus and of their holders made it a most difficult matter to collect the dues. What with warnings, hornings, and counsel to represent them, the charges incurred in a year in enforcing their right was found to amount to the sum of one thousand four hundred and twenty-nine pounds three shillings (Scots), which they ordered to be paid out of the gift "quhen" ye same should be received. These expectations were doomed to disappointment, for although they received a fair sum the first year, the whole amount did not come near the sum incurred, so they made the balance of the debt a bond on the foundation. It had never crossed their minds that difficulties would arise in gathering these feu-duties, and so far as the accounts show not one-tenth of the annual rental was ever received. The Hammermen also entered into some extravagant schemes, such as enlarging their official collector's house, an operation that entailed considerable expense; and in the fulness of their joy they presented Sir James Carmichael, the King's Advocate

(who had a great share in securing the gift for them), a perpetual right of presenting one beidman to the foundation. To enable them to pay off the debt incurred, which, as the years went on, was still growing, they made special efforts, and at the sacrifice of several of the original endowments of the hospital this was accomplished. A change of collector was the outcome of this state of affairs, and by 1647 the whole of the original Magdalen Chapel endowments are so mixed up with the ordinary receipts of the Incorporation, that they never appear as a separate item again. All traces of King Charles' gift disappear after the above-mentioned date, which shows the disordered state Scotland was in after the King's execution, and points to the fact that the nobles and gentry evaded their payments. The revival of Episcopacy in 1662 by Charles II. next took away any little right they had, and so ended a royal gift that was fraught with great possibilities.

Although the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh were saddled with the effects of this debt, they never allowed the beidmen to suffer, as, by the trade dues and other sources of income, they rather increased the benefits of the charity; and although "the beidmen," as a name, disappear after 1665, yet after this they are termed "the poor," showing that the Hammermen implicitly followed out the intention of the founder to the best of their abilities through all the centuries they survived as an Incorporation.

Nearly half a century later the King's gift turned up again, but in a different manner. Mention is made above of the gift to Sir James Carmichael by the Hammermen of a right to nominate a beidman in perpetuity to the foundation. This right granted to Sir James does not appear ever to have been taken advantage of, as undoubtedly that nobleman, who died in 1672, would clearly understand the difficulties that arose in connection with the mortification. However, the Hammermen did not cancel the right of presentation, and it remained in abeyance till 1710, when the worthy old craftsmen were dismayed by the announcement of a claim by the Earl of Hyndford (who was a grandson of the above Sir James Carmichael) for the money which was allowed yearly for the maintenance of a beidman. Powerful and influential though that nobleman was, the Hammermen resisted the claim, and, having engaged Sir William Calderwood as their consulting lawyer, they had the satisfaction of successfully gaining their case. The original interlocutor giving the judgment is still in existence (extending in length as a roll to thirteen feet), and it, in substance, brings out that the action of Charles II. in establishing Episcopacy in 1662, took away the mortification; and as the right of presentation had been given on the strength of the perpetuity of the mortification, its cancelling had the

same effect on the presentation. It is interesting to note that on the death of the last Earl of Hyndford, in 1817, the title became extinct, the property passing to the Fife branch of the family, namely, the Anstruthers of Anstruther and Elie, who then took the name of Carmichael.

II.

EXCAVATION OF A NUMBER OF GRAVES IN A MOUND AT ACKER-GILL, CAITHNESS. BY ARTHUR J. H. EDWARDS, F.S.A.Scot., ASSISTANT KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM. WITH A REPORT ON THE SKELETAL REMAINS FROM THE GRAVES. BY PROFESSOR THOMAS H. BRYCE, M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.Scot.

The number of Viking burials discovered in Scotland which have been recorded is not many, and in most of these, minute and precise details of the actual structure which covered or enclosed the interments are wanting. The special characteristics of the construction of any sepulchral monument are matters of the utmost importance, and especially so when there is an absence of relics in the graves. This was not understood by the older excavators, and those who have read Dr Joseph Anderson's description of the Viking burials found in Scotland, must have observed how often it has been remarked that the phenomena of the burial were not recorded. For many reasons, however, these early pioneers must be excused; they no doubt did their best. Even to-day, the temptation for some excavators to get at the interior of a cist or chamber to find what it contains, without paying any attention to structural features, often proves irresistible. In Caithness, when one considers that the county was held by the Vikings for a period of over five hundred years, it certainly does seem extraordinary that only three graves have been recorded—those at Castletown, Longhills, and Reay—which can be identified as having belonged to this period of occupation. I believe that not only have many Viking graves been unearthed without being recognised, but that there are probably others still to be brought to light.

The Museum has now a very valuable collection of relics of the Viking period found in Scotland, but with many of these the information regarding the circumstances of their discovery is so meagre, indeed in some cases it is non-existent, that comparison with the graves now about to be described is an impossibility.

In the parish of Wick, about a quarter of a mile north-west of Acker-

gill Tower, on the north side of the field in which is situated the Decoy Pond (O.S. Map, Sheet XX.), are a number of long mounds, probably composed of blown sand, but now mostly covered with grassy turf. The building of the wall which encloses the field on its northern side, and the cutting of the road which leads from Ackergill Tower to the golf-links, have divided one of these mounds nearly in half lengthwise. At the time the road was being formed the workmen found quantities of human bones, but no attempt seems to have been made then to elucidate the problem as to how or why the bones came there. The greater part of the mound, which contained certain of the graves about to be described, lies on the landward side of the wall, at a distance of about 100 feet from the high-

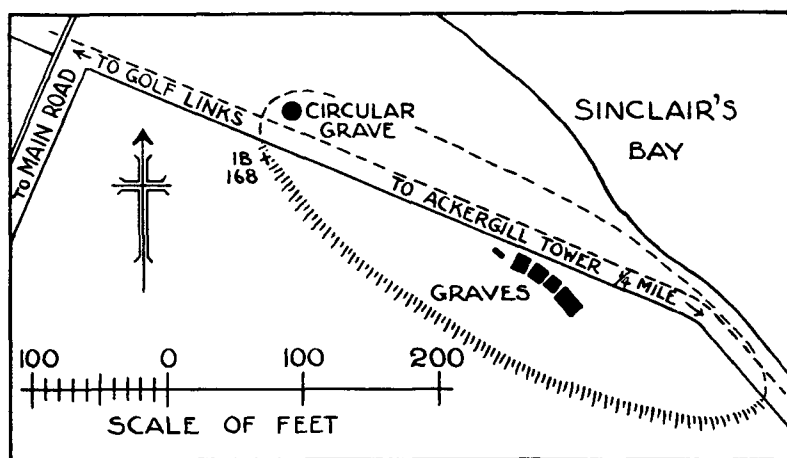


Fig. 1. Plan of Mound near Ackergill, Caithness, showing relative positions of Graves.

water mark, and 20 feet above sea-level (fig. 1). It is a natural mound composed of sand, and measures about 400 feet in length and 70 feet in greatest breadth, although at one time, before it was intersected by the road, the breadth may have been nearly twice as much. It lies nearly north-west and south-east, and from its north-western end rises gently from ground-level until it reaches a height of 10 feet above the roadway, and perhaps a foot or so less from the level of the ground in the adjacent field. Most of the surface is covered with a fine grassy turf, but for a distance of some 200 feet from its northern extremity the turf has disappeared, and the wind having blown away the sand, has exposed a surface covered with pebbles, larger stones, small boulders, and fragments of Caithness slab. Here and there the upper portions of flags set on edge protrude above the ground in seemingly regular formation.

At a distance of 175 feet from the north-western extremity of the mound I found the head and side stones of a long cist partially exposed (fig. 2, No. 1). Several of the cover-stones remained, but these were lying in the interior, which evidently had at some time or other been disturbed.

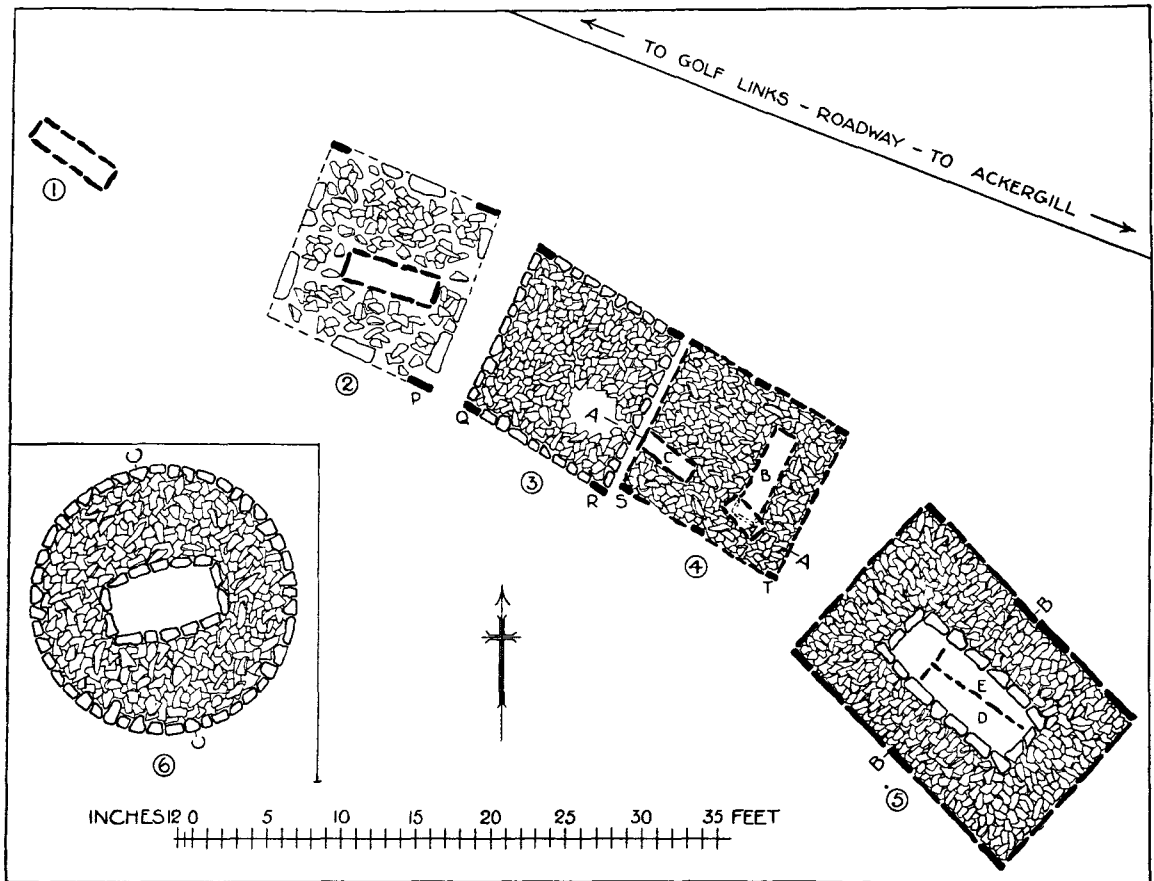


Fig. 2. Plans of Graves near Ackergill, Caithness.

The cist, which lay north-west and south-east, or 38° W. of N. magnetic, measured nearly 6 feet in length, 1 foot 6 inches in width, and 1 foot 4 inches in depth. It was filled with sand, and near the bottom, which was unpaved, were found a number of the long bones and ribs of a human skeleton, but no skull. So far as could be ascertained, it would appear that the body had been placed with the head to the north-west.

At a distance of 17 feet in a south-easterly direction from the previous

cist, the upper portion of the stones of another long cist (fig. 2, No. 2) showed above a mass of pebbles and small stones. This cist, which lay west-north-west and east-south-east, or 54° W. of N. magnetic, measured 6 feet in length, 1 foot 7 inches in width, and 1 foot 6 inches in depth. There were no cover-stones and the bottom was unpaved. Distributed throughout the sand, which nearly filled it, were a few long bones and vertebræ of a human skeleton, and at the north-west end some fragments of the skull. It was observed that the cist had been set within an enclosure of stones placed on their flat



Fig. 3. View of Graves Nos. 2, 3, and 4 from south-south-east.

surfaces so as to form a kerb, the space between the kerb and the cist having been filled in with water-worn stones from the beach. At either end of the north-east side of the kerb, and at the eastern end of the south-west side, there was an upright stone which marked the corner. That on the south-east angle (fig. 3, P) measured 1 foot 11 inches in height, 1 foot 3 inches in breadth, and 2 inches in thickness. A number of the stones which had formed the sides were missing, but sufficient remained to show the continuity. Certain of these measured roughly about 1 foot 4 inches in length, about 1 foot in breadth, and from 2 to 3 inches in thickness.

At a distance of 2 feet 6 inches from grave No. 2 was the kerb of another four-sided enclosure (fig. 2, No. 3), the north-west side of which

ran almost parallel to the south-east side of the former grave. The kerb, which enclosed a space of nearly 12 feet square, was constructed of stones placed one above another on their flat surfaces, with a regular face to the outside. It had a total height of 13 inches, and was about 1 foot 3 inches in breadth (fig. 5, No. 3). At each corner a single stone had been set on end, the largest of these measuring 1 foot 4 inches in height, 11 inches in breadth, and 5 inches in thickness (fig. 3, Q and R, corner stones on south kerb). No cist or any trace of remains was found in the interior of the enclosure, which was filled with a mass of pebbles and stones. The uppermost layer, which was about 4 inches deep, consisted

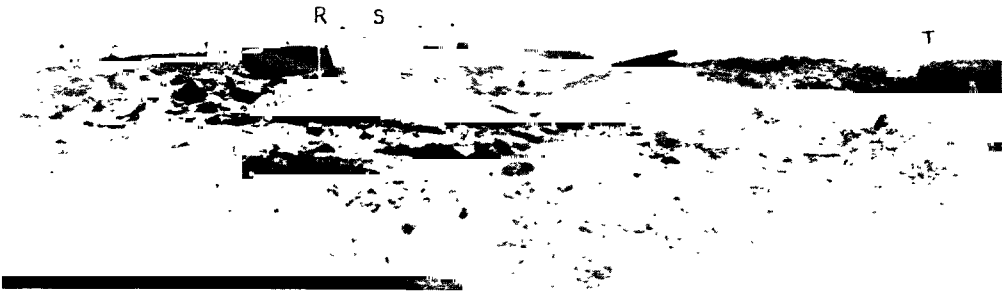


Fig. 4. View of South Kerb of Grave No. 1.

mostly of white quartzite pebbles, below them was a layer of about 4 inches of larger stones, and finally at the bottom, and resting on sand, a layer of still larger water-worn stones and boulders. One of the largest of these measured about 1 foot 3 inches in length and 6 inches in thickness.

With the kerb of its north-west side separated only by about 5 to 7 inches from the south-east kerb of the previous grave, another four-sided grave (fig. 2, No. 4) was found, two of the sides of which measured 12 feet in length and two 11 feet. The kerb enclosing the structure, instead of being built as in grave No. 3, consisted entirely of upright slabs set on edge (fig. 4), and an average measurement of these would be about 1 foot 9 inches in height, 1 foot in breadth, and 3 inches in thickness. Except at the north-west, where a stone was amissing, the corners were each marked by an upright flag, greater in height and thick-

ness than those of the kerb (fig. 3, S and T, corner stones of south kerb). The stone at the south-west corner measured 2 feet 6 inches

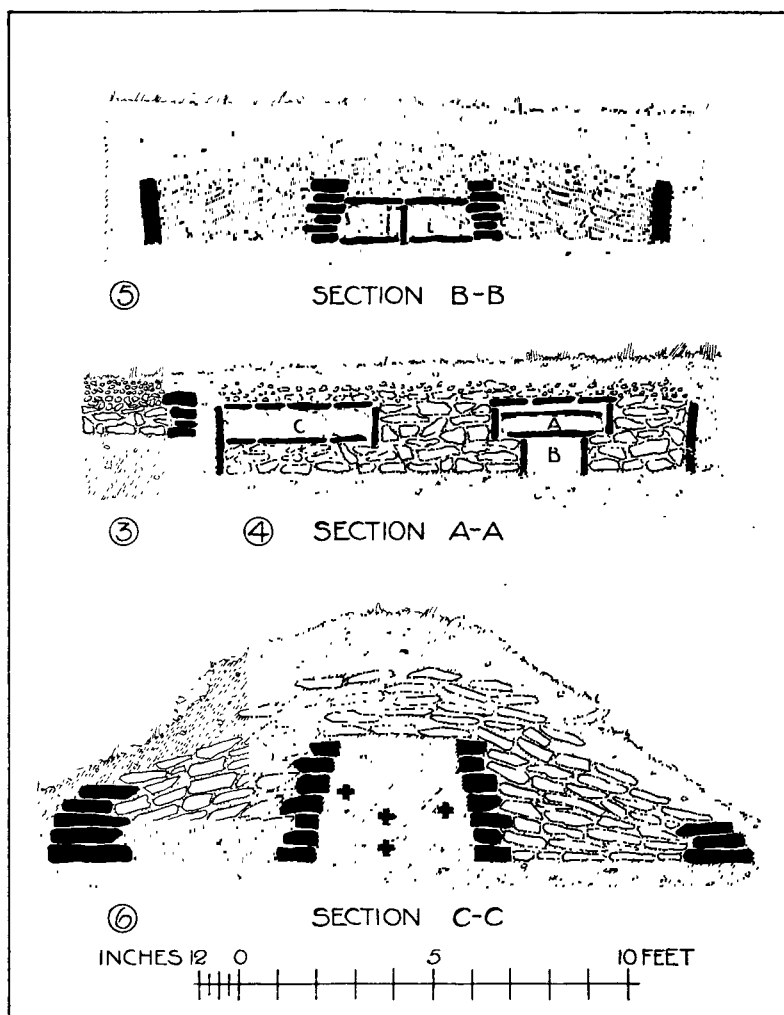
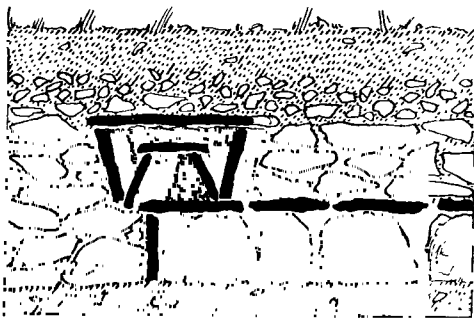


Fig. 5. Sections of Graves near Ackergill. (In No. 6 the positions of the skeletons are shown by the crosses.)

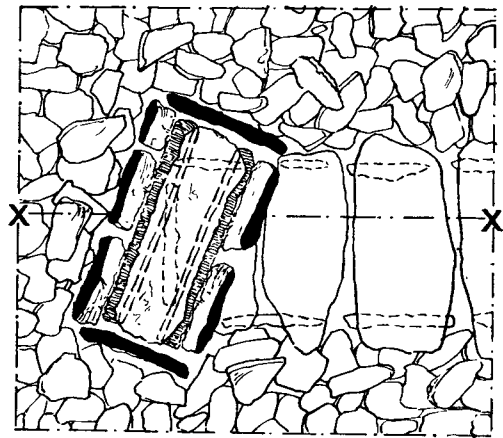
in height, 10 inches in breadth, and 5 inches in thickness. There had also been placed in the middle of the north-east and south-west kerbs a larger stone, somewhat similar to the corner stones, as if to mark the centre. With the exception of the kerb on the south-west side, which was exposed, the construction was covered with turf growing on the

top of some 8 inches of sand. The turf and sand being removed, a layer composed mostly of small water-worn white quartzite pebbles was exposed, and at the bottom of this a number of larger stones intermixed with larger pebbles of quartzite. When the stones and pebbles were removed the presence of two cists, A and C, was disclosed (fig. 5, No. 4), the first near the east side and the second near the west side. Another cist, B, was discovered later at a lower level while further excavation of the structure was being made. Cist A, which measured 2 feet 9 inches in length, and lay north-west and south-east, or 22° W. of N. magnetic, had three cover-stones, all of which were



SECTION X-X

Fig. 6. Section through Cists A and B in Grave No. 4, near Ackergill.



PLAN

Fig. 7. Plan of Cists A and B in Grave No. 4, near Ackergill.

in situ. The bottom was paved with a single slab, 1 foot 2 inches in breadth, and from the floor the sides slanted outwards, until the width at the top of the grave was 1 foot 6 inches. A peculiarity of this cist was its inner structure, which consisted of two thin slabs placed in the angle between the side stone and floor stone, and inclined inwards until within 6 inches of each other at the top, the intervening space being covered over by another slab (figs. 6 and 7). Inside this protective arrangement—something like a cist within a cist—and laid at full length on the floor, was the skeleton of a young child. The body had been placed on its back, fully extended, with the head at the north-west end of the cist. Immediately below this cist was found the head end of another cist, B, which lay north-north-east and south-south-west, or 45° E. of N. magnetic. The cist, which measured 6 feet in

length, 1 foot 6 inches in breadth, and 1 foot in depth, had four cover-stones, but was unpaved. It contained the skeleton of an adult male, which was found lying on its back, fully extended. The arms were close to the sides and the hands were placed under the buttocks. The skull had been moved from its natural position at the south-west end of the cist, and was found lying near the right side of the chest. Possibly the reason for this was, that when the burial of the child took place, which must have been some considerable time after the interment in Cist B, the perhaps unsuspected burial of the adult had been discovered, and the skull pushed forward, as the slab, which now formed the paving-stone of the child's cist, had formerly been one of the cover-stones for that of the adult.

Cist C, which lay north-west and south-east, or 33° W. of N. magnetic, measured nearly 4 feet in length, 1 foot in width, and 1 foot in depth. It was paved on the bottom and had four cover-stones, one of the kerb stones being utilised as the head stone for the north-west end. The cist had evidently been disturbed, as several of the cover-stones were displaced. Many of the bones of the skeleton were missing, and the skull, which was found at the north-west end, had a few bones of other parts of the body lying beside it.

Altogether three burials were found in this four-sided grave, the primary one being undoubtedly the adult in Cist B. That of the child was evidently a secondary interment, and a considerable interval must have taken place between this burial and that of the adult in Cist B. The bones of the skeleton of the adult must surely by that time have been denuded of flesh, as otherwise one can hardly imagine that the body would have been deliberately decapitated and the skull displaced. From its proximity to the surface the burial in Cist C was probably secondary also.

The discovery and subsequent excavation of grave No. 5 (fig. 2, No. 5) were a little more difficult, there being no surface indication that such a structure existed; but here and there, in the burrows made by rabbits, there could be seen portions of slabs and numbers of white quartzite pebbles, indications which pointed to the existence of another burial-place. That such was the case was definitely ascertained when a part of the kerb was uncovered at a distance of about 4 feet from the kerb of grave No. 4. The whole structure was much larger than any already excavated, and in the form of its construction and the manner in which the burial had been made it also differed materially from them. Instead of being nearly square it was rectangular, two of the sides measuring 20 feet in length and two 13 feet 6 inches. The kerb was composed of slabs which measured nearly 4 feet in length,

1 foot 6 inches in height, and 3 to 4 inches in thickness. A number of these had on their long edges either one or two well-defined D-shaped grooves, made by the wedges or levers which had been used to quarry them from the living rock. As in the other graves, the corners had been specially marked, and for this purpose a slab similar to one of the kerb stones had been placed upright instead of having been laid on its long edge. In addition to these corner stones two kerb slabs had also been placed on end, in the middle of each of the long sides.

Within the kerb was a wall 5 feet in thickness, the inner face of which formed a sub-oval chamber, lying with its long axis north-west and south-east, or 30° W. of N. magnetic, and measuring 10 feet in length and 3 feet 6 inches in greatest width. The details of the construction of the wall are worthy of note, as it had evidently been made with some care. First a layer of large stones had been placed on their flat faces in the sand; above these successive layers of similar stones had then been placed in such a manner that each overlapped the other in a scale-like fashion. Above this was another layer of rounded water-worn stones, and covering all, a layer of from 6 to 9 inches in depth of smooth white pebbles of quartzite, which varied in size from that of the egg of a pigeon to that of an ostrich. The layer of pebbles covered the upper surface of the wall only, and did not extend over the actual chamber. The inner faces of this thick wall which formed the sides and ends of the chamber measured 1 foot 6 inches in height, and were composed of large stones laid prostrate so as to form a regular facing (fig. 8). The actual number of courses was six, each of which projected a little inwards from the one below, so as to make the sides converge slightly. The chamber contained two burials, D and E, a male and female, the one separated from the other by a row of upright flags set on edge and 1 foot in height, which divided the chamber into two parts (fig. 5, No. 5). Each part formed a separate cist over which cover-stones had been placed. The cover-stones over D were six in number, and these still remained *in situ*. Those over E were fewer in number, not enough to cover the whole interment, the skull in particular lying bare and unprotected below a quantity of pebbles and sand, the pebbles having evidently fallen in from the top of the wall. It seemed on the whole as if much greater care had been taken in the burial D, that of the male, than in E, that of the female.

In D the skeleton had been laid on its back, fully extended, with the head to the north-west, and face upwards. The floor of the cist in which it lay had been paved. The other skeleton E was found lying partly on its left side, fully extended, but in the opposite

direction to D, the head being at the south-east, face downwards. The floor on which it lay was unpaved.

Although it was more than probable that other graves existed in this part of the mound, I decided to explore that portion nearer the beach on the north-east side of the road. As already mentioned, the cutting of the road from Ackergill Tower to the links had divided the mound lengthwise into two separate parts, the major portion being on the landward side of the wall, which enclosed the field, where



Fig. 8. View of North Wall of Chamber in Grave No. 5.

also were situated the four-sided graves just excavated. The other and smaller portion lay on the north-east side of the road, and one could see here and there large hollows from which sand had been taken, a practice which has fortunately been stopped by the proprietrix. Mr Simon Bremner of Freswick informed me that a circular construction of 15 feet in diameter had been discovered somewhere in the immediate vicinity a number of years ago. So far as he could recollect, the construction had a well-defined built kerb of no great height, the surface within the kerb being covered with white pebbles. For another record I have to thank Mr John Nicolson, our Corre-

sponding Member, who very kindly gave me a sketch made by himself of a similar construction which was discovered in the same locality in 1902, the diameter in this case being $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with a well-defined kerb which surrounded a cairn-like mass of stones $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. As no attempt, however, was made to excavate either of these constructions, I decided, therefore, to try if it were now possible to locate one or both by probing with an iron rod; but the sand was too deep and consolidated for any satisfactory progress to be made by this method. During my search I observed near the north-western extremity of the mound, on the north-east side of the road, a cairn-like heap covered with sand and partially overgrown with bent. On the top near its centre, a pole with a notice prohibiting the removal of sand had been erected, and my attention was drawn to the fact that the cairn for the support of the pole seemed unnecessarily large for this purpose. I examined the base, and found that a well-built kerb surrounded the whole structure. The kerb, which enclosed a space 18 feet in diameter, and was from 1 foot to 2 feet in height, consisted of large flat stones placed one above the other in regular formation. As the labour involved in the preparation of a structure of this nature had not been for the sole purpose of supporting a notice-board, I determined to make a further examination. This disclosed a burial chamber (fig. 2, No. 6) whose structural details closely resembled those in No. 5. Contained within the circular kerb was a wall from about 5 feet to 7 feet in thickness, composed of large boulders and stones, mostly placed on their flat faces with fair regularity of construction. The inner face of this wall formed a sub-oval chamber which lay with its long axis east-north-east and west-south-west, or 85° E. of N. magnetic, and measured 7 feet 3 inches in greatest length and 4 feet in greatest width. The height of the interior wall-face was 3 feet 3 inches, and, as in grave No. 5, the walls were composed of large stones laid in regular courses, the whole being slightly corbelled inwards (fig. 5, No. 6). The chamber itself was completely filled with sand, and there were no roofing slabs nor any evidence that such had ever existed. At about a distance of 1 foot 6 inches from the top of the north-west wall, a skeleton F was found lying fully extended on its left side with the head to the east-north-east and turned so that the face was downwards. Round the neck of the skeleton was a bronze chain (fig. 9), the ends of which were loose, and adhering to one of the round rings which formed the terminal links at one end was a tiny piece of iron, or rather iron rust.

Near the same level another skeleton G was found, also lying on its left side, but with the legs drawn up and the knees flexed. The

top of the cranium lay very close to the south-east wall of the chamber, while the face looked towards the west.

Between skeletons F and G, but at a very slightly lower level, was another skeleton H, which had been laid fully extended on its back. The skull was wanting, but as the position it should have occupied was at the point where the pole had been sunk, it was probably found by the workmen during digging operations and removed by them. The orientation was east-north-east and west-south-west, with the head towards the east-north-east.

At floor-level another skeleton J was found lying fully extended

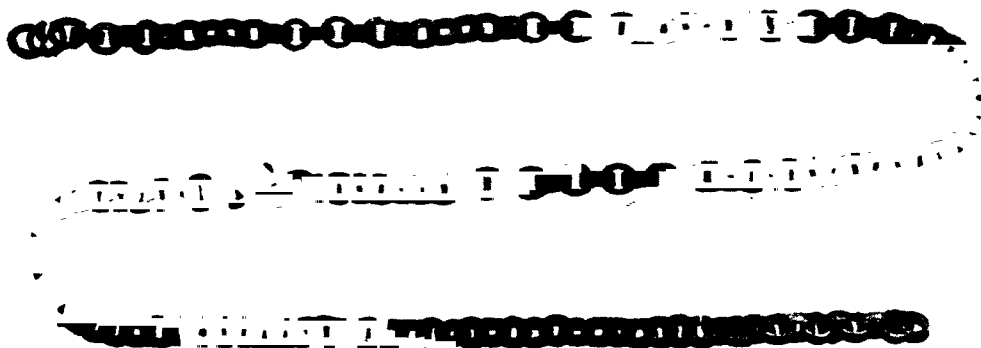


Fig. 9. Bronze Chain from Neck of Skeleton in Grave No. 6. (1.)

on its back in the centre of the chamber, the orientation being again east-north-east and west-south-west, with the head towards the east-north-east.

Near the kerb on the south-east side was quite a large number of white quartzite pebbles which had probably fallen from the sloping sides of the structure and remained hidden in the sand. No pebbles were found on the sides or top of the actual structure, but as it must have been fairly conspicuous with such an outer covering, these have no doubt been removed by passers-by who were not aware of the significance of the monument. The chain (fig. 9), which was the only artificial relic discovered, measures $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and is made of bronze. At one end three links, which differ from the remainder in being circular in form instead of sub-oval, and flattened, have evidently been for the

purpose of attachment to some other object, perhaps a pin or brooch. The pattern is similar to those of chains from Livonia, of A.D. 1000, where one of the popular ornaments consisted of chain festoons held at either end by a Viking tortoise brooch of debased type.¹ In Gothland, where chain festoons have also been found, but in this case suspended from a form of brooch of the boar's-head type, which dates from the eighth to the eleventh century, the pattern of the chain, so far as can be judged from illustrations, closely resembles that of the chain from Ackergill.² In *Antiquités du Nord, Finno-Oughrien*, by J. R. Aspelin, similar chains from Finland are figured on pp. 331 (No. 1572) and 256 (No. 1269). Dr Haakon Schetelig, of Bergen, has very kindly informed me that there is in the collection at Bergen a chain of exactly similar pattern, but made of iron, which was found in a grave at Hardanger³ dating from the tenth century.

Although I have no doubt that there are more graves in or near this locality which can be excavated and from which relics might be obtained, it can be seen from those now explored that although they are probably contemporaneous and the construction of each is much the same, two methods have been used for the disposal of the dead. The interments in Nos. 1 to 4 were contained within square or nearly square settings of stone, in the form of a kerb, either built, or composed of slabs set on edge. The burials were made in cists, and the cists were surrounded and covered with boulders and stones, with a top layer of white quartzite pebbles covering all. Each cist contained a single individual, although in the same enclosure there might be one or more cists.

In Nos. 5 and 6 the outer construction and shape differ. In each case the inner receptacle for the burials consisted of a sub-oval stone-lined chamber or large built cist, in which there were two or more burials, but the external form of the monument might be either rectangular or circular.

In graves Nos. 4 and 5 the white quartzite pebbles were in greater evidence than in the others, owing possibly to the fact that they were better covered with sand and turf, but I think it can be safely assumed that this was a common feature to all.

Numerous instances of the association of white pebbles with graves and interments are known, and these range from Neolithic to modern times. In our own *Proceedings*, vol. xviii. p. 286, in 1884, Sir Arthur Mitchell contributed a paper on the occurrence of white pebbles in connection with pagan and Christian burials, and Miss Nona Lebour

¹ *British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, pl. xvii.

² *Teckningar ur Svenska Statens Historiska Museum*, Tredje Häftet, ser. v. pl. iv., figs. a-d.

³ Aarsberetning, 1889. *Foreningen til norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring*, pp. 74-5.

has collated and published a number of such incidents in the *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd series, vol. ii. 1913-4, pp. 121-34. The general opinion seems to be that such pebbles of quartzite were used in association with burials for ritualistic purposes or with religious significance, or, in some cases, for decorative effect. My own opinion regarding the white quartzite pebbles on the graves at Ackergill is that they were decorative. I might also mention that at the present time one might search the whole of the beach in vain for a single specimen of a rounded pebble of white quartzite.

Certain other graves, which would now appear to be analogous, were excavated at Keiss over sixty years ago by Mr Samuel Laing, a Fellow of our Society. Unfortunately, minute and precise details of the excavation are wanting, but a sufficient number of facts can be obtained from the author's account in his book on the *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, which go to show that the graves at Keiss had certain features of construction which resembled those at Ackergill. At Keiss, which is situated 4 miles north of Ackergill, the graves had been contained in a mound composed of blown sand. In the central line of the mound a number of cists were found at intervals of about 15 feet. The cists were usually orientated north and south or north-east and south-west, and above each was a pile of stones from the beach, measuring from 1 to 3 feet in height, surmounted by a layer of from 1 to 3 feet of sand covered with turf. No mention is made of a stone setting or kerb, but the piles of stones found above the cists would seem to correspond with the stones found above and around the cists at Ackergill. More clearly analogous, however, was the circular construction found in the same mound, and called by Laing the "Chief's Cist and Cairn."¹ It consisted of a circular structure 18 feet in diameter, with a kerb $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and from 9 inches to 1 foot in thickness, which enclosed a cairn of stones. Towards the centre of the structure the stones had been built with some care, and these when removed disclosed a cist 6 feet 7 inches in length. An illustration shows the cist to have been constructed of flat slabs set on edge and roofed over with large flat stones. So Laing has described it, and, except for the difference in the structure of the cist, the other details would seem to fit the circular grave at Ackergill, even to the diametrical measurement.

Skeletal remains were found in each of the graves, and certain relics, said to have been stone weapons, but these illustrated by Laing in his book can hardly be accepted as such.

At Watenan, 6 miles south of Wick, a number of cists and a

¹ *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 14.

supposed hut-circle were excavated previous to 1865.¹ No record was made of their contents, but a consideration of certain features which they had in common with the graves at Keiss and Ackergill suggest that they were analogous. The diameter of the supposed hut-circle was 18 feet. It presented the appearance of a small cairn 3 feet in height, the stones being laid flat and sloping outwards. Part of an inner wall was found, at the end of which lay the remains of a skeleton on a flat stone. The construction was believed then to have been a small cairn, and although the plan of the now dilapidated structure would suggest that it may have been a hut-circle or a beehive dwelling, I am inclined to think that this structure was similar to the circular grave at Ackergill and to the "Chief's Cist and Cairn" excavated at Keiss by Laing. About 28 feet west of the circular structure were four cists, two being orientated north and south, one north-north-east and south-south-west, and one east and west. Here and there between them protruded thin slabs which had been set on end, and beside two of the cists were a number of small stones which appeared as if they had formed stony mounds on top. These details are interesting, and, taking the whole in conjunction, it is possible that we may have had here another series of burials similar to those at Keiss and Ackergill.

In comparing the graves at Ackergill with a number of burials elsewhere in Scotland, in which either the grave or the burial were enclosed within a stone setting, and which, by the character of the grave-goods found with the interment, has definitely been proved to belong to the Viking period, I can mention only a few in which the tomb was stated to be within a setting of flags raised on edge. The most complete record is that of the boat grave at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay.² Dr Anderson assigns the date of the first half of the ninth century to this grave, but Dr Schetelig inclines to the opinion that the beginning of the tenth century is more likely. From a plan prepared by Messrs M'Neill and Galloway, the orientation of this grave would appear to be east and west, and, from the position of the sword, the head towards the east. In Orkney, on the Island of Westray, in the Bay of Pierowall,³ a cemetery of Viking graves was discovered, in which it seemed that each interment had been placed on the original surface of the ground, surrounded by roughly made enclosures of stones and covered by a mound of varying dimensions. The orientation of the skeletons was usually north and south. Another record, also unsatisfactory for the purpose of comparison of structure, because precise details of the

¹ Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Scotland, *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Caithness*, p. 168, No. 538.

² *Proceedings*, vol. xli. p. 443.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xiv. p. 86, No. 1.

nature of the enclosure have not been recorded, is that from Ballinaby,¹ in the Island of Islay, where two graves were found in the sandy links. Here two skeletons were unearthed a little apart, their heads towards the east, with a line of stones on edge which formed an enclosure round each. In this grave a number of relics were discovered which belonged to the last period of paganism in Norway, that is from about the beginning of the eighth to the close of the tenth century. Also in a burial mound at Eigg,² which contained grave-goods of the usual Viking character, traces of an interment were found together with the relics, within an enclosure roughly formed of stones in the centre of the mound. A ground plan shows this enclosure to have been rectangular in shape. Dr Haakon Schetelig in his monograph on *The Western Graves of the Early Iron Age*, and in that part which contains a summary of the obsequial ceremony of the Viking Age, has observed that the practice of surrounding the precinct of the grave by a square setting of raised flagstones is one which is peculiarly Scottish.³

¶ To turn to other countries for comparison, there are in Norway a great number of cist graves dating from the fourth to the sixth century not unlike graves Nos. 5 and 6 at Ackergill; but these Norwegian graves of the Early Iron Age are always covered by mounds of considerable dimensions, are never within square stone settings, and generally contain a goodly number of relics. In graves of the Viking time burials in stone cists are rare, but a setting of stones in the form of an enclosure round the graves is common. In Sweden,⁴ in the Baltic Islands,⁵ and in certain of the Baltic provinces of Russia, such as Livonia,⁶ there are numerous mound graves or cairn-like structures which vary in size, their height above the natural surface of the ground usually rendering them conspicuous landmarks. Many are circular or oval, and enclosed by a circle of stones, others are triangular in shape, and others, again, quadrangular, within a setting of stones, and having a larger stone at each corner. In the case of an inhumed burial, the skeleton is often found buried in the soil a foot or so below the natural level, without any enclosing cist or chamber, the stones and earth forming the mound being heaped on top. The outer construction of these mound graves does therefore resemble to a certain extent the graves at Ackergill, but at Ackergill the graves—Nos. 1 to 5 at least, and I think No. 6 also—have been

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xiv. p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xii. p. 592.

³ Haakon Schetelig, *Vestlandske Graver fra Jernalderen*, p. 232.

⁴ Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, pp. 299–319.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Bähr, *Die Gräber der Liven*, pl. i.

constructed originally below or near surface level. In preparation the flat surface of the mound has been cut down to a depth of several feet so as to form a shallow pit either four-sided or circular; the walls of this pit would then be lined with flags set on edge or stones placed on their flat faces one above another, the interior afterwards being filled in with stones which covered the cists, or the stone filling arranged so as to form a chamber in which one or more burials could be placed. After a burial, therefore, the only surface indication would be either a square, oblong, or circular mass of pebbles or stones, which after a lapse of time might be covered with sand and overgrown with turf, so that all traces would be lost. In the Island of Bornholm¹ such inhumed burials have been known from the Early Iron Age and from Viking times, many of the graves having been found on level ground within a square of stones placed on end. In Gothland² the preponderating majority of Early Iron Age burials are those of inhumation closely resembling in their construction those at Bornholm. Complete stone cists, the walls of which have been constructed of upstanding flags, are found below surface level sunk in the soil with a stone placing or setting above them. These generally occur in very small and low mounds. In the larger mounds another method of building cists has been used. These mounds consist chiefly of stone alone, with an outer covering of smaller round stones, the larger stones which form a drystone wall being placed in a kind of scale-like formation.³ The interior face of this wall is lined with prostrate flags laid regularly one above another, and these form the wall of the cist or chamber. This latter method is very similar to that employed in the construction of graves Nos. 5 and 6 at Ackergill, even to the scale-like placing of the large stones in grave No. 5 and the outer covering of small round stones over all.

On the whole, the graves at Ackergill show a closer resemblance to the Bornholm and Gothland type of various periods of the Early Iron Age than to those of the migration period or of later date in Norway. In contradistinction to these graves, however, in which a large number of relics were usually found, there is a paucity of relics in the Ackergill graves which would suggest a condition of life not far removed from absolute poverty, or a studied departure from the usual custom of pagan burial with grave-goods owing perhaps to the influence of Christianity.

It would, however, be out of the question to attempt to date the Ackergill graves solely because of a similarity of structure to graves

¹ E. Vedel, *Bornholms Oldtidsminder og oldsager*, pp. 235-8.

² *Die Ältere Eisenzeit Gotlands*, Erste Heft, pp. 44-5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 47, figs. 89-90.

of an earlier period of the Early Iron Age in other countries, and we must therefore take into consideration the few graves of the Viking period in Scotland which have been found either at surface level or in low mounds, and in which the interment and relics have been enclosed within a setting of flags raised on edge. These graves have been dated from the eighth to the tenth centuries, and have usually contained a fair number of relics. The absence of relics in the Ackergill graves is certainly disconcerting, as even in Iceland, where many of the graves are orientated east and west with the head to the west, in the usual manner of early Christian burial, quite a large number of relics have been found in them. The period during which that country was peopled by Norwegian emigrants extended from the end of the ninth century to A.D. 930, and the graves of this period are mostly near surface level or constructed under quite low and level mounds of stones.¹ Specific mention is made of five graves at Kalfborgara² which were surrounded by walls of loose stones and covered with gravel and stones. I have, however, been unable to obtain exact details of the construction of these graves, so that an accurate comparison is therefore not possible. I must mention, however, that Dr Haakon Schetelig is of the opinion that the boat grave at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, comes quite near to the Icelandic type in form and period. Fortunately, the bronze chain found in grave No. 6, the date of which would appear to be about the tenth century, does help to a certain extent in fixing the date of the Ackergill graves; but from the discovery of one relic only, and that possibly incomplete, it would be preferable meantime to make no hard and fast statement until further excavations have been made. So far, I do not know of any graves in Scotland contained within either four kerbs of raised flags, or circular or quadrangular borders of ortholithic building, but I have assumed that the graves at Ackergill are contemporary, although between one and the other certain details of their outward shape and construction may vary slightly. The Norse pagan custom of burial with the head in a northerly direction has certainly been followed, except in two cases, where the head of the skeleton was to the south.

Another factor which may be of assistance in the determination of the period of the Ackergill graves is the question of multiple interments in single graves, and for this purpose it will be necessary to consider graves Nos. 5 and 6 only, as, for reasons I have already given, grave No. 4 may be omitted.

In the Early Iron Age of Norway double interments are not known before the fourth century, and they are also very rare during the

¹ *Vestlandske Graver fra Jernalderen*, p. 231.
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² *Proceedings*, vol. xiv. p. 89.
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centuries preceding the Viking Age. Although forming but a relatively small proportion of all the graves recorded, they must be regarded as a feature of Norwegian burial customs of the last part of the pagan time. In grave No. 5, where there was a double interment, a male and female, the dating of the grave to a period between the eighth and tenth centuries is probably correct, although there is no evidence that the burials were simultaneous.

In grave No. 6 one cannot say whether the four interments have been successive or simultaneous.¹ It might have been possible to draw some conclusion if grave-goods had been present, but, unlike the graves of the Viking period of Norway and of Scandinavia generally, where relics have been found in goodly numbers in association with the interment whether inhumed or cremated, the Ackergill graves are singularly wanting in this respect.

Other instances of double burials in cists have already been recorded in our *Proceedings*, and in one of these found in a valley between the Bays of Scapa and Kirkwall in Orkney, in the parish of Newbigging,² the cists were discovered in what was stated to be a bowl-shaped barrow composed of clay. The cists, arranged in tiers, two above and one below, were found under a heap of stones in the centre. The upper two were empty, but the lower contained two skeletons in a flexed position, one with its head at the east end of the cist and the other with its head at the west end. No relics were found, but beside one of the skeletons was a small heap of ashes intermingled with calcined bones.

Two cists superimposed were found at Crantit,³ near Kirkwall, and here also, as in the burial just described, the upper cist was empty, but the lower contained the skeleton of a young person together with some cremated bones. The orientation of the cists was east and west, and an implement of deer-horn was found in association with the interment.

In another group of cists at Isbister,⁴ in the parish of Rendall, Orkney, one cist contained two skeletons, so similar in their placing to those found at Newbigging that it is stated the same plan would do for both. No relics were found in this grave, and the orientation has not been given. I have mentioned these instances of double burial in cists more as a matter of interest than in any attempt to institute a

¹ In a footnote on p. 46 of *Die Gräber der Liven*, it is stated that Pallas found grave enclosures made of stones without a superimposed hillock in Eastern Siberia on the river Abakan. In some graves the space enclosed by the stones, as at those in Ascheraden, is divided by other stone rows into two or three chambers. In these graves, observes Pallas, several persons of one family seem to have been buried.

² *Proceedings*, vol. vi. p. 411.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xlv. p. 215.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. vi. pp. 414-416.

comparison; but again the absence of grave-goods is a singular feature in burials which presumably were those of a pagan people.

Near the head end of the cist which I have called grave No. 1, there was found, lying on the surface, part of a sculptured slab of clay slate (fig. 10), which measured $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch in thickness. On one face there had been picked out, not chiselled, a horizontal rectangular figure or symbol, which measured $11\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Below this rectangular figure there is a short section of a curved line, showing that there had been at least one other figure on the stone. I am indebted to Mrs Duff-Dunbar for the information that the symbol stone,¹ fig. 25, on p. 28 of the *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, now preserved in the Museum and labelled as having come from Keiss Links, originally came from the northern end of that part of the mound which contained the four-sided graves, where it had formerly stood upright until its removal (fig. 1). This slab, which is of clay-slate, has on one face a rectangular symbol, part of the fish symbol, and an Ogham inscription. I do not suggest that either of these symbol stones was associated with the graves contained in the mound, but their proximity to them must be noted, as future excavations may reveal a reason.

The graves at Ackergill have yielded features new to Scottish archæology, and I have therefore been under the necessity of making numerous inquiries regarding them both at home and abroad, and to those who have so courteously replied I herewith tender my best thanks. The Society are much indebted to Mrs Duff-Dunbar, F.S.A.Scot., of Ackergill, who very kindly gave permission to carry out the excavations, and who very generously presented the relics found to the National Museum of Antiquities.

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xxxi. p. 296.

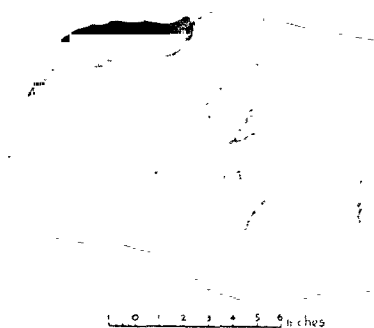


Fig. 10. Symbol Stone found near Ackergill, Caithness.

REPORT ON THE BONES FROM THE GRAVES. By Professor
THOMAS H. BRYCE, M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.Scot.

The following is a brief notice of the main features of the skeletons recovered by Mr Edwards from the graves at Ackergill. A detailed analysis of the characters of the skulls and long bones will not be submitted in this report. The value of such an analysis would be so much enhanced were the number of individual skeletons greater, that a full treatment of the material has been postponed in the hope that when further explorations have been carried out the report can be made more comprehensive. The bones were a good deal mixed and much broken, but reconstruction was possible in most cases, and satisfactory data have been obtained regarding the sex, age, stature, and head form of the individuals who were buried at this site. The skeletons are classified according to the legends on the labels which accompanied them.

A. *Four-sided Graves*, Nos. 4 and 5.

(i) Grave No. 4, Cist A and Skeleton A.—This contained the skeleton of a young infant of 16 to 20 months old.

(ii) Grave No. 4, Cist B and Skeleton B, yielded the skeleton of a male of rather delicate build, of middle age, and 5 feet 4½ inches to 5 feet 5 inches in stature. The skull is a small one, and might belong to either a man or a woman. The determination of the sex is based on the characters of the pelvis. The antero-posterior diameter of the skull measures 180 mm., the transverse 136 mm., and the vertical 132, yielding a cranial index of 75·5 and a height index of 73·3. The teeth are perfect, but the crowns are worn flat. The face is high and narrow and the nose is particularly narrow—the nasal index falling to 38·6. The nasal bones are specially long, and project forwards. The bridge of the nose is narrow and slightly concave. The notch at the root of the nose does not correspond to the nasion (middle point of the fronto-nasal suture), but lies below this.

(iii) Grave No. 4, Cist C and Skeleton C.—The skull is the only part of the skeleton preserved in this case. It is that of a child about 8 years of age.

(iv) Grave No. 5, Skeleton D.—The skeleton is defective, only a few of the bones being represented. The left thigh bone shows a well-united fracture. The position is good and there is not much deformity. The stature calculated from the right thigh and shin bones is 5 feet 5·34 inches.

The skull, labelled grave No. 5, Cist D, seems quite conformable with

the long bones described above. It is a well-formed male skull, showing the same general features as the skull from grave No. 4, Cist B. It is, however, longer and larger. The maximum length is 196 mm., the maximum breadth 141 mm., and the basi-bregmatic height 135 mm., yielding a cranial index of 71·9 and a height index of 68·8. The characters of the face closely resemble those of the skull from grave No. 4, Cist B. There is the same high narrow face and narrow nose. The nasal bones project forwards, and show the same concavity at the root of the nose as in the other skull. The teeth are all in place and show no caries, but are considerably worn.

(v) Grave No. 5, Skeleton E.—This is the skeleton of an elderly female. The bones of trunk and limbs have not been preserved. The base of the skull has gone, as well as the face. The skull is a fairly capacious one, measuring 179 mm. in the long axis and 135 mm. in its maximum transverse diameter, giving a cranial index of 75·4.

B. *Circular Grave*, No. 6.

Skeleton F.—The bones are those of an adolescent female a little over 20 years of age, and 4 feet 11 inches to 5 feet in stature. The seven cervical and the first dorsal vertebræ of this skeleton are all intact, and the lower cervical and first dorsal show green stains, from contact with the bronze chain. The skull is very thin-walled and delicate. It measures 180 mm. in length, 136 mm. in maximum breadth, and 133 mm. in basi-bregmatic height. These figures give a cranial index of 75·5 and a height index of 73·9.

Skeleton G is the skeleton of a well-developed man of middle age, and 5 feet 5½ inches to 5 feet 6 inches in stature. The skull is long (195 mm.) and narrow (139 mm.), with sagittal ridging and flat sides. The forehead is rather low and flat, and the supra-orbital ridges are prominent. Unfortunately, the nasal part of the face is broken away. The jaws have been preserved and the teeth are all in place. They show a considerable degree of wear of the crowns, but not a trace of caries. The length-breadth index is 71·2, the length-height index 73·8.

Skeleton H.—No skull was found with this skeleton. The bones are those of a young person of about 15 years of age, but whether boy or girl it is not possible to determine in the absence of the pelvic bones.

Skeleton J is the skeleton of a man advanced in life. The long bones, pelvic bones, and vertebræ show manifest signs of rheumatoid arthritis. The upper jaw is quite toothless and the sockets have been absorbed; only one tooth remains in the lower jaw. The measurements of the long bones yield a stature of about 5 feet 5 inches. The skull is massive and thick-walled. It measures 188 mm. in length, 139 mm. in maximum

breadth, and 134 mm. in basi-bregmatic height, giving a cranial index of 73·9 and a height index of 71·2. The face is relatively low and the nasal aperture is relatively wide, the index being as high as nearly 51. The broad nose of this skull contrasts with the high and very narrow noses of the other skulls of the collection. Another feature of the skulls already noted, namely, the length and forward projection of the nasal bones, is absent in this specimen.

This group of interments presents some interesting features. Four of the individuals were men, two were women, two were children under 15 years of age, and one was an infant of 16 to 20 months. The stature of the adult males averages approximately 5 feet 5 inches, while the young woman did not exceed 5 feet in height. They therefore belonged to a tribe or race of relatively low stature. The skull form is remarkably uniform, the average index of the six skulls being 73·9. All belong to the dolichocephalic class, and the indices all fall below the average index of the present inhabitants of Caithness. The narrowness of the nose and the forward projection of the nasal bones below a rather prominent glabella strike the observer; but in one instance the nose is relatively broad and the nasal aperture is much more open. The teeth are extraordinarily well preserved, are entirely free of any trace of caries, or of the results of periostitis in the alveoli. They are, however, in all the adult specimens worn down until the crowns are flat and cusplless. The features of the skulls do not justify any very dogmatic opinion regarding the race represented by these people. The general characters are much the same as are to be observed in Scotland at the present time, but the average cranial index of this small sample stands at a considerably lower level than that of the general population of modern Scotland. The low stature is not consistent with the idea of a pure Nordic people, but taken along with certain characters of the skull, especially of the nose, is quite consistent with the conclusion that we have to do with a mixed population including Mediterranean and Nordic elements, such as occupied the north of Scotland and the Hebrides in Viking times.

III.

DOMESTIC CANDLESTICKS FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO THE END
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. BY ALEXANDER O. CURLE,
F.S.A. SCOT.

Of all household relics of a bygone age, the candlestick has perhaps received the least attention from the connoisseur. As antique brass candlesticks are desirable objects of decoration, they attract the attention of the collector, but as they are also somewhat inconvenient objects of which to form a collection, few enthusiasts have amassed a sufficient number to provide them with material for research. Consequently, the literature dealing with the subject is of small extent. *The Dictionary of English Furniture*, vol. ii., by Percy Macquoid and Ralph Edwards, has an article containing much interesting information on candles and candlesticks, while *Lys og Lysstet i Norske Kirker og Hjem*, by Fredrik B. Wallem, is a more exhaustive treatise published by the Norsk Folkemuseum.

The sources of information for the following notes are, besides literary matter, (1) collections in certain museums, notably the Victoria and Albert, and the Guildhall Museums in London, the Musée Cluny in Paris, and the Ryks Museum in Amsterdam; (2) the study of paintings and engravings by old masters representing interiors or still-life groups; (3) a card-index, compiled over a number of years, of illustrated advertisements of dated hall-marked silver candlesticks; and lastly, a collection of specimens picked up in the course of travel here and abroad.

The Romans used candlesticks, and at a more remote period so also did the Egyptians,¹ while candles are of frequent mention in Jewish literature; but with the ancient history of the subject I do not intend to deal. I have taken as my starting-point the fourteenth century, for in that century the socket candlestick seems first to make its appearance in Europe for domestic use in the form from which we can trace its subsequent development.

Throughout our period candlesticks were made of various materials—silver, copper, bronze, brass, iron, pewter, wood, earthenware, enamel, and glass; but as the materials principally employed have been silver, and alloys of copper, such as brass and bronze, I shall confine myself to candlesticks in these materials, with a casual reference to some possibly of wood.

¹ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, vol. i. p. 578.

In the early centuries of our period silver domestic candlesticks cannot have been plentiful, and none have probably come down to our time of earlier date than the seventeenth century. From references, however, in accounts of Royal households, etc., we know that they did exist. From the fourteenth century to the end of the seventeenth the material most generally employed was brass in one form or another, and thus during that period the brass candlestick developed with an individuality of its own; but when with an increase of wealth silver came more into vogue towards the end of the seventeenth century, from that time onwards the silver candlestick took the lead in fashion, and the brass candlestick in great measure was merely a copy in base metal of its richer prototype. During the eighteenth century some forms of candlesticks peculiar to brass still appeared, and later on developed into the somewhat graceless styles of the nineteenth century.

It is quite usual to hear vaguely described as brass, latten, gun-metal, and bell-metal, according to the colour of the metal, the actual material of which brass candlesticks are made. For this differentiation there is, however, no real justification. Brass consists of copper two parts, and zinc one part, for fine brass, and varies to copper eight parts, zinc two parts, for tough brass. As zinc was not known as a metal until the beginning of the sixteenth century, early brass was produced by melting copper in contact with a zinc ore called calamine. A close scrutiny of the surface of early candlesticks will show that they are vesicular to a considerable degree—a result probably of the high percentage of copper in the body, as copper when melted absorbs large quantities of gases, with the result that when the metal cools these gases are released and a very spongy casting is produced. In early times both bells and cannon were made of copper and tin—that is to say, bronze; so the terms bell-metal and gun-metal as applied to brass candlesticks are probably quite erroneous. Latten, which was chiefly employed for sepulchral brasses, was simply brass formed in the usual manner in vogue at the time, that is to say from copper in contact with calamine.

As the form and certain features of the candlestick are intimately related to the nature of the candle, it is necessary to furnish a little information about candles. In the early period, in which our survey commences, candles were being made of one of two materials, wax or tallow; the former either vegetable or animal wax, and the latter the fat reserved for the purpose in domestic kitchens. From the manner of their manufacture both might be “dips”—that is to say, a wick formed from the pith of a rush, and later on from a strip of rag, was

dipped repeatedly into a vat of melted material until the resultant coating had attained the requisite thickness; but in the case of wax the candle might also be produced by softening a lump of the material by heat until it was sufficiently plastic, and then applying it to the wick and rolling it into shape.¹ Wax being of harder consistency produced the best candles, but such candles being expensive, they were probably confined in use to churches and to the houses of the wealthy. Owing to their firmness they would be better adapted for fixing on a pricket than the softer tallow candles.

In the fifteenth century the principal market for wax candles was Venice, and to this connection with that great centre of Eastern trade was probably due at an early date the introduction of an Eastern type of candlestick of which I shall have something to say later on. Moulded candles of tallow, as wax did not lend itself to moulding, were introduced, it is said, in the fifteenth century by the Sieur de Bries of Paris, but it is believed that they did not come much into vogue till two centuries later. To almost modern times belongs, however, the most important development in the manufacture of the candle, the plaiting of the wick. Plaited wicks were introduced by Cambacérès in 1820, his object being to do away with the necessity of snuffing. Through the twisting of the plaited wick, the protruding end as it burns is kept just outside the flame and consequently is consumed to ash by the surrounding air. Previous to this improvement, simple twisted cotton wicks had been used for candles of all sorts.

It is generally admitted that the earliest candlesticks with a socket for the candle date in Europe from the fourteenth century: though occasional examples usually in the form of an animal bearing a socket on its back, the reputed product of Dinant in Belgium, may possibly date from the previous century.

Hoardings of candlesticks must be of very rare occurrence, and of records of such I have discovered only two. One of these, found at Yebléron, France, in 1844,² consisted of three candlesticks and a prick spur. Two of the candlesticks were of types which I would assign to the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, while the third was in the form of an animal, probably intended for a deer, carrying a socket on its back. Each of the two first-mentioned candlesticks represented a separate type. In the one case (Type I.), from the centre of a base on a tripod rose a plain circular stem bearing the socket at the top; in the other case (Type II.), from the centre of a base in the nature of an inverted cup, or of a trumpet mouth, surmounted by a wax-pan, rose a stem

¹ Alder Wright, *Oils, Fats, Waxes, etc., and their Manufactured Products*, p. 388.

² Cochet, *La Seine Inferieure*, p. 297.

with a lenticular knop in the centre and a socket at the top. The first type is represented by fig. 1, No. 3, the second approximately by fig. 1, No. 5.

Let us consider Type I. In the Guildhall Museum in the city of London¹ there is a pricket candlestick formed of three rods or thin bars of iron welded together in such a way as to form a tapered end rising from a tripod (fig. 1, No. 1). Such a candlestick, as it is of the simplest form, was probably that most commonly in use in the thirteenth and preceding centuries. What brought about the production of a candlestick with a socket is not apparent, but one may assume that the reason had some connection with the manufacture of tallow candles. A candlestick (fig. 1, No. 2) in the Musée Cluny, Paris, shows very clearly the first step in development. The tripod base is still maintained, the stem is still tapered upwards, while the socket with its open sides appears as an obvious addition to a pricket. This candlestick is attributed to the fifteenth century, but I incline to assign it to the previous century. The next step in evolution is represented by fig. 1, No. 3, a candlestick in the National Museum of Antiquities and found in Wigtownshire. The three feet derived from the pricket still remain, but now project from a wide disc which forms the base. The stem is devoid of knop or moulding, as indicating the pricket origin, and the socket is still open at the sides, such openings being obviously necessary for the removal of the end of a tallow candle, which would adhere readily to the rough cast sides of the socket. In the course of our survey we shall find that there is a chronological development in these perforations continuing until their final supersession by another method of effecting the purpose which they served. A candlestick, said to be of bronze, presenting a slight variation but obviously of the type and period, was found with two others in a cauldron at Loges, Normandy.² This candlestick only differs from the last-mentioned example in having a larger straight-sided socket and with a correspondingly larger aperture. The basal features and the stem are the same. Characteristic of nearly all the candlesticks of this type and period are short arms projecting from either side of the socket, sometimes notched at the ends, as in the example illustrated. In the case of a specimen in the Musée Cluny, the arms project from the stem below the socket. A candlestick of the type in the Guildhall Museum (fig. 1, No. 4) lacks the arms, but has a socket with a considerable expansion towards the mouth. One can only conjecture as to the use of these arms, which are confined to this type. I do not think they were for hanging snuffers from; I have seen none of these objects of

¹ Catalogue, part lxxv. No. 6.

² Cochet, *La Seine Inferieure*, p. 207.

this period, and I hazard the suggestion that, owing to the primitive and inefficient methods of lighting, it was customary to have the candle-

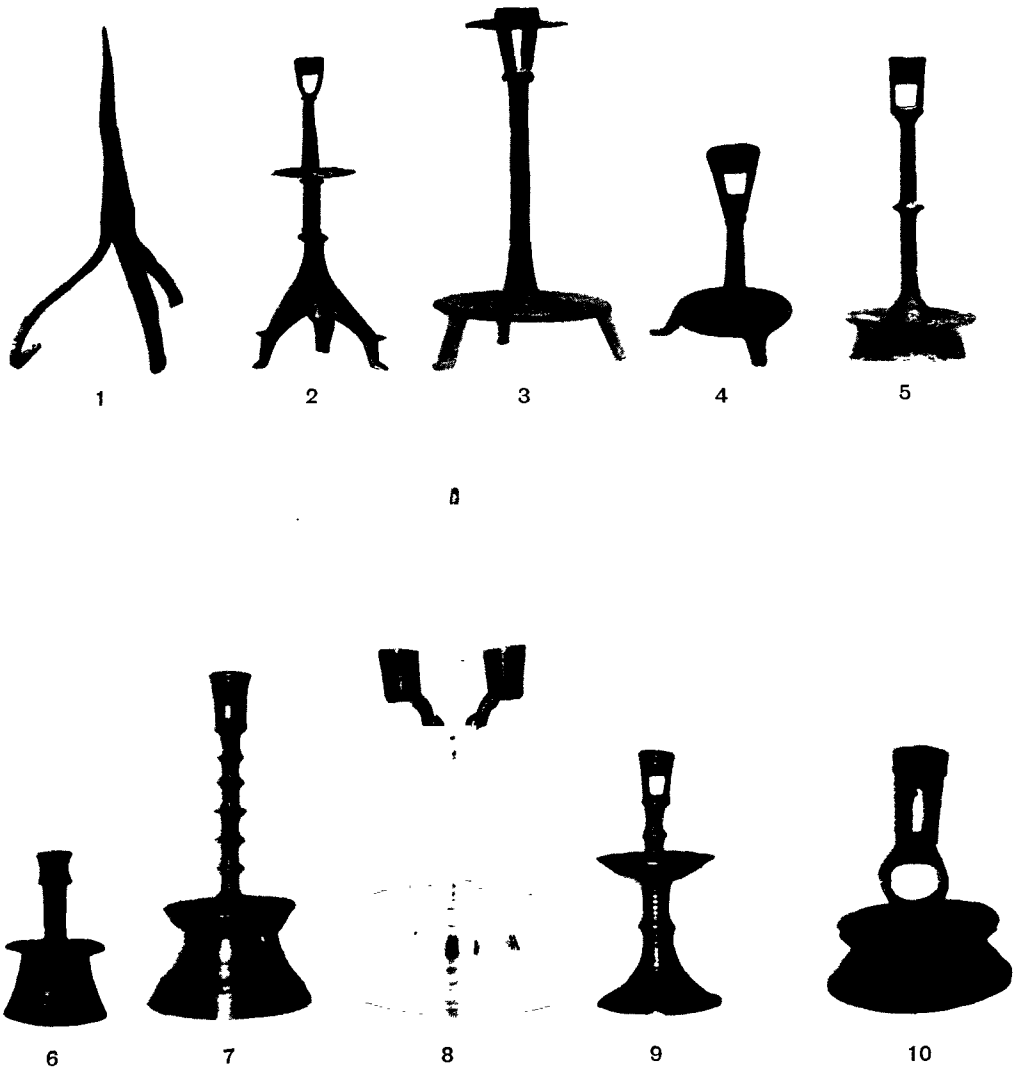


Fig. 1. Candlesticks of the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries.

sticks suspended in forks projecting from the walls, so that they could be easily carried from place to place as required, and yet serve their

purpose in the general illumination. To some extent torch-holders that project from the walls of Italian palaces supply an analogy.

In the Musée des Antiquaires at Caen in Normandy is another example of the type, which is interesting as showing a slight diversion from the simple forms already dealt with. The difference consists in the stem being hexagonal and being divided in the centre by a hexagonal knop. This central knop is a step in the direction of the moulded stems which eventually develop into complex baluster forms.

Candlesticks of metal were not easily destroyed by rough usage, and many examples must have survived from one period to another; yet, in view of this fact, it is significant that thus far I have not found a single representation of a candlestick of the foregoing type in any picture of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. And in this respect it may not be out of place here to state that in pictures by Renaissance artists from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, and in those of the Dutch School of the seventeenth century, representations of candlesticks are by no means uncommon. It has been stated, and frequently repeated, that though the socket candlestick was introduced for domestic use in the fourteenth century, it did not become common for another two hundred years. This statement is not borne out by the evidence, for in almost every case the candlestick represented in a domestic interior from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards is of the socket variety. A number of these representations are illustrated throughout the text and are referred to hereafter.

From the candlestick with the discoid base resting on three feet was derived, I suggest, the candlestick with a flat base and no feet, such as is shown in fig. 2, No. 2. This is a late fifteenth-century form, and in contrast with the earlier examples it will be noticed that the stem has a series of alternating lenticular and vase-shaped mouldings, and that the aperture in the socket is no longer vertical and extending almost the depth of the socket itself, but is an oblong horizontal cut in the lower part of the socket. A further development is revealed by such a candlestick as is represented by fig. 2, No. 5, from Auvergne, which, though showing a similar base and socket to that last mentioned, differs in having a baluster stem. If a comparison is made between this stem and that of a candlestick in the National Museum of Antiquities (fig. 2, No. 9), which is said to have come from St Magnus' Cathedral, Orkney, it will be observed that in design the stems are practically identical, indicating that they belong to the same period. One distinction between them is, however, noteworthy—namely, that whereas in the Auvergne candlestick there is a horizontal oblong perforation near the base of the socket to facilitate the extraction of the candle-end, in the Orkney

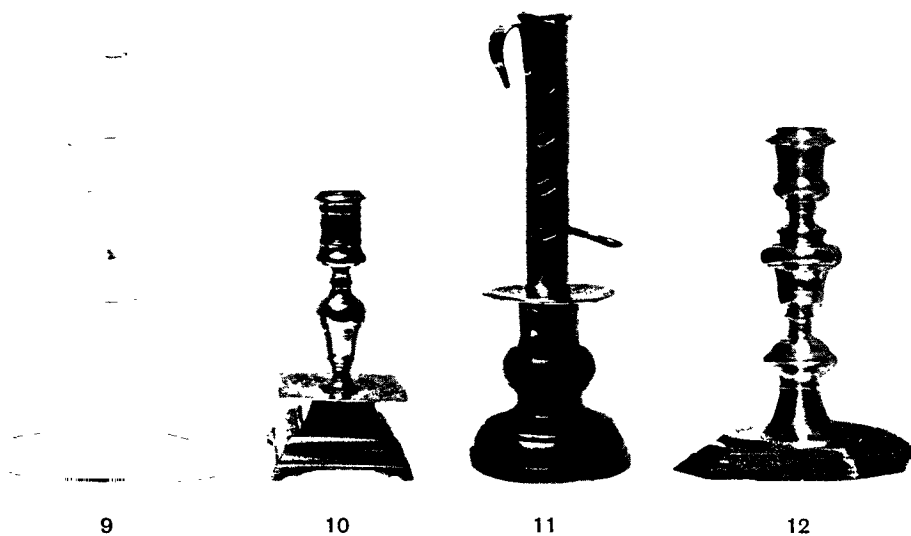
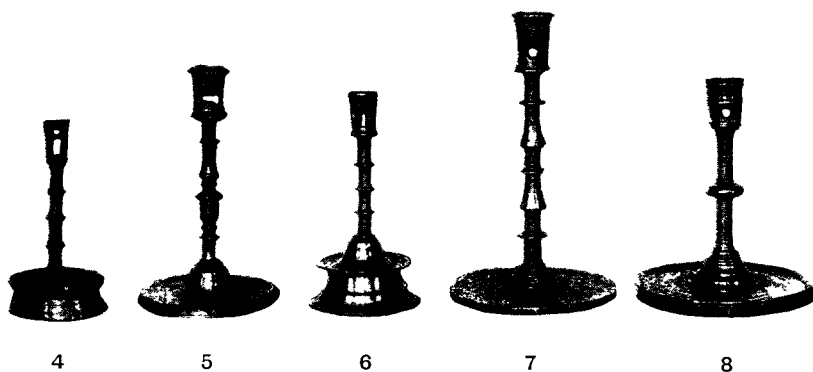
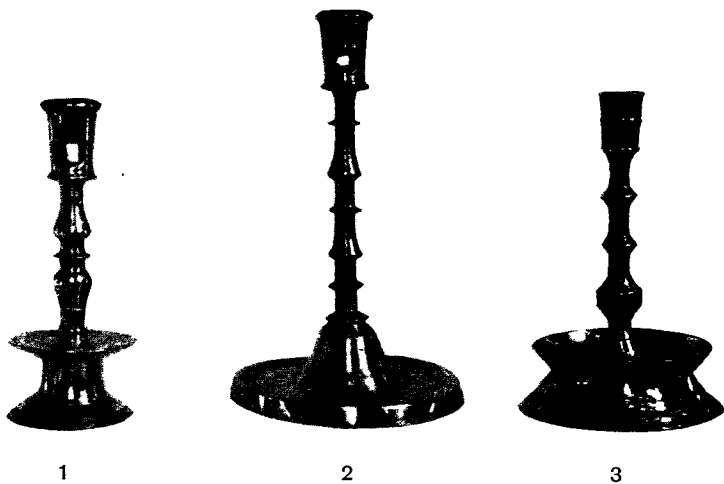


Fig. 2.¹ Candlesticks of the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries.

¹ Nos. 4-8, the property of Mr James Curle, LL.D., were obtained in Auvergne, France.

example the perforation consists of a small round hole on opposite sides not above $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter. This circular perforation rarely, if ever, appears alone in fifteenth-century candlesticks. It is almost universal, however, in those of the seventeenth century. We will therefore be justified in attributing both these candlesticks to the

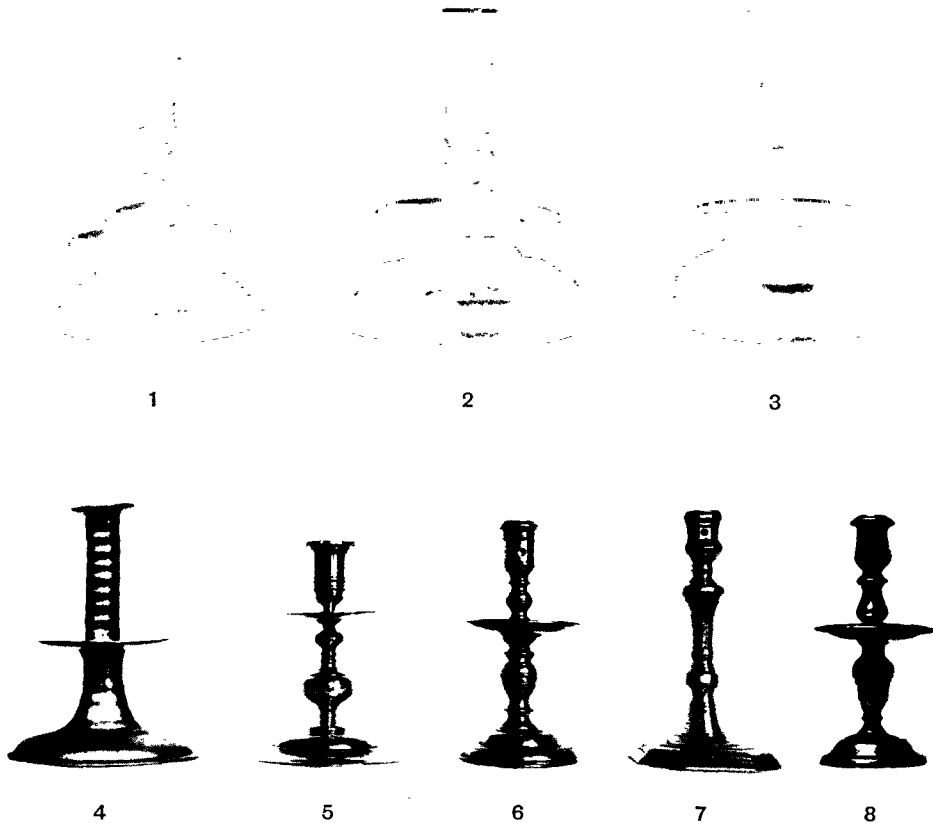


Fig. 3. Candlesticks of the 17th Century, except No. 3, which is of the 18th Century.

sixteenth century. For the same reason Nos. 7 and 8 of fig. 2, also from Auvergne, may likewise be given a similar attribution. The simplicity of the stem of No. 8, and the character of that of No. 7 in its resemblance to the late fifteenth-century form noted above (fig. 2, No. 2), suggest that their date, however, is early in the century.

Let us now turn to a consideration of Type II., that with the trumpet-mouth base.

As early as the thirteenth century, we know from dated examples which have survived, that there was in vogue in Persia a form of candlestick fashioned in bronze, usually encrusted with silver, and with a high circular base surmounted with a thin, flat circular wax-pan, a short circular stem, and a socket of somewhat larger diameter with mouldings at top and bottom. The resemblance to the base of the European fifteenth-century candlesticks is obvious, and as the type antedated in the Near East its appearance in the West by probably a century, it is more than likely that the style came hither from Persia. In Persian literature there are sufficient references to show that candles in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were of wax, the summer heat in all probability rendering the use of tallow impossible. Thus the more simple extraction of the wax candle-end obviated the need for any perforation in the socket, and the greater firmness of the wax, with a diminished liability to gutter, rendered unnecessary a lengthened stem and a saucer-like wax-pan.

Owing to its trade with the East, Venice, as already stated, was the central market for the supply of wax candles. Therefore it is not improbable that through this gateway the Persian form of candlestick arrived. We know that Arab craftsmen settled in Venice and practised their metal industries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and a type of bronze candlestick differing from the true Arab or Persian candlestick only in certain slight details of decoration and technique was manufactured by them there. Such a candlestick is that in my possession, represented by fig. 1, No. 6. The base and wax-pan are both highly ornamented with foliaceous designs in the Persian style, the pattern being traced in finely chiselled lines which have been inlaid with silver and gold, of which metals, however, merely the slightest traces now remain. Only in respect that on this and other examples of the class the decoration includes an heraldic shield, does it differ from that on the actual Persian specimens. On comparing this candlestick, which is believed to date from early in the fifteenth century, with a specimen attributed to the latter half of the century, such as that shown by fig. 1, No. 7, it will be observed that in the former the angle of the slope of the base is less acute. And as one would expect, in the European candlesticks of this type the closer they conform to the lines of their prototype in the more vertical outline of the base the earlier they are. Similarly also in the earliest specimens the stem is plain, the first divergence from this simplicity being the formation of a knop in the centre. As the candlestick further developed during the fifteenth century, the stem was increasingly elaborated by the addition of lenticular mouldings or knops, possibly with the intention of retarding the flow

of the tallow, while at the same time, with a similar end in view, the wax-pan on the top of the base was deepened.

Of fifteenth-century date are also probably Nos. 4 and 6 of fig. 2 from Auvergne. It will be observed that in the socket of No. 4 there are two perforations, the one above the other, the lower oblong and vertical, the upper a small circular hole. The two perforations are not uncommon in early sockets. Fig. 1, Nos. 7 and 8, show two candlesticks dating from the end of the fifteenth century. No. 8 is a rare example, having a bold spike rising from the trumpet base, with a screw in the centre on which works a collar supporting two cusped arms with candle-sockets at the ends. The sockets are tubular, thus affording an easy method of pressing out the candle-end. No. 7 is a characteristic example, such as might have been in use in Britain or the Low Countries.

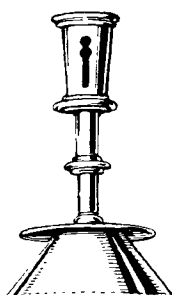
In all these candlesticks the stems are solid, and have been turned on a lathe. The holes in the sockets have evidently been produced by the application of a file.

So much similarity is there among the early candlesticks found in different countries, that one is tempted to wonder whether many of them had not a common origin. That a large traffic in objects of brass emanated from Dinant on the Meuse is well known, and probably many fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century candlesticks in France and the neighbouring countries came from that source. That there were importations into Scotland we gather from entries in the *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton* (1492-1503): "Account of the Duke of Ros. Item bocht in Handwarp (Antwerp) 12 Candylstekis veand 29 li. ilk li. cost 5½ gs. Som of thir candylstekis 13s. 4 gs." So also Roger of Moray in 1495 is supplied with eighteen candlesticks weighing 38½ pounds at the price of 5 guelders the pound; while the Archdeacon of St Andrews and the Dean of Dunkeld are similarly provided. Though the inference from the status of the customers is that these were Church candlesticks, there is every likelihood that the trade extended to domestic candlesticks as well.

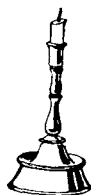
From the end of the fifteenth century onwards evidence from paintings comes to our aid, and we are thus enabled to get authentic information of the styles in vogue from time to time. The pictures previous to 1500 that show representations of candlesticks are few in number, for the pictorial arts were still strongly under the influence of religion, and, except in conventional scenes, such as "St Jerome in his Study" and the "Annunciation," interiors are not often represented. In the "Annunciation," by Carlo Crevelli (1485),¹ there is a candlestick (fig. 4, No. 1) with straight-sided base and a long aperture in the socket having a double

¹ In the National Gallery London.

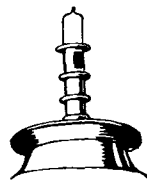
expansion at the upper end. A copy of a lost Van Eyck by Petrus Cristus, illustrated in the *Burlington Magazine*,¹ shows a candlestick with what appears to be a series of simple spherical knops on the stem, a high base, and an upright oblong slot in the socket. Ghirlandaio (1449-94), in his fresco of "St Jerome in his Study," has supplied the saint with a candlestick on a shelf. In this, the mouldings on the stem are more developed (fig. 4, No. 2). Carpaccio (1450-1522), in his painting of the same saint in the chapel of S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni at Venice, has likewise represented a candlestick on a shelf. It, too, has the high base with the wax-pan on the top, which has by this time become the prevailing type, while the mouldings of the stem are further varied. In "The Misers" at Windsor Castle, by Quentin Matsys, painted about 1500,



1
(Carlo Crevelli,
1485.)



2
(Ghirlandaio,
ca. 1480.)



3
(Quentin Matsys,
ca. 1500.)

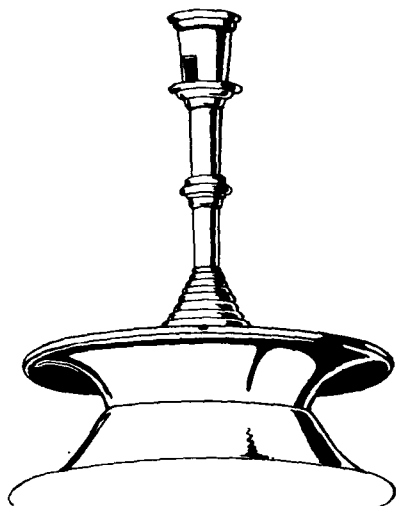
Fig. 4.

there is a candlestick (fig. 4, No. 3) of a rather different type. It seems larger than the foregoing, and the wax-pan projects further from the base. The stem is furnished with a series of lenticular mouldings, and in the socket there are long upright slots. A candlestick (fig. 5, No. 1) of the same general character, though with slightly different stem, the lenticular mouldings being gathered into groups, is to be found in a picture in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence by Joos van Cleef (1485-1540); and a very similar example (fig. 5, No. 2) may be seen in the painting by Marinus van Reyerswael (fl. 1521-58) in the Musée Stibbert at Florence. Another candlestick, painted by Carpaccio about the year 1505, in his "Birth of the Virgin" at Bergamo, resembles in style those that appear in his other pictures, though differing slightly in detail. Albrecht Dürer, in 1510, in "The Death of the Virgin," shows a specimen (fig. 5, No. 3) closely resembling that used by Carpaccio in his picture of

¹ Vol. xliii. p. 14.

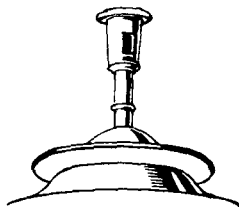
St Jerome; and not greatly dissimilar, though simpler in its stem, is a candlestick in an "Annunciation" painted by Giovanni del Sega in 1513.¹ The points to observe about all these, except such as are represented by the Flemish masters, is the straight-sided base and the varied mouldings on the stems which have succeeded to the simpler mouldings of the previous century.

Early in the sixteenth century a variety emerges which anticipates for a short time a much later development belonging to the seventeenth century. This type is well represented by a specimen (fig. 1, No. 9) recently acquired in Holland. The characteristic feature is the position of the wax-pan, not at the base as in most of the early candlesticks, but half-way up the stem. A comparison of fig. 1, No. 9, with mid-seventeenth-century examples (fig. 3, Nos. 4 and 6) will show how close is the resemblance, and also wherein lies the difference. In the early specimen the stem is in two distinct parts—the lower portion short



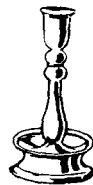
1

(Joos van Cleef, 1485-1540.)



2

(Marinus van Reymerswael, fl. 1521-58.)



3

(Dürer, "Death of the Virgin," 1510.)

Fig. 5.

and corrugated rising out of a conical base, the upper portion of less diameter with one lenticular moulding, and set in a deep wax-pan. The socket is of early form, widening to the mouth and pierced by rectangular openings.

Three examples of this general type have come under observation in pictures. One, which closely resembles the specimen from Holland, occurs in "La Miracle du Tamis," a view of the interior of a kitchen by J. Mostaert (1499-1555) in the Museum at Bruxelles; another (fig. 6, No. 1) is shown in "The Mass of St Gregory," a work of the Spanish school, dating from about 1500, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge;

¹ Venturi, vii., fig. 71.

while the third example (fig. 6, No. 3) is in an intarsia panel on the back of one of the choir stalls in the Upper Church of St Francis at Assisi, dated 1501. This last-mentioned candlestick has indeed a strangely modern appearance, with the pyramidal base which, as will be shown later, is a feature of candlesticks of the late eighteenth century, while the flange around the mouth of the socket is also a comparatively modern characteristic. Another candlestick (fig. 6, No. 2), also shown in intarsia in the same church, more nearly corresponds to the contemporary type. The stem, however, which appears to be quadrangular in section, is of an elongated vase shape,

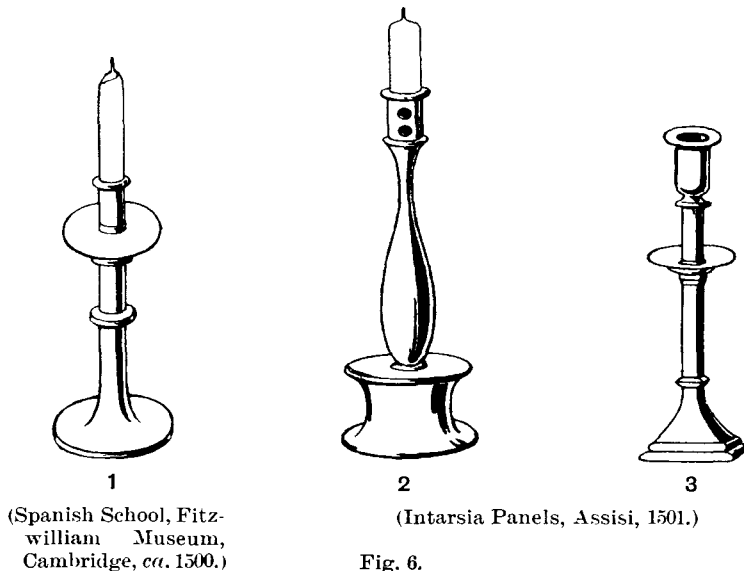


Fig. 6.

while the perforations in the socket are two in number, small and circular, and placed one above the other. No brass candlestick with a stem of this form has been met with. On one of the intarsia panels in the sacristy in St Mark's at Venice, however, there is figured a specimen with an almost identical stem, a polygonal socket, and a base developed from the trumpet variety. To a greater extent than we have hitherto seen, the lower portion slopes inward, and from the wax-pan there rises an hexagonal cone forming a foot to the stem. The socket is pierced with two holes, one above the other, the lower upright and oblong, the other circular. There is no evidence that these two last-mentioned illustrations were meant to represent brass candlesticks, and it is quite possible that the originals were of wood; the somewhat solid character

of the stems, and the faceted form of the upper part of the base of the Venetian candlestick, seem to suggest such material. They are interesting, in any case, as late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century types which show certain typical features.

Another peculiar detail in the mouldings of the stem appears in the first half of the sixteenth century. This is an inverted cone or pot-shaped feature at the lower end of the stem. An example is shown in a picture of the interior of a house by Fra Carnevale (1447-1510) in the Palazzo Barberini at Rome. Another may be seen in Holbein's "Family of Sir Thomas Moore," in the Museum of Basle, painted in 1528; while yet another (fig. 7) appears in a picture of "St Jerome in his Study," by Vincenzo di Biagio (d. 1531), in the National Gallery in London. A silver candlestick showing the same peculiarity is illustrated in

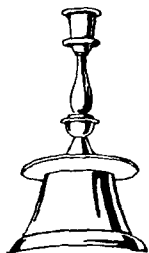


Fig. 7. (Vincenzo di Biagio (Catena), d. 1531.)

Harvard's *Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement*.¹ The exact date is not given, though the candlestick is stated to be of the sixteenth century; the bell-shaped form of the base, however, indicates that it belongs to a late part of the century.

A form of baluster stem, typical of the Renaissance style, is employed in the stems of candlesticks at the end of the fifteenth or commencement of the sixteenth century. This is a baluster formed of two vase-shaped figures placed base to base, with a simple lenticular moulding between them. The form is common in stonework of the time.

It is also found employed in the stems of Murano glass of the sixteenth century. A fine example of a candlestick with such a stem, dated to the end of the fifteenth century, is to be seen in the Bargello Museum at Florence. Fig. 2, No. 1, shows a small example in my own collection, and another is illustrated in a sixteenth-century woodcut in the "Cabinet des Estampes" reproduced in the *Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement*, etc.²

In fig. 1, No. 10, is illustrated a candlestick of another form from the Guildhall Museum, London. It consists of a base and wax-pan resembling two saucers, the one placed on the inverted bottom of the other, much in the form of the base of the Joos van Cleef candlestick (fig. 5, No. 1). The socket, which is longer than usual, is open at the base, and is set on a ring fixed to the wax-pan. On opposite sides are oblong upright perforations, each with a small circular opening above. Such sockets on rings date from the fifteenth century. They are used in Gothic candelabra of the period, such as are to be seen in various museums and

¹ s.r. Bougeoir, vol. i. p. 371.

² s.v. Cuisine, vol. i. p. 1130.

churches at home and abroad and with no very definite provenance. One on a branch candlestick in St Clement's Church, Wisby, in the Island of Gotland, Sweden, is illustrated by Emil Ekhoﬀ in *St Clemens Kyrka i Visby*, p. 188, fig. 128. The fashion may be seen in the nozzles of the chandelier, datable to about 1460, in the Temple Church, Bristol, and the style is also said to be Venetian.¹ Three candlesticks with similar sockets are illustrated by Dr Hefner-Alteneck in *Trachten Kunstwerke*, vol. v. pl. 297. In one example the socket is circular, as in the Guildhall specimen, in the other two they are polygonal. Each shows the long vertical slot with the small round hole above.

Sockets of this peculiar form were in general use in another type of candlestick belonging to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries not hitherto referred to. This consisted of a human figure, usually a man in armour, holding the socket in the hand, or of an animal with the socket on its back, or of a bird carrying it in its beak.

The candlestick illustrated by fig. 2, No. 3, purchased in Siena, illustrates an early sixteenth-century form, showing the characteristic base with a marked constriction beneath the wax-pan, and a stem slightly developed from the simpler style generally in vogue in the previous century. In calling it a "Medici" candlestick the dealer who sold it showed that he had some knowledge of the period to which it belonged.

Information concerning the forms in vogue in the latter half of the sixteenth century is more difficult to obtain. Artists at that period had ceased to introduce so frequently into their pictures, candlesticks, and other still-life features. Art had freed itself from religious conventions, and representations of "St Jerome in his Study" with the familiar surroundings, or of the "Annunciation" with the customary details, were seldom painted. Nor had paintings of domestic interiors or of still life, so much the fashion in the seventeenth century, yet made their appearance. Development had, however, been steadily progressing, and when the datable examples come to light again we find that considerable modifications have taken place in their shapes. One of the few late sixteenth-century pictures which does show a candlestick (fig. 8) happens to be another representation of St Jerome, by Marinus van Reymerswael. The details of the stem, and particularly the bag-shaped form of the socket, indicate a late date. An example of a similar form of socket occurs in a candle-

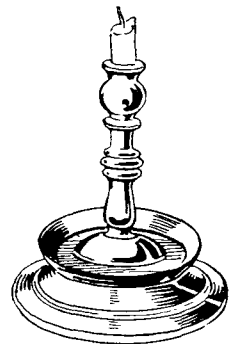


Fig. 8. (Marinus van Reymerswael, fl. 1521-58.)

¹ *Dictionary of English Furniture*, s.v. Chandeliers, fig. 4 and p. 18.

stick in my collection (fig. 3, No. 1). A curious feature at the base of the stem in the latter—a domical foot on the top of the wax-pan—indicates a date for this candlestick, as a candlestick with a similar foot from Ringebu, Gubrandsdal, Norway,¹ bears the date 1601.

The most noticeable feature of the development of this period is the increasing tendency for the wax-pan to part company with the base, and at the same time to diminish in size. Doubtless as the material of the candle improved and became more resistant, as tallow gave place, to a greater extent, to wax, the guttering became a matter of less concern, and the arrangement for the reception of the drip was consequently modified. Though the first step in the tendency of the two

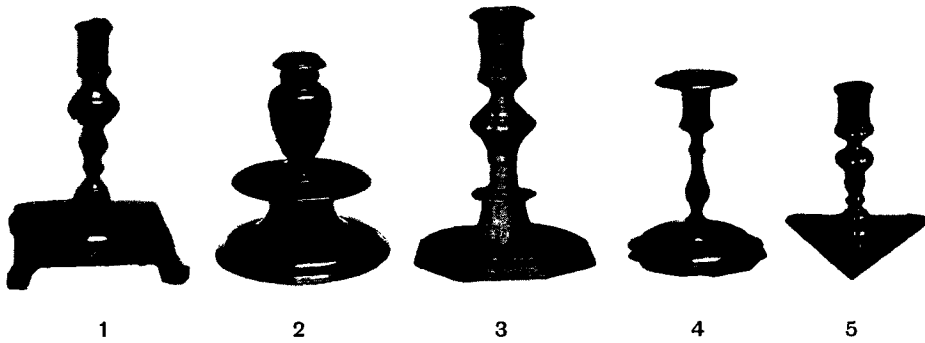


Fig. 9. Candlesticks of the 17th Century.

parts of the base to become detached is noticeable in candlesticks of the sixteenth century, the separation generally does not become complete and practically universal until the middle of the seventeenth century. A type of candlestick of Italian provenance (fig. 9, No. 2) shows the tendency far advanced, and is approximately datable, as such candlesticks are shown in a picture of the "Last Supper" by Leonardo Bassano (1558–1623) in the Church of Santa Maria Formosa in Venice. Another datable specimen with a similar base, but with a different stem from that of the Italian example, is to be seen engraved on the brass to Dr Liddel (d. 1613) in the Drum Aisle of St Nicholas' Church in Aberdeen (fig. 10, No. 1); and another in Gerard Dow's picture of himself at Dresden, painted in 1647 (fig. 10, No. 2), the same specimen appearing in the painting of "The Young Mother," by the same artist, preserved in the Mauritshuis at The Hague, and painted in 1658. In "The Kitchen" at Copenhagen, also by Dow, painted between 1645 and 1650, is an

¹ *Lys og Lysstel*, fig. 83.

excellent example (fig. 10, No. 3), introduced by him into a still-life study now in Dresden, painted in 1660; others may be seen in works by Gerard Honthorst (1590-1656), known as "Gherardo della Notte," in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, and in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. In fact, in the candlesticks used by artists painting in the first half of the seventeenth century, this appears to be a common feature. The indestructible nature of brass candlesticks, however, makes it impossible to be certain that those forms reproduced in pictures are all of the date of the respective works of art in which they appear; but the introduction of a style cannot be of later date

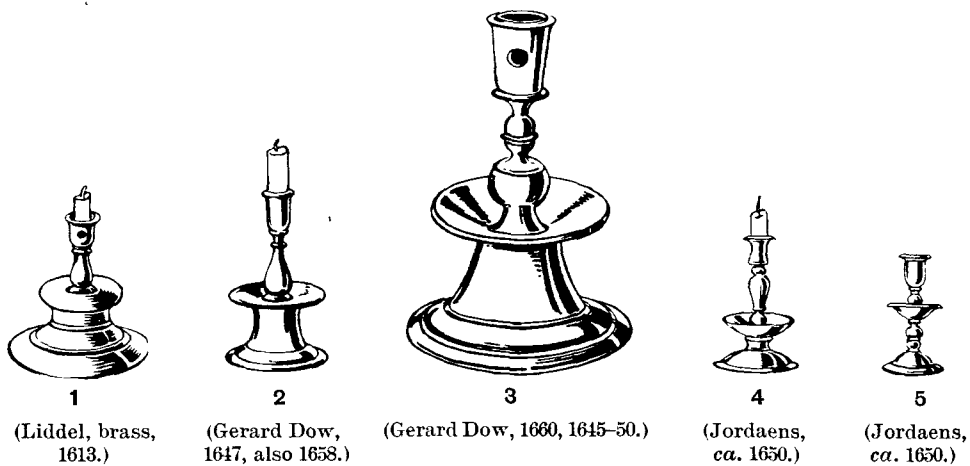


Fig. 10.

than that of the picture in which a specimen of that style is shown. And when a form is predominant during a given period, it is a fair assumption that that form was the one in common use at the time. Thus we may hold that those candlesticks with a rather flat wax-pan, set on a high base with incurving sides, belong principally to the first half of the seventeenth century. A candlestick in a picture by J. Koedyck at Brussels, painted about 1650, shows the style further developed; while one (fig. 10, No. 4) in Jordaens' "Wie die Alten Jungen" (ca. 1650), and another (fig. 10, No. 5) in the same artist's "Fest des Bohnenskönig" in the Museum at Kassel, of the same date, show the severance of wax-pan and base complete. This style, which became characteristic of the mid- and late seventeenth century, in northern and western Europe if not further south, appears, certainly in one picture of the first half, "The Village Barber" by Adriaen Brouwer (1605/6-1638), but I have found it in no other. Fig. 3, No. 6, shows a typical specimen

of the candlestick which, judging from the numbers to be met with, was probably that generally in use in this country, as on the Continent, from the middle to the end of the seventeenth century. Fig. 3, No. 8, shows another of a slightly different form.

We have seen how the architectural baluster of the Renaissance period was reproduced as the stem of a candlestick, as it likewise was for the stems of Venetian wineglasses. Similarly, in the seventeenth century we find a style of stem formed, as it were, of a series of superimposed spheres common both to candlesticks and wineglasses. A candlestick of that form (fig. 11) is reproduced by Judith Leyster in a picture painted between 1600 and 1605, and exhibited in the National Collection in the Corsini Palace in Rome. Osia Beet (1622-78) shows a wineglass with the same fashion of stem in a still-life picture reproduced in the Italian art magazine, *Dedalo*, issued in March 1924.

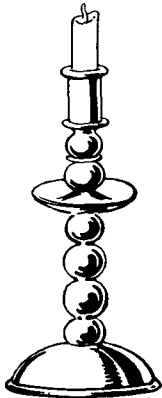


Fig. 11.
(Judith Leyster, 1600.)

Almost invariably the seventeenth-century candlesticks have, in place of the oblong or rectangular aperture in the base of the socket, a small circular perforation placed in the upper part in size of about the diameter of a pea. The continuous improvement in the quality of the candle, rendering it less liable to get firmly embedded in the socket, is marked by the development of this feature, until its disappearance, owing to a change of construction in the candlestick itself, towards the close of the seventeenth century. In the earlier forms we saw the aperture large and vertical, extending almost the whole height of the socket; later we found two openings, one vertical, the other circular and above it; sometimes, the same arrangement took the form of a cusped opening like a Gothic window; by setting the socket on a ring and leaving it an open cylinder, a still more effective method was adopted of evacuating the candle-stump. Up to the middle, at least, of the sixteenth century the arrangement in general use appears to have been the square or oblong rectangular opening in the lower half of the socket. By the end of that century this had given place to the round perforation in the centre or upper half of the socket, which prevailed until, as stated, a change in the manner of construction rendered such a method no longer necessary.

A variety, probably from the low countries, belongs also to the middle period of the century. It consists of a spirally fluted stem, a broad circular base domed in the centre and surmounted by a flat wax-pan—the latter and the base both decorated in repoussée with floral designs. Possibly the type was used in churches to some extent, and an interest-

ing example (fig. 3, No. 2), bearing the legend "A. L., Tundergarth, 1667," seems to have been in use in the Dumfriesshire parish of that name. An English variety of the mid-seventeenth-century type has a cylindrical corrugated stem. An example of this (fig. 3, No. 4) is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Towards the close of the century the tendency is for the wax-pan to disappear from the stem, to become a mere feature of ornament in its former position, and as a functioning member to be transferred to the nozzle—a position which it henceforth occupies either as a flange or a detachable part.

But, as indicated above, another and more important change took place in the history of the brass candlestick. Hitherto the candlestick was formed with a solid stem, cast and turned, fastened to a base made independently by a screw, or more frequently, by a tenon hammered flat on the underside. Such candlesticks contained much metal in their composition, and, to save material and facilitate manufacture, a process was adopted whereby the stem and socket were cast in separate halves and thereafter brazed together and fastened into the base. This method left the stems hollow and afforded a better opportunity of expelling the candle-end from the socket than had hitherto prevailed. A pin or wire was run through the stem with a button on either end, allowing sufficient length to force the upper button to the mouth of the socket when pressure was applied to that projecting below. With the adoption of this method the hole in the socket finally disappeared as being of no further use, and with its disappearance there terminated a definite era in the development of the candlestick.

By the end of the seventeenth century greater differentiation of form took place, and characteristics peculiar to particular countries became more marked—a process which increased till, in the eighteenth century, the candlesticks of each country assumed a more distinct individuality. This was probably due, in some measure, to the candlestick becoming, with the increased use of silver plate, an object of luxury, and with the manufacture in precious metal the attention of the artist and expert silversmith was directed to the production of costly examples for their wealthy patrons. In the seventeenth century, for the greater part of its course, the candlestick of brass, unaffected by silver models, was still the humble furnishing of every home.

Up to this point we have seen that the candlestick of brass has developed in its own way, as the changes in the quality of the candle or the dictates of fashion might direct; but from now onwards, for reasons explained above, the brass candlestick becomes the poor relation of its silver cousin, and humbly follows the fashion of its leader. Thus, from

the end of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, though in some countries apparently older styles in brass survived, the forms of brass candlesticks are, for the most part, those which have originated or developed in the choicer metal and, at a late date, in Sheffield plate. One useful factor to our inquiry resulted from this change. By the hall-marks impressed upon them the silver candlesticks can be dated approximately, and so accordingly can their derivatives in brass. Fashion is peremptory in its demands, and it is probable that no long period elapsed before modifications in form were adapted to both materials. From the study of the card-index of all dated types of silver candlesticks as they have appeared in advertisements for a number of years, a means of observing the typical forms and their development has been obtained. Some of these forms have not, so far, been met with in brass, but as a general rule, characteristic features of each style are to be found in the specimens of the baser metal.

In the reign of Charles II. there was in fashion a candlestick made in silver, with a stem in the form of a clustered column with a square base.¹ From this was derived the type with an octagonal base which we shall meet with presently (fig. 17, No. 3). At the same time, another style, but in brass, was in use, deriving from the type exemplified previously by the specimen from Tundergarth. This had a spirally fluted stem, a flat circular wax-pan surmounting a base of trumpet or inverted cup form. A silver candlestick, dated 1683-4, in the Parish Church of Halton, Warwickshire (fig. 17, No. 1), illustrated in the *Burlington Magazine* for December 1921, has a square base from which rises a tapering boss ornamented by a square wax-pan, and a fluted stem surmounted with a square sconce—a feature now making its appearance for the first time. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the square base passed out of fashion, while the baluster stem, and for a time also the columnar stem with octagonal base, became popular (fig. 17, No. 2). So fashionable was this style, that of thirty-one examples card-indexed for different years between 1686 and 1718, all except four have such bases, and of the exceptions, two are hexagonal and two circular (such as fig. 12, Nos. 1, 3, and 5, and 2 and 4). Fig. 17, Nos. 2 to 7, show various types with octagonal bases.

A French example in brass (fig. 9, No. 3), purchased a few years ago in Blois, shows not only the octagonal base, but also a wax-pan, reduced to a mere rudiment surmounting a tapering boss. From these features as well as from the small hole in the socket a seventeenth-century date may be assigned to this specimen. An English example in

¹ In Holland, in the Municipal Museum at The Hague, practically the same model may be seen in delft-ware.

silver (fig. 17, No. 2), dated 1686, so closely resembles the French one as to suggest approximately the date of the latter; while another silver candlestick, showing the same rudimentary wax-pan but a round base, acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum under the Bryan Bequest, bears in pierced work the date 1702.

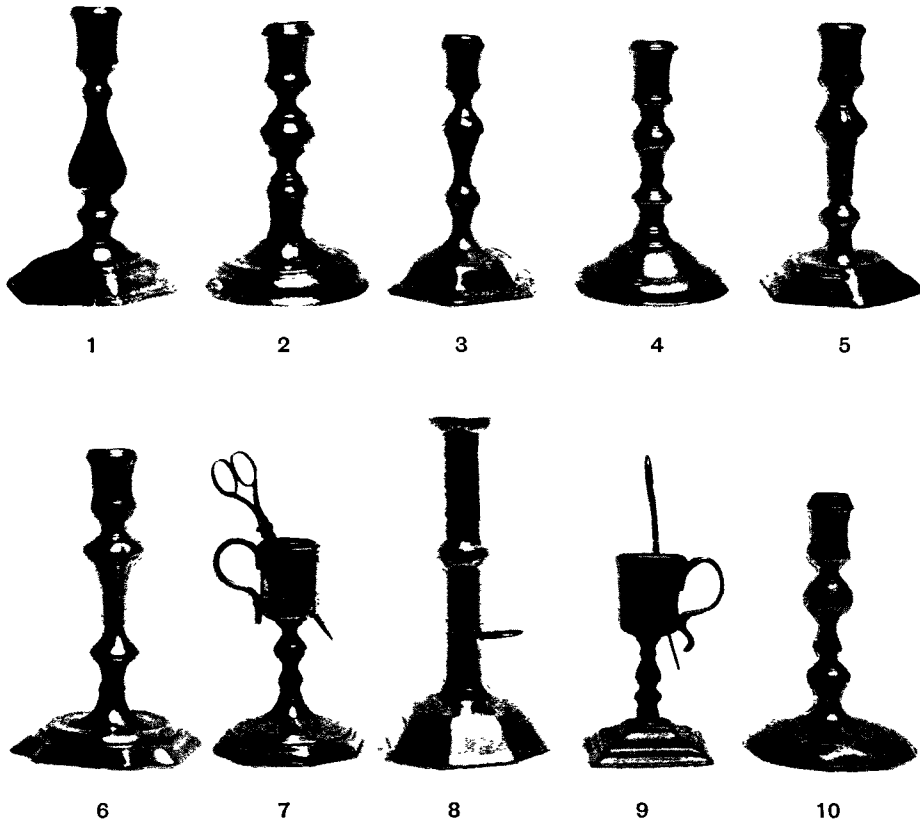


Fig. 12. Candlesticks of the late 17th and early 18th Centuries.

Certain candlesticks with circular bases belonging to the end of the seventeenth century, chiefly to be found in brass, have in addition to a baluster stem a highly domed base (fig. 12, Nos. 2 and 4). This feature, which has descended from the mid-seventeenth-century types with solid stem and wax-pan half-way up, continued on into the first two decades of the following century, and is to be seen in some of those with hexagonal and octagonal bases (fig. 12, Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 8).

Though it has been assumed that the tendency of the wax-pan and base to part company produced the mid-seventeenth-century type (fig. 3, Nos. 4, 6, and 8) with the wax-pan in the middle of the stem, it must be noted that there was a form of candlestick with a bell-shaped base, a discoid wax-pan, and a baluster stem which continued in use right through the seventeenth century and up to, at least, the middle of the eighteenth. Fig. 3, No. 1, shows an example about 1600, and fig. 3, No. 3, shows one probably dating from the middle of the eighteenth century. A series is illustrated in *Lys og Lysstel*, p. 29, figs. 86-88. The type existed in the Scandinavian countries, but it was not confined to those regions, for I possess a late example acquired recently in Rome.

Some other forms of candlesticks of the seventeenth century may be noted here. A late seventeenth-century candlestick (fig. 3, No. 7), with an octagonal base, faceted stem cast solid, and a socket with a small circular hole in it, is from Belgium.

Fig. 3, No. 5, with the wax-pan immediately below the socket, was purchased on the quays on the left bank of the Seine at Paris. It probably also dates from the last years of the seventeenth century or the early years of the eighteenth, and shows the further upward movement of the wax-pan towards the mouth of the socket. Fig. 2, No. 10, with a pyramidal base, a square flat wax-pan, and a vase-shaped stem, is probably a Church candlestick of late seventeenth-century date, and came from Rome. Fig. 2, No. 11, is English, and of the same period. It consists of a notched and slotted brass tube through which a candle-socket on the end of a key is moved up and down, set on a turned domed base of walnut wood. The domed base is a characteristic of the feet of wineglasses of the same period, probably the result of Dutch influence.

Fig. 2, No. 12, is a typical late seventeenth-century candlestick of a form frequently occurring in silver. The acorn-shaped member of the baluster is fully developed; the socket, also with the half-round moulding at the base, is characteristic of the period.

In fig. 9 are some varied seventeenth-century specimens besides those already noted. No. 1, with a square base, is perhaps Spanish, as I have a record of an identical specimen purchased in Spain. Though the square base with four feet is unusual, the form of the stem with the large bulb high up on the baluster is typical of the period. A comparison may be made with fig. 12, No. 2, and also with fig. 12, No. 4, undoubtedly of the period. No. 4 is Italian, and has a shaped base similar to those on the well-known Tuscan brass lamps. No. 5, with the triangular base, is possibly also Italian. The shape of the socket closely

resembles that of fig. 2, Nos. 10 and 12, of whose date there can be no doubt.

Before definitely leaving the candlesticks of the seventeenth century, attention may be directed to a minor feature which characterises the stem of many belonging to this period, and may even be regarded as typical of it. This feature, which constitutes a section of a baluster stem, is in the form of an inverted acorn in its cup. It may be seen in a mid-century specimen (fig. 3, No. 8), in a candlestick of the time of James II. or William and Mary (fig. 2, No. 12) in the National Museum of Antiquities, and in various silver candlesticks of the closing years of the century. It is a feature that, along with the solid stem, helps to date the pair of unusual candlesticks with triangular base (fig. 9, No. 5), for which I have found no silver analogy.

In studying the stems both of silver and brass candlesticks in the first half of the eighteenth century, we shall see that the acorn assumes a more and more elongated form, until eventually it becomes the lower portion of an inverted vase shape.

A style of brass candlestick which obviously originated early in the eighteenth century or at the close of the seventeenth with the introduction of the hollow stem, was that with a cylindrical stem, and a slot in one side up which could be moved a spur or button, to adjust the length of the candle exposed. An early example of this type, probably of Queen Anne's reign, is illustrated by fig. 12, No. 8, while fig. 13, Nos. 12, 13, 14, and 15, show others of a later date. The base of No. 14 suggests for it a date about 1720, while No. 13 may be some five years later, and No. 12 about the middle of the century.

Reverting to the card-index and silver analogues, and giving attention primarily to the bases, we find a new style in these making its appearance about 1714. This consists of a modification of the popular octagonal form brought about by counter-ringing the octagonal facets. An example, of date about 1714, illustrates it clearly (fig. 17, No. 6, also fig. 12, No. 10), as does also a snuffer-holder (fig. 12, No. 7). This style lasted but a short time, and was succeeded by another variation, which also had but a brief vogue. The latter was produced by recessing alternate angles of the octagon, or, in other words, by forming a square with hollow angles. This style is exemplified by fig. 12, No. 6. The earliest dated example which my card-index shows has the date mark for 1720 (fig. 17, No. 8), and the form seems to have been in fashion for about ten years. The hollow angle was not confined to candlesticks, but was also used in silver salvers of the same period. A variant of this shows the sides of the square recessed and angles convex (fig. 13, No. 7, and fig. 17, No. 10, the latter dated

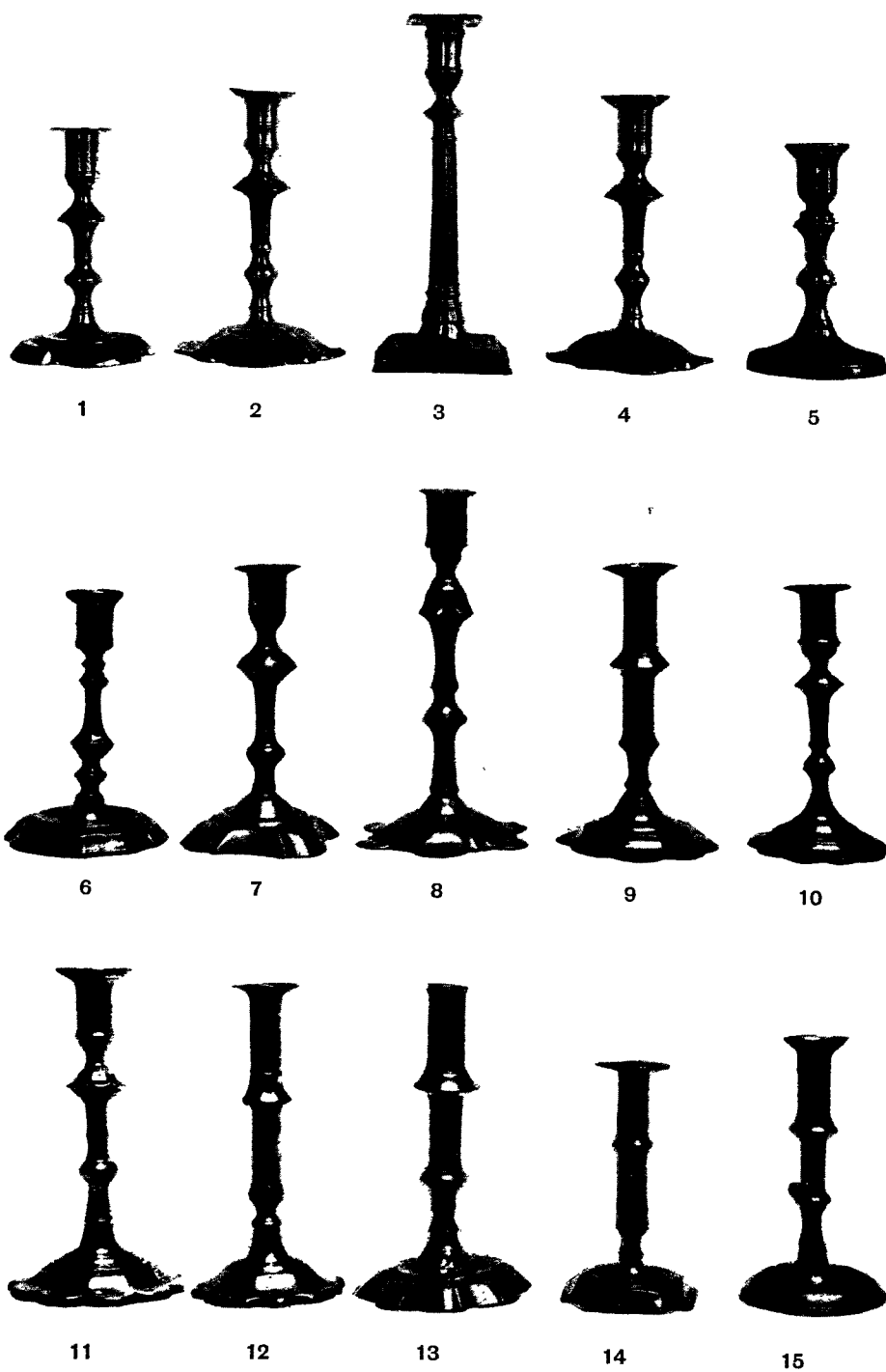


Fig. 13. Candlesticks of the 18th Century.

1733), also fig. 13, No. 1, and another, fig. 17, No. 11, dated 1735, also, with the angles of the square rounded and slightly recessed, fig. 13, No. 7. From these last there is evolved, about 1740, a lobated base (fig. 18, No. 2, also fig. 13, Nos. 2 and 4). Increased prominence given to the lobes, four in number to begin with, increased later on to six (fig. 13, No. 8), by grooving the surface and shaping the edge, produced a shell-like lobe (fig. 18, No. 3, dated 1751-2, and No. 5, dated 1758)—a feature likewise to be found in brass candlesticks. Though the popularity of this style evidently commenced to pass away after the middle of the century, it did not absolutely disappear, and eventually degenerated into a base formed with a continuous scalloped outline, as shown in fig. 13, Nos. 9, 11, and 12. The candlestick fig. 13, No. 6, belongs to this series apparently. It is of foreign manufacture, perhaps Dutch, as a similar specimen was recently observed in Dordrecht. It probably dates from about 1740.

Under dates from 1683 to 1756 there does not occur in the card-index a single illustration of a silver candlestick with a completely square base. In 1756 this form makes its appearance (fig. 18, No. 4), and thenceforward for thirty years such is the prevailing type. Out of forty-four illustrations of silver examples in the index between the years 1756 and 1785, thirty-one are of candlesticks with square bases. At first the bases are flat, with a moulded or gadrooned edge (fig. 18, Nos. 4 and 8, in silver; fig. 13, No. 3, in brass); the brass candlesticks with the plain square bases (fig. 14, Nos. 1 and 3) belong also probably to a date in the middle of the century. When, later, in certain cases, the stem, a plain or fluted column, assumed a more developed architectural character, the base was stepped or rose in a dome (fig. 18, No. 6, 1759-60), until, finally, we find the architectural analogy complete with a plinth and capital (fig. 18, No. 6 (1759-60), No. 7 (1760), No. 9 (1762), and No. 10 (1766)). Although among the square-based silver candlesticks the architectural stem seems to have been preferred, there is also a handsome baluster-stemmed form which appears as early as 1756 (fig. 18, No. 4), and of which I have a record as late as 1770. In the last quarter of the century the styles in silver rapidly deteriorate. The simple lines that lent dignity and grace to earlier forms are vitiated by meretricious enrichment in the shape of swags, garlands, rams' heads, gadroons, etc., and there is a marked tendency towards clumsier shapes. Oval and oblong bases make their appearance and pass into the nineteenth century, where I do not propose to follow them.

In candlesticks of brass the main features of the silver models were closely followed, though the stems of the former were seldom, if ever, enriched with ornament. Certain styles of stem, moreover, had no silver

analogues, and appear to have belonged exclusively to the candlesticks of common use. Such are fig. 16, Nos. 1, 2, and 5, which show examples with round bases and baluster stems.

With neither hall-marks nor picture illustrations to guide us, it is

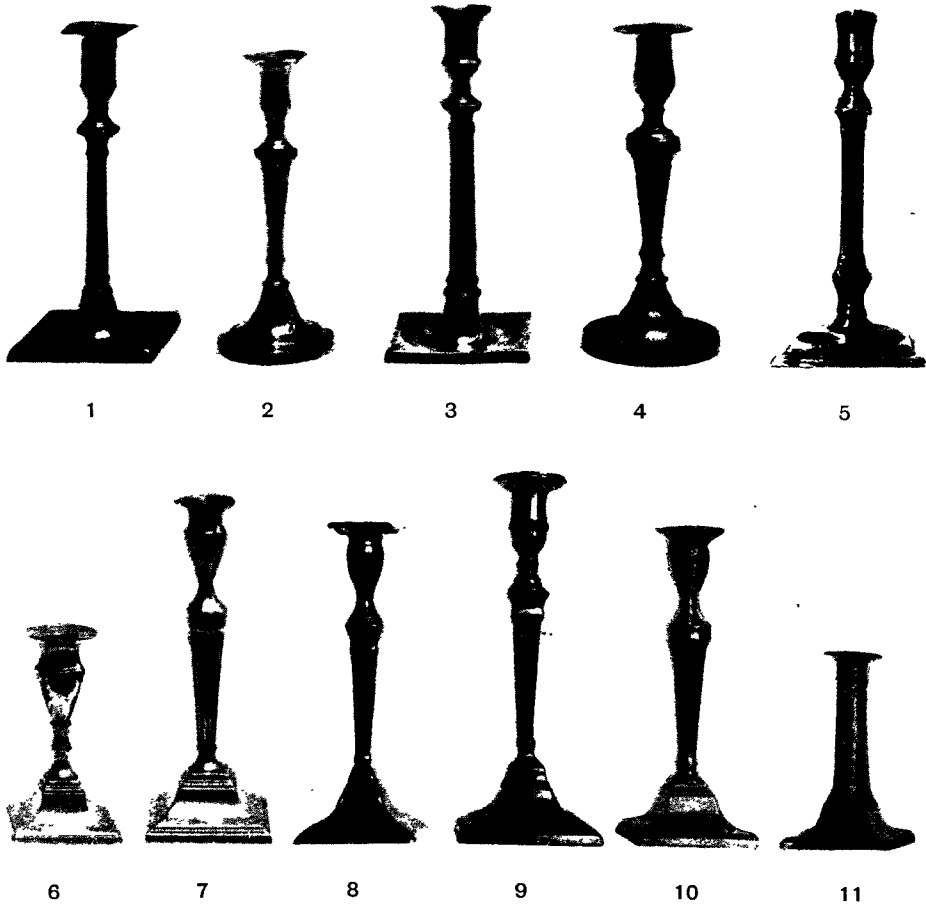


Fig. 14. Candlesticks of the 18th Century.

extremely difficult to date such specimens as those last mentioned with accuracy. There is, however, a constructive feature which affords a clue and permits a distinction to be drawn at least between those which belong to the last twenty or thirty years of the century and those of an earlier date.

Previously I have mentioned that in the closing years of the seven-

teenth century a change was brought about in the process of manufacture from the production of a stem cast solid and afterwards turned

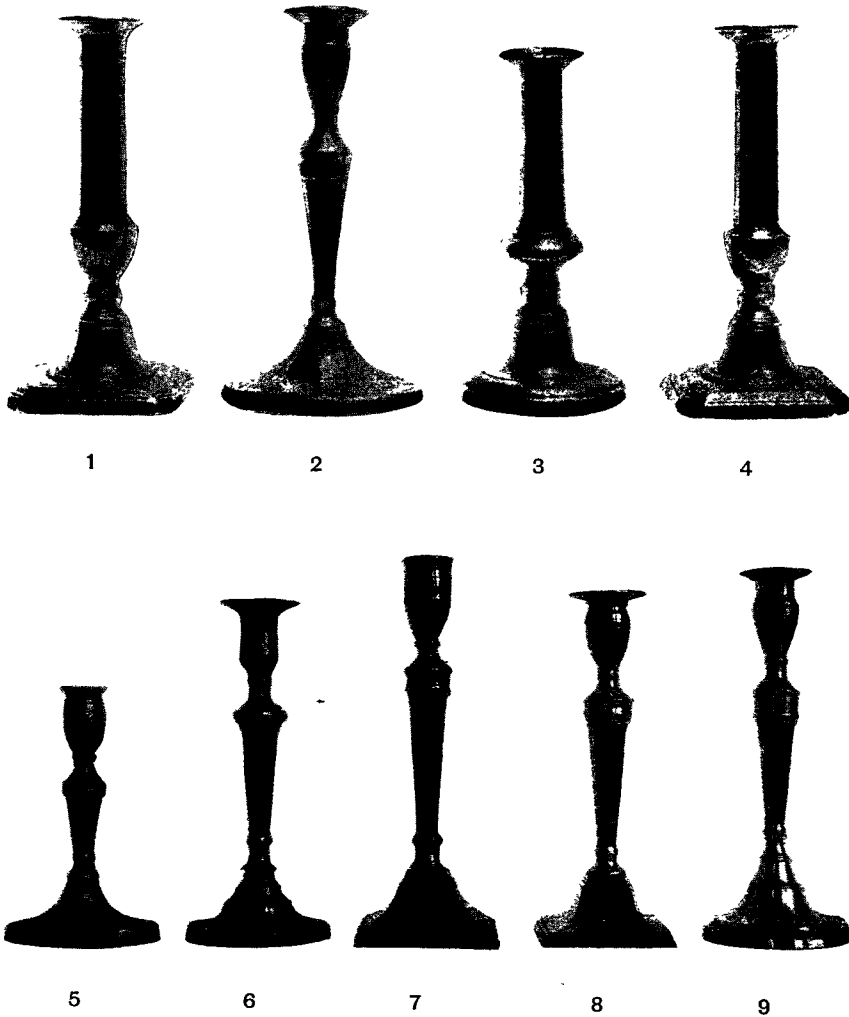


Fig. 15. Candlesticks of the late 18th and early 19th Centuries.

on a lathe, to that of a hollow stem cast in two halves which were subsequently brazed together. The change which we have now to consider is one from that bi-valve process to an ordinary core-casting, by which the stem and nozzle were produced complete in one. Once this

step was attained, the saving in labour must have been so considerable that any return to the former method was out of the question. I have not been able to ascertain actually the date when this change first occurred, but from the existence of specimens of brass candlesticks fashioned in both methods, which have analogies in datable examples in Sheffield plate, it is evident that it must have occurred about the year 1780. Such a Sheffield plate form, illustrated by fig. 14, No. 6, is dated 1775,¹ and is found in brass fashioned by either method, whereas the candlestick fig. 14, No. 11,² also a Sheffield plate form, dated 1778-88, I have only observed produced by a core-casting. Allowing for a slight precedence to the Sheffield plate over brass, 1780 cannot be a date very remote from that of the change. But this is not the only brass candlestick which is met with fashioned in both ways. Fig. 14, Nos. 2 and 4, and fig. 15, Nos. 6 and 9, show the type of candlestick which is the most prevalent of the eighteenth-century forms to be met with at the present day, and its introduction is approximately dated in 1774 by the silver analogue bearing the hall-mark of that year (fig. 18, No. 12). The features of the type consist of a shaft formed with a tall inverted cone on a high domed foot and a circular base. Of these, fig. 14, Nos. 2, 4, and 10, and fig. 15, No. 9, have been cast in two halves as regards the stems and nozzles, while fig. 15, No. 6, is a single core-casting for these parts, the base in both instances being of separate construction. A close scrutiny, however, of various examples of both kinds reveals certain distinguishing features of design, for whereas the earlier specimens show around the edge of the base almost invariably either an incised line or a single cavetto moulding, the latter are distinguished by multiple mouldings on the base and foot, showing the tendency so noticeable towards the end of the century to over-elaboration. I have only met with one oval-based candlestick cast in two halves (fig. 15, No. 5), and it is also of this type.

Another type (fig. 14, Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10) shows a close affinity to the foregoing, but differing in being fashioned with a square base and a pyramidal foot, and a tapering shaft either square or round in section generally fluted. As the stem in this variety is always a single core-casting, we may assume its date to be well towards the close of the century. From the numbers to be met with there can be little doubt also that this and its analogous type had a vogue which carried it well into the nineteenth century. Fig. 16, Nos. 6, 7, and 10, show late forms of bases. The stem of each of these specimens is formed of a single casting and, consequently, they must be dated subsequent to 1780 or thereabout.

¹ Bradbury's *A History of Old Sheffield Plate*, p. 402.

² *Ibid.*, p. 230.

Fig. 14, No. 5, cast in one piece, except the base, is a late example of a square-based candlestick, of which fig. 14, Nos. 1 and 3, illustrate the early forms.

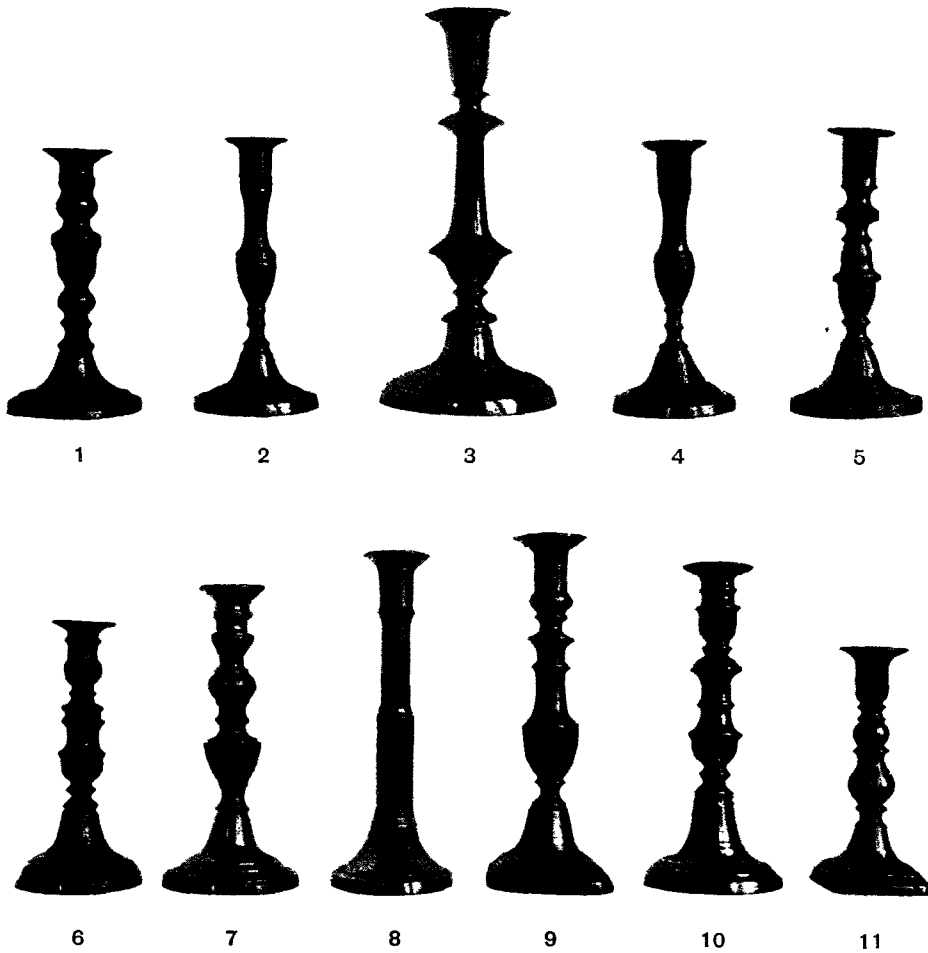
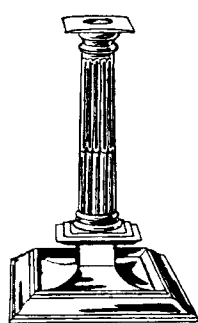
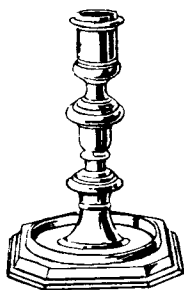


Fig. 16. Candlesticks of the late 18th and early 19th Centuries.

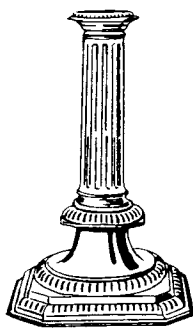
The pair of candlesticks, fig. 15, Nos. 1 and 4, both cast in the late method, seem to be clumsy derivatives of the form shown by fig. 16, No. 2, which probably dates from about 1760. The candlestick represented by fig. 16, No. 9, seems to be a similar derivative. It is a late casting and has an oblong base—a feature never found with the earlier



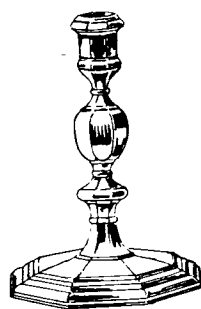
1. (1683-84)



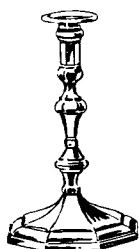
2. (1686)



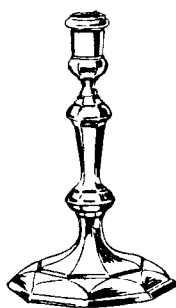
3. (1694)



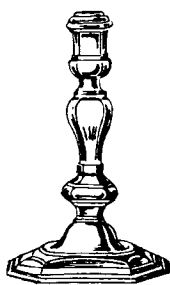
4. (1702)



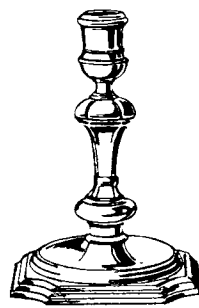
5. (1709)



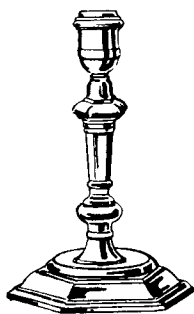
6. (1714)



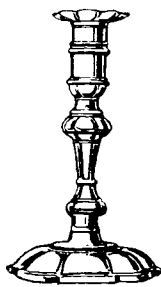
7. (1716)



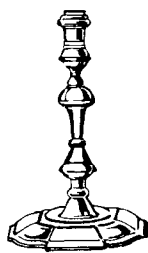
8. (1720)



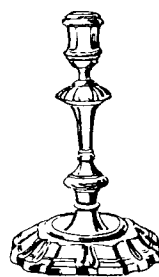
9. (1727)



10. (1733)

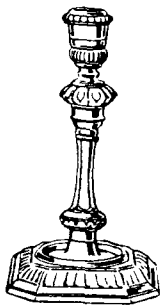


11. (1735)

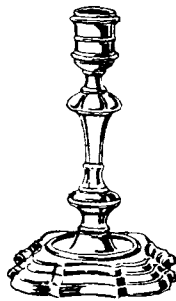


12. (1737)

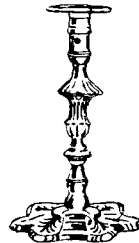
Fig. 17. Types of silver candlesticks, the dates given being those of the earliest hall-marks found applicable to each form.



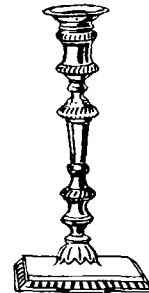
1. (1740)



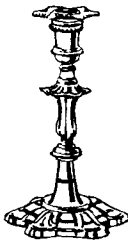
2. (1740)



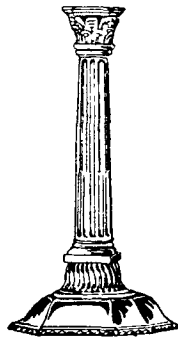
3. (1751-52)



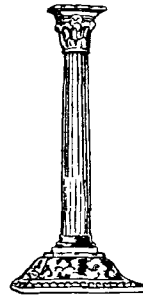
4. (1756)



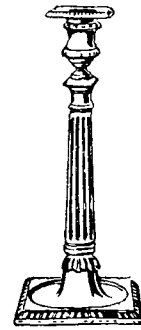
5. (1758)



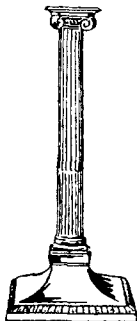
6. (1759-60)



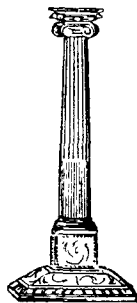
7. (1760)



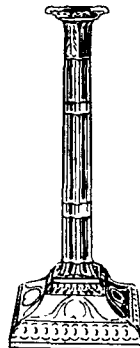
8. (1760)



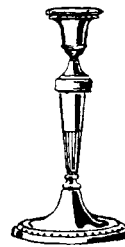
9. (1762)



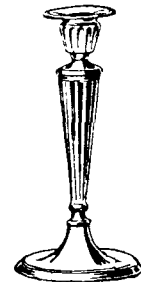
10. (1766)



11. (1774)



12. (1774)



13. (1780)

Fig. 18. Types of silver candlesticks, the dates given being those of the earliest hall-marks found applicable to each form.

style of manufacture. It and another with a similar base (fig. 16, No. 11) probably belong to the nineteenth century. Fig. 16, No. 3, is likewise a late production, and the form of its stem suggests that it, too, is a late derivative of fig. 16, No. 2, through fig. 15, Nos. 1 and 3. Fig. 16, No. 8, shows a telescope candlestick of a Sheffield plate form, and as such is datable to about 1810.

It gives me pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum for permission to reproduce a photograph of a seventeenth-century candlestick (fig. 3, No. 4); to the Director of the Musée Cluny in Paris for kindly supplying me with a photograph of the early socket candlestick (fig. 1, No. 2), and for allowing me to reproduce it; to the Librarian and Curator of the Guildhall Museum, London, for permitting me to reproduce photographs of two early candlesticks (fig. 1, Nos. 1 and 4) in that Museum; to Dr John Stephenson of the Zoological Department of the University of Edinburgh for valuable references from Persian literature regarding the use of wax candles; and to Mr Rowatt, Keeper of the Technological Department of the Royal Scottish Museum, for assistance in regard to technical details.

MONDAY, 8th March 1926.

GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., D.LITT.,
in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows:—

GEORGE BLAIR, 4 Kinnoul Place, Glasgow, W.2.

ARCHIBALD FAIRBAIRN, Wellwood, Muirkirk, Ayrshire.

LOUIS SINCLAIR GRAY, Superintendent H.M. Stationery Office, 47a George Street, and Caledonian United Service Club, Edinburgh.

IAN C. HANNAH, M.A., F.S.A., The Whim, Lamancha, Peeblesshire.

WILLIAM FRASER ANDERSON KINNAR, Colebrooke, Milngavie.

JAMES LEITCH, Crawriggs, Lenzie.

Rev. ANDREW COLQUHOUN MACLEAN, The Manse, Contin, Ross-shire.

JOHN SHANKS, Lic.R.I.B.A., F.I.Archts.(Scot.), Strathyre, Kirkintilloch.

The following Donations to the Museum were intimated and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By the PROVOST and TOWN COUNCIL of Kirkwall.

Funeral Crosier-head, Paten, and Chalice of Lead, and fragments of Gold Threads, found in a grave in the Choir of St Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall, in February 1924:—

The Crosier-head and its socket are cut out of a single sheet of lead, $\frac{3}{32}$ inch thick, the head measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and the socket $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. The head, which is circular, is rudely pierced so as to form a cross pattee within a broad, flat ring, ornamented on the one side by double concentric lines round the outer and inner margins, and round the interspaces between the arms, the socket being turned over to this side. The opposite side of the head is similarly decorated, with the addition of another pair of concentric lines half-way between the marginal lines. The socket is corroded away in parts.

The Paten is of flat, circular shape, and measures 5 inches in diameter. It is ornamented on the upper side by a quatrefoil of double lines within double concentric circles, of which another pair is drawn round the margin; the object is imperfect on one side through corrosion of the metal.

Of the Chalice, only part of the bowl remains. It measures about $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and 1 inch in depth. A considerable part of one side has decayed, and there is now no stem or foot, although it seems once to have had a stand.

Fragments of Threads of Gold, and pieces of a root or twig coated with a deposit of lead. (See *Proceedings*, vol. lix. p. 242, fig. 2.)

(2) By T. W. DEWAR of Harperfield, F.S.A.Scot.

Thirteen Communion Tokens—St Andrews, Deerness, 1807; Edinburgh, West St Giles; Inveraray, Brook 525 and 1835; Lesmahagow, 1806; Kirkintilloch, 1829; Kilmarnock, High Church, 1842; Forfar, 1855; Kirkwall, St Magnus; Lochgelly Associate Congregation, 1772; Hawick, Orrock Place Associate Congregation, 1768; Auchterarder, 1815; and one unidentified.

(3) By the REPRESENTATIVES of the late JAMES GREEN KINNA, Masonfield, through ANDREW M'CORMICK, F.S.A.Scot.

Three Communion Tokens—Minnigaff, Brook 818 and 1808, and Penninghame, 1808.

(4) By JOHN M. CORRIE, F.S.A.Scot.

Four Pigmy Implements from Dryburgh; one of crescentic shape, measures $\frac{3}{4}$ inch by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, and is made of light grey flint; two are triangular in form and measure $\frac{1\frac{3}{8}}{1\frac{3}{8}}$ inch by $\frac{7}{32}$ inch and $\frac{1\frac{5}{8}}{1\frac{5}{8}}$ inch by $\frac{7}{16}$ inch respectively, of black flint and black chert; and the fourth, which is pointed, and measures $\frac{2\frac{7}{8}}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ inch by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, is of grey chert.

(5) By E. DRUMMOND YOUNG, F.S.A.Scot.

Four Penannular Armlets from Northern Nigeria, three being made of tin and one of copper.

(6) By Miss A. EVANS, Boulder Cottage, Trevone, Padstow, Cornwall.
Communion Token, Free St Leonard's, Perth, 1843.

(7) By JOHN W. M. LONEY, F.S.A.Scot.

Shackle or Leg-iron, consisting of a bow attached to a chain of seven links with a swivel at the end, the bow being closed by inserting a link on the one side through a ring on the other, and locking the first with a padlock, which is wanting. Found in digging a drain on the site of the old castle of Redbraes, Polwarth, Berwickshire.

Patten Frame of Iron, consisting of an oval ring, measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, attached to an angled iron plate at each end, which, in turn,

was fixed to the sole of the shoe, thus keeping it 1 inch off the ground. Found nearly fifty years ago in the Fish Pond at Marchmont, Polwarth, Berwickshire.

Northumbrian Knitting-stick, measuring $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, the ogee-shaped end for fixing it in the waist-belt ornamented with foliaceous designs on the outside, and the socket-end shod with a ferrule of white metal.

Lucky Stone or Amulet, in the form of an irregular, oval, waterworn pebble of basalt, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch by $\frac{9}{16}$ inch, from Polwarth, Berwickshire.

The following purchases for the Museum were intimated :—

Bow Drill, consisting of a bow, spindle, and oval breastplate of iron. The bow has evidently been made from the blade of a rapier or small sword, as the remains of the word "Solingen" can still be traced on it. From Montrose.

Old Glass Flagon with globular body, measuring $12\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height, the neck being $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches long and the body $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, from Lasswade.

Donations of Books, etc., to the Library :—

(1) By JOHN A. STEWART, F.S.A.Scot., the Joint Author.

The Story of the Scottish Flag. By William McMillan, Ph.D., and John A. Stewart.

(2) By Rev. JOHN STIRTON, B.D., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Crathie and Braemar: A History of the United Parish. Aberdeen, 1925.

(3) By E. S. REID TAIT, F.S.A.Scot., the Editor.

The Statistical Account of Shetland, 1791–1799. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Lerwick, 1925.

(4) By DAVID MURRAY, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

The Hunter Memorial in the University Grounds, Glasgow. Reprinted from the "Glasgow Medical Journal," July 1925.

The Streets of Glasgow and their Story. An Address to the Old Glasgow Club. By the Donor.

(5) By MICHAEL C. ANDREWS, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.G.S., F.R.S.A.I., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Mediæval Maps.

(6) By Rev. DOUGLAS G. BARRON, O.B.E., D.D., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

The Castle of Dunnottar and its History.

(7) By JOHN BRUCE, Vice-President.

Portfolio of Drawings (8 inches by 12 inches), in pencil, of landscape and architectural subjects, made during a tour in Scotland, in 1789, by Joseph Farrington, R.A.

The purchase of the following books for the Library was intimated :—

The Dawn of European Civilization. By V. Gordon Childe, B.Litt. (Oxon.). London, 1925.

Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs. Collected by the late Gavin Greig, and edited by Alexander Keith.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTE ON THREE METAL MATRICES OF SEALS (OF APPARENTLY THE 13TH CENTURY OR THEREBY) IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, WHICH BEAR THE EMBLEM OF THE STAG-HEAD CABOSSED. BY J. H. STEVENSON, MARCHMONT HERALD, F.S.A.SCOT.

The three seals to which this Note refers are interesting, apart from their antiquity, as representatives of a class in which the stag-head cabossed—their principal as well as common feature—is accompanied with a lesser figure of one kind or another between the stag's horns. The combinations produced appear, in consideration of the period of the seals, to raise the question whether they had meanings in themselves in all cases, as they had in some.



Fig. 1.
Seal of Ralph
Westhouse.
(Side view.)

The first of the seals to be mentioned, the seal of Ralph Westhouse (N.M.45 in the Museum Catalogue), is also the largest of the three. It consists of a copper disc 1 inch in diameter and about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick. It has a small projection on the back, behind the upper part of the device which is on its face, to serve as a handle, and, at the same time, a guide to ensure the right directing of the seal when an

impression of it is to be made (fig. 1). The figure between the horns of the stag in this case seems to us to be meant for a *cross-crosslet fitchy*,

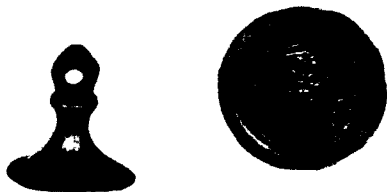
not standing on the stag's head, but on what might be called a small bar tapered at the ends above it.¹ Round the outer edge of the seal, between the usual concentric lines, is the legend: S' RAVDVLFI WASTEhVSE (fig. 2). The Minute of the gift of the seal to the Society does not add much to our information about it, save that at the time, the word which we now read "Wastehuse" was read "Wastebuse." It records, under date June 12, 1784, the gift by Lieutenant Symes of the Marines, of "No. 690. An ancient copper seal on which is a buck's head cabossed; inscription, S. Raudulfi Wastebuse." The late Henry Laing, followed by Dr Birch the compiler of the Catalogue of the Seals in the British Museum, identified the word Wastehouse with Waterhouse (B.M. Cat. of Seals, No. 17209), but upon what authority neither of them says.



Fig. 2. Impression of Seal of Ralph Westhouse.

The second seal is shaped as a pendant, not dissimilar from the fob seal of a later age. It has a circular face, and its eight-sided shank which rises from its back tapers neck-like towards a small head which is perforated with an eyelet (fig. 3). The face of the seal is fractionally less than $\frac{11}{16}$ inch in diameter, and the height of the seal from its face to the

end of the shank is fractionally above that measurement. The figure between the horns in this case is a rabbit, or perhaps a hare or a leveret in a crouching position, with its ears, which are very long, laid over its back (fig. 4). Round the whole, between two concentric circles of small dots, is the legend, S' NICOLAI DE GALWAY. The seal, which in the catalogue is N.M. 32, "from Dumfries, Treasure Trove, 1882," is of silver.



Figs. 3 and 4. Seal of Nicolas de Galway.

The last of the seals to be mentioned, because most lately discovered, was found at Epsom in 1924, in the garden of Mrs. Campbell-Brown, at Culbourn House. [At the date at which this notice of the seal was read to the Society, Mrs Brown had kindly sent it down for the Society's inspection, owing to the identity of its principal bearing with the *caber feidh* of Clan Mackenzie. She has since added to her kindness by

¹ Mr J. S. Richardson, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, doubts the identification of the figure on the seal as a cross-crosslet, and he may be right; but our trouble is to think of anything that it is more likely to have been meant for.

presenting the seal to the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, where it forms a valuable addition to the series of seals of its sort and date.]¹ The seal is about $\frac{1\frac{3}{8}}$ inch from its face to the end of its shank—a shank which is similar in its style to that of the seal last mentioned. The face is of the unusual form of a shield, and is $\frac{1\frac{2}{8}}$ inch from the chief to the base of the shield by $\frac{1\frac{0}{8}}$ inch across (fig. 5). The metal is brass; and the seal, like the other two, has the appearance of a casting, not so fine in workmanship, perhaps, as the silver seal, but considerably finer than the copper. In this case, the device between the antlers consists of two right hands, the one grasping the other, placed fessways (fig. 6). The wrists are in close-fitting sleeves. In a panel, which might in heraldic



Figs. 5 and 6. Seal found at Epsom.

phraseology be called a *chief* from its position along the top of the shield, is a row of five rather rudely formed characters, some, at least, of which are Lombardic letters. They presumably compose a word, but what word has not yet been made out. Perhaps the accompanying photographic illustration may assist. All that can be said for the present is that the word appears to be at the most a motto and not the owner's name. On that account, the seal may be considered to have been meant for a counter-seal rather than a principal seal. And to that conclusion the shape of the seal to some extent assists: deviations from the customary round or oval shape for a seal were more frequent in counter-seals than in others.

The interest of these seals to us at the present moment lies in their bearings. But it should be said in passing, that I have not as yet identified any of the persons for whose use they were made. Waste-house occurs as a surname of considerable antiquity in England; but the arms borne by persons of the name which occur in the books have,

¹ We have also to thank Mr H. C. Alston, of 69 Cornhill, London, who has corresponded with us on behalf of Mrs Campbell-Brown in the matter.

so far as I have seen, nothing of the bearings of the seal in them. An English family of the name of Wastead, sometimes spelt Welstede, has borne a stag-head cabossed, but it is doubtful if the surname is a sufficient foundation for any conclusion of the existence of a common kindred.

"Nicolas de Galway" may be assumed, on account of the locality in which his seal was found, to stand for Nicolas *de Galloway*—the more modern form of the word which in earlier times was variously spelt Galway, Gauway, Galwaia, Galweitha, etc. He was probably a priest, taking his surname from the place at which he entered the church. In the next century the Archdeacon of Whithorn was *Magister Gilbertus de Galvidia* (c. A.D. 1322-1325, Gt. Seal Reg., vol. i. App. I., No. 22). The bearings on the seal have, of course, nothing to indicate any relationship to the ancient house of the lords of that territory.

In the absence of even a name in the case of the Epsom seal, its identification is most unlikely. Perhaps, as also with the other seals, the illustration of it in the Society's *Proceedings* may result in an identification of it; but, so far, no impression of any one of the three has been found attached to any document.

The question then, What are the meanings which lie in their bearings, and whether the separate devices, of which the stag-head is one, are to be considered as combined devices of which the stag's head is only a part? is left to theory and speculation, and probably in no case is to be determined as a thing of certainty.

The primary interest of a shield or a seal belonging to any much later date is genealogical, even though it may bear a possibly emblematic device on it, that device being there presumably to exhibit the wearer as the son of the man who had worn the same cognizance in the generation before. But when we get back to the first man of his race who wore a particular badge, the question is, Why did he select that badge? In an age when all the things of visible nature—and many things artificial too, for that part of it—were held to be emblems of things invisible, the question was not whether a man's chosen badge was an emblem of anything, but, what was it the emblem of? The question is, of course, easy to ask; yet what the answer is, we in our day, and being of our kind, may very often neither know nor be able to imagine. In cases, it may be, our search is for a meaning which was never meant to be apparent, because the man who chose the bearings was not concerned that everybody should divine exactly what they meant to him. In many cases also, the incentive to penetrate into his secret—if it was a secret—may not be itself apparent; but the stag-head, from its recurrences on many seals, both by itself and with other bearings between its horns,

prompts the questions, what did the stag-head when alone stand for? and what, if anything in addition, did the *composed* or compound devices, the stag-head with one or other of these other figures placed between its horns, signify? It is true that the widespread antlers of a stag's head which is face-front in its position might be thought to actually invite the insertion of something or other to fill the space left vacant between them. But it has never been considered in either ancient or modern heraldry to be necessary to fill that space; and in the times of which we are speaking, if a space on a seal or a shield was filled with anything, it was filled, we seem to be entitled to assume, with something which had a meaning.

In the year 1296 and thereby, the *Stag-head cabossed* is the sole bearing of such seals as that of Hugh de Fotheringham (Laing, ii. 376); but in most cases of that early date the head is found, as in the seals before us, with a figure of something else between its horns. Of these the cross with its varieties is the most common. The plain cross appears thus, in 1296, on the seal of John de Stuyse—there seems to be a doubt about the spelling of his name (*Homage Roll*; Laing, ii. 945) in 1296; while the cross-crosslet appears on the seal of Peter Aurgot (Laing, ii. 56), and the crucifix on the seal of William De Yethan (*Homage Roll*; Laing, ii. 996).

There is a probable explanation of the occurrence of the crucifix, namely, that it is a commemoration of the legendary apparition to Placidus, afterwards St Eustace, or the similar legend of the same apparition to St Hubert. The legend of Placidus is well known. One day, while he was still a pagan, he was hunting in the forest, and when pursuing a stag of extraordinary size the animal turned and faced him, and he perceived that between its horns was a great image of the Saviour hanging on the cross, "whence came a voice bidding him to follow life eternal." Placidus was immediately converted to Christianity. The legend of St Hubert narrates that though nominally a Christian he was a worldling, and that when hunting in the forest on a Good Friday he was confronted by a similar apparition, rebuked with severity, and at once converted from all his worldly pursuits. It should be added that St Hubert, who died in A.D. 727, was buried in the forest of the Ardennes. These legends, though neither of them as early as the saint whom it concerns, are both of them earlier than any of the seals which we are concerned with. Placidus of the first legend was a military commander under the Emperor Trajan; he therefore belonged to the first and second centuries. But the legend pertains, in the judgement of Baring-Gould, to the period—some centuries later—of the controversy with the Iconoclasts, when it was "probably composed for polemical purposes" (Baring-

Gould, *Lives of the Saints* ; November, p. 73). It was originally written in Greek and may belong to the seventh century.

St Eustace was taken for a patron by hunters, but so also was St Hubert, and, if we may continue to follow the author just quoted, it was in order to account for that patronage of his "that the story of the miraculous conversion of St Eustace was foisted" into his history. It may be, however, that the attribution of the experience of St Eustace to St Hubert was due in part to ignorance, for there is no doubt that great confusion existed, and still exists in some respects, regarding these saints. As Baring-Gould himself points out, St Hubert is frequently called St Eustace; and actually, at York and Salisbury, he was entered, on his proper day, November 3rd, as St Eustace. If Mrs Jameson (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, ii. 794) is right that in the mediæval pictures of these saints St Eustace is always represented as an ancient Roman soldier, or armed as a knight, and St Hubert is dressed as a hunter, the famous picture by Albert Dürer, which is most frequently entitled the Conversion of St Eustace, ought to be called the Conversion of St Hubert. In any case, however, the stag-head with the crucifix between its horns as the device on a twelfth or thirteenth century seal is probably an allusion to the legend of one or other of these particular saints—St Eustace or St Hubert—rather than an emblem of any religious idea of a general sort.

It may be that the device of the simple cross between the horns of a stag was similarly derived from the legend of John de la Matha and Felix de Valois an anchorite at Cerfroid (*Cervum frigidum in territorio Maldensi*), that a stag having a cross of red and blue colours between its horns appeared to them on a day as they sat by a spring. That apparition is related to have been one of three successive intimations made to John that he should found the Order of Trinitarians (the Red Friars), and that the badge of the order should be a cross of the colours red and blue. The order was founded in 1198, and received a papal confirmation in 1246. The story of the cross of red and blue may be supposed to have been public property soon after the last-mentioned date.

It should be said in passing that the legend of the stag and St David of Scotland, though it pretends to relate to an occurrence of the year 1128, was presumably not invented till long after the date of the latest of the seals with which we are at present concerned. The question, therefore, whether the stag in that instance had a cross or a crucifix between its antlers—*i.e.* whether it belonged to the first or the second group—need not be discussed here.

So far as I am aware, no similar legends exist to explain the

conjunction of any particular figures, other than the cross or crucifix, with the stag-head.¹ In attempting, then, to arrive at any comprehension of such devices as those on the seal of Nicolas de Galway found at Dumfries, and the seal just found at Epsom, we are obliged to inquire at the very outset concerning the separate symbolism of the several figures which they contain, and may begin with that of the stag-head the common feature of them all. The problem of the presence of the stag-head on a seal of the thirteenth century is simpler than the problem of its presence on the seals of later times, when owing to a variety of circumstances—among them the existence of inherited badges—original moral and religious significations of badges were apt to be forgotten, badges were selected for all sorts of reasons, and secular legends were being invented to account for things the earlier sacred meanings of which had been lost or had lost their savour.²

There is no doubt that as early as the fourth century, and perhaps earlier, the stag had been adopted as a religious emblem. At first, if we may begin with the wall-paintings in the Catacombs of Rome, it was an emblem of the soul's thirst for God. "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God" (Ps. xlii. 1, 2). But according to the Physiologus of about the same date, if we may depend upon the Latin translation of it, of the end of the fifth century, the myth of the enmity between the hart and all serpents was already being formulated. The hart thus became at a very early date a symbol of our Lord Himself; and that symbolism was recognised generally in subsequent Bestiaries. "By the stag rightly we understand Jesus Christ," says Philip de Thaun about A.D. 1120 (*Cahier, Mélanges d'Archéologie*, iii. 266, 267; Philip de Thaun, *Bestiary*, Wright's edition, London, 1841, p. 86, note). The frequent occurrence of the stag-head on seals of the thirteenth century and thereabout appears, therefore, to be sufficiently accounted for; and this reading provides, also, an explanation of the association of the stag-head with the other figures which are placed between its horns, and which have symbolisms of their own. The rabbit—if it is a rabbit which appears on the seal of Nicolas of Galway—was, of course, an animal which was found in the Scriptures. The conies were a feeble folk, beholden for their safety to the rocks, among which they had the

¹ It is doubtful if the *cross-crosslet fitchy* should be considered separately from the plain *long cross*. The Holyrood cross is sometimes represented as the one and sometimes as the other.

² The stag-head cabossed was held by the heralds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to represent a stag in the act of charging; but the Thanes of Cawdor and the Mackenzies of Kintail pretty certainly had borne their several devices centuries before the invention—possibly by Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat—of the stag which charged King Robert the Bruce.

wisdom to dwell (Ps. civ. 18; Prov. xxx. 26). The hare, which was one of the beasts fabled to sleep with its eyes open, was an emblem of vigilance (Camerarius, *Symbolorum*, Cent. iv., lxxiii.). The seal of Mary of Arncapel, now Ardincaple (?) (a detached seal in the Record Office, London, which once very possibly belonged to a Homage Roll of 1296; Laing, ii. p. 49) bears a stag-head cabossed, between the horns of which are a dog and a fleur-de-lis. These being, respectively, accepted emblems of loyalty and purity, are presumably there with these meanings.

The device of the hands which appears in the Epsom seal belongs to another class, perhaps; but it too, whichever way we read it, has its symbolism. In French heraldry, it is known as *une Foi*,¹ and has the corresponding name in the heraldry of Italy, though it has no special name assigned to it in the heraldries of Great Britain. In the words of Conte Guelfo Guelfi, it is a symbol of sworn faith, unalterable friendship, mutual assistance, union, reconciliation, or the conclusion of a treaty of peace (*Vocabulario Araldico*, 1897, p. 109). Nisbet, writing in 1722, describes it similarly, but gives no Scottish example of it; the crest assigned to Nova Scotia, probably before 1625, but recorded in the present Lyon Register only between 1808 and 1810, is, however, a case in point. The motto which accompanies it is *Munst hæc et altera vincit*. Nisbet mentions, among other continental cases, a medal struck on the occasion of the union of the Swiss Cantons, which bore on it the Foi along with the words, *Unio Inseparabilis* (*System of Heraldry*, 2nd ed., i. 264). Papworth enumerates several English cases of the device with the hands in fess—the normal position for the device in heraldry—and in other positions: as in the arms of Purefoy, De la Foy, Altrue, etc. (*British Armorial*s, p. 906).

While two hands grasping each other, as they do in the crest of Nova Scotia, are a symbol of mutual faith and trust, one hand grasping another which is passive is the symbol, rather, of the promise of a vassal tendered to his lord. The device on the Epsom seal seems to be of the latter kind; and it is noteworthy that the device is essentially the same in Rietstap's engraving of the arms of the French house of Crespy le Prince (*Armorial Général*, Pl. I., fig. 37). The verbal blason attached to the illustration terms the device, nevertheless, *une Foi*.

Here, then, are a considerable number and variety of objects or devices, each of them having a symbolism or an emblematic meaning natural to it in the circumstances, and each of them placed within, as it were, the environment of the antlers of the stag. If the line of

¹ The term *une Foi* was extended to a ring, at one time in fashion, which was made to appear as if it were a band of metal the ends of which, shaped like hands, grasped each other.—Cotgrave, *Dictionarie*, 1632, s.v. Foy.

thought which has here been pursued is right the seals are to be read according to the art of their period, as essays in Christian symbolism; the rabbit resting composedly, surrounded by the attires of the stag, may be taken as the symbol of acknowledgment of weakness, but trust in God as a refuge. The hare in the same position may be a reminder that it is the duty of the waiting servant to watch. The Epsom seal, in the same way, bears the symbol of a plighting of faith in presence of God; the undertaking made under that seal was thus certainly to be fulfilled, as a vow to the Lord.

Several thirteenth-century seals exist in which the figure between the horns is the armorial shield of the person whose seal it is. The earliest example of this which we have found is the seal used by John de Laundel, son of William de Laundel of Teviotdale, about the year 1224 (Laing, i. 479; Macdonald, 1544). It is followed, about 1296, by the seal of William de Balliol (Laing, ii. 76; Macdonald, 92),¹ and the counter-seal of Malcolm, Earl of Lennox (Laing, i. 485; Macdonald, 1596a).² According to the canon of interpretation which we have accepted, the device is a declaration or acknowledgment of entire devotion to the divine Lord.

If, again, this line of consideration can be followed thus far, the further question arises, whether the devices of the cross, the cross-crosslet, and the crucifix between the antlers do, indeed, owe nothing to the earlier idea of the symbolism of the stag. While the apostles and martyrs were distinguished in general, in representations of them, by their being accompanied by the instruments of their office or their suffering, and our Lord, when represented in the form of a man, was accompanied by some emblem of the cross, it is natural to speculate whether the cross between the horns of the stag was not originally an emblem of the Redeemer and nothing else, a thing by itself, and of immeasurably greater dignity than the commemoration of the miraculous arrest of any mere individual sinner, however celebrated a saint he in consequence became. Also that the cross was probably the earliest emblematic combination of which the stag-head formed a part.

¹ It is perhaps not permissible to reckon de Laundel and de Balliol in this context as two distinct houses, seeing that the "toom tabard" appears as the coat of arms on the seals of both of them.

² Dr Birch (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Seals*, 16467) suggests that the stag-head on the last-mentioned seal was introduced into it in reference to the erection by Royal Charter of a large tract of land in the earldom of Lennox into a free forest in 1272. The suggestion seems to assume ideas which were more in consonance with the heraldry of the fifteenth century than the thirteenth. In an earlier volume of the *British Museum Catalogue* Dr Birch records that the seal of the Joint Justiciars in Eyre of the English Forests *citra Trentham* in 1497 (seal No. 6792) bore a shield of the Justiciars' arms marshalled with each other paleways, placed between the attires of a stag-head cabossed. There the stag-head is clearly an allusion to the forests. The stag had lost its symbolism; but that it had done so two hundred years earlier would be difficult to maintain.

II.

ROMAN SIGNAL STATIONS ON THE EAST COAST.

By F. G. SIMPSON, HONORARY FELLOW.

III.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INCHCOLM ABBEY.

By J. WILSON PATERSON, M.V.O., M.B.E., F.S.A.Scot.

Before Inchcolm was disfigured by the fortifications erected during the war it was perhaps the most beautiful of the islands in the Forth



Fig. 1. Inchcolm Abbey, before 1883, from the south.

(fig. 1). The rocky promontories at the east and west tail off and merge into a narrow isthmus, forming a natural harbour on the north shore. On this narrow strip of land, sheltered from the east and west, stand the remains of one of the most interesting buildings in Scotland; interesting not only on account of its historical and romantic associations but also in

regard to the buildings themselves, as they constitute, without exception, the only monastery extant in Scotland which shows the complete arrangement of the establishment (fig. 8).

Although the edifice is so well preserved it was not previously possible—owing to the conversion of the larger portion of the monastic buildings into a modern dwelling-house—to determine the extent of the various offices or their true function. Reference to the literature on the subject does not help matters, as, apart from the historical notes, the description of the buildings in the various books is for the most part contradictory and unconvincing. It was not until 1924, when the Earl of Moray placed the remains under the guardianship of H.M. Commissioners of Works, that it was possible to remove the modern works and make an exhaustive study of the buildings. It is my purpose to lay before you the result of the investigation, and with the aid of carefully prepared plans to trace the development of the monastery from its foundation in 1123 to its dissolution in the 16th century. The many alterations and modern repairs made it no easy matter to detect the original work; the plans, however, are in no sense conjectural but are prepared from actual evidence found. In defining the dates of the various additions little help is obtained from historical records, and only very few of these refer directly to the buildings. They are, nevertheless, important, and it is expedient to repeat them here.

A Columban hermit appears to have lived on Inchcolm up to the 12th century, and the *Scotichronicon* narrates¹ “that the Abbey owes its foundation to Alexander I. who in 1123 was driven ashore on the island by a storm, where he and his followers were maintained for three days by the hermit who then made Inchcolm his retreat, and who divided with them his scanty fare of shell-fish and the milk of one cow. In recognition of his safe delivery, Alexander founded and endowed a monastery and brought to it Augustinian canons from the Abbey he had established at Scone. The monastery continued to prosper, and in 1216 received a large addition to its possessions from Allan Mortimer, proprietor of the domain of Aberdour, on the mainland adjoining, who purchased the right of interment in the church by bestowing on the Abbey one half of his estate.”

The island has always been celebrated as a place of burial, and this fact is referred to by Shakespeare in *Macbeth* in connection with the defeat of “Sweno, Norway’s King.”

“Nor would we deign him burial of his men
Till he disbursed at St Colm’s Inch
Ten thousand dollars to our general use.”

¹ MacGibbon and Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 308.

It is recorded that in 1265, Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, built the new choir at his own expense, and at his death in 1272 his heart was laid in the north wall of the new choir.¹

The Abbey was plundered by the English many times in the 14th century, and a reference in the *Pluscarden Chronicle* relating to an attack by Richard II. in 1384 states²: "But it came to pass that a great bark out of his war fleet committed many outrageous ravages on St Columba's island of Eumonia, and entirely stripped the said place both of the ornaments of the church and of the furniture of the place; and when the ruffians would have burned down the church and had set fire to a *house adjoining the church*,³ a strong wind blew the flames back upon them and burned and suffocated them almost all; and thus St Columba by a miracle saved his church from being burned down by them."

The Chapel of the Blessed Virgin adjoining the choir was founded in 1402 by the prior, Richard of Aberdeen, and Thomas Crawford, canon of Inchcolm.⁴

Previous to the Reformation the monastery seemed to have lost its importance, and in 1543 Abbot Henry resigned office and the building ceased for ever as a religious house.

There are several interesting allusions to the Abbey in the Act of 1581,⁵ in which it confirms James Stewart as the first Commendator in possession of the "Ile, Abbay, and Mansioun of Sanctcolmis Insh," and later it states that "the said Ile with the Abbey, mansioun, dowcot, and zairdis thairin may be put to some proffitable use" in the hands of "the said James erll of Murray, his airis and assignais, as their propertie in all tym cuming."

The earliest of the remains on the island is the little cell reputed to have been occupied by the hermit who succoured Alexander I. As this structure has already been described in the *Proceedings* by Sir James Y. Simpson only a short description is necessary. It is an irregular stone building with a pointed tunnel vault and measures some 19 feet along the interior of the north wall and 18 feet 6 inches along the south wall; it varies in width from 5 feet at the west end to 6 feet at the east, and measures 7 feet 9 inches in height to the apex of the vault. The

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. x., c. 30. Since reading the paper a mural chamber 5 feet 8 inches long by 1 foot wide and 8 inches deep has been exposed in the position indicated above. It appears large for a heart burial, but on the other hand, it is too small for an ordinary one (fig. 3).

² Alan Reid, *Inchcolm Abbey*, p. 78.

³ The italics are mine.

⁴ MacGibbon and Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 308.

⁵ Alan Reid, *Inchcolm Abbey*, p. 76.

entrance doorway in the south wall is lintelled on the inside, the lintel being carried on projecting stones, while there is a rough arch on the outside face which possibly connected to a vaulted entrance passage. The exterior of the vault is roofed with roughly squared stones. The only window is in the east wall, and the jambs are formed in single stones the full thickness of the wall, and rest on a thick stone sill. The head is formed of a thin stone lintel laid flat. The whole cell is built in mortar; this fact as well as the construction of the vault with radiating voussoirs is not usual in early Celtic work, and it is likely that the cell has been much repaired if not almost entirely rebuilt.

Of the establishment founded by Alexander I. in 1123 nothing remains with the exception of the church, and although this has been very much altered to suit the later requirements, there is sufficient evidence to reconstruct the plan of the building (fig. 9). The church followed the usual Norman lines for a small establishment, and consists of a nave 33 feet 4 inches long by 19 feet 1 inch wide, having a small chancel approximately 21 feet long by 14 feet 7 inches wide. The nave has three doorways, the principal being at the west, a smaller entrance to the cloister in the south wall, and a still narrower doorway in the north wall. Evidence remains of four windows in the side walls of the nave. There would presumably have been a fifth window over the west door, but all traces of this have been removed by the later alterations. It is now impossible to determine the position of the windows in the chancel, or to trace the details of the chancel arch, as the latter was cut away during the 13th-century alteration.

The only architectural details remaining are a simple splayed plinth extending round the whole building; a trigonal string course at the wallhead level, which continued across the west gable, and details of the west doorway. The jambs of the latter are formed in two orders, having a detached nook shaft, with moulded base and cushion cap, the square abacus of which extends into the west wall to form the impost of the arch moulding. The outer order of the arch is not moulded but formed of plain voussoirs. The inner order, which is now missing, was also apparently not moulded. The outer jambs of the other two doorways are missing, but remains of the arches are left, these being formed in two orders of plain voussoirs. The original face work was formed of the usual squared ashlar of the period, but this has been much repaired and renewed. There is no indication that the nave has ever been vaulted. It is possible, however, that the chancel may have been, as the interior face of the walls of the latter incline inwards as they rise.

The first alterations were the addition of a new choir to the east of the present chancel, and the straightening up of the south wall of the chancel in line with the nave wall, presumably to suit the setting out of the first claustral buildings (fig. 9). Search has been made for traces of the latter, but with the exception of a few stones forming the foundations of walls, sufficient evidence has not been obtained to justify a reconstruction. It is probable, however, that the dorter extended southwards from a position abreast of the old chancel, and that the chapter-house extended farther east. No evidence has been obtained of any buildings on the west side of the cloister, other than a raggle or chase cut in the south wall of the nave about 15 feet above ground level; this might indicate the presence of a roof over a walk or over a range of buildings, but one cannot say definitely.

The new choir extended eastwards for a distance of 26 feet 6 inches, and there remains the evidence of two circular-headed windows in the south wall; similar windows would presumably be repeated on the north wall, which is now destroyed. The presence of the windows in the south wall tends to confirm that the position of the first claustral buildings was to the west of this addition and abreast of the old chancel as aforementioned, or, alternatively, that the claustral buildings were only one story high. Later alterations, however, lead the evidence in favour of the former position. The external face of this choir, like that of the nave, has been much altered, but at the south-west angle the original moulded wallhead course is *in situ*. It should be noted that owing to the straightening up of the south wall the axis of the choir is set central with the widened portion of the old chancel and not with the nave.

A certain thickening added to the exterior of the south nave wall was at first a little difficult to understand, and it appeared to be added as an abutment for the later vaults. On closer investigation it was found that this thickening was much earlier, and may be placed not later than the beginning of the 13th century. It was added to stiffen the wall and continue it down to the lowered ground level on the south. This thickening has the same weathered appearance as the lower tower wall, and a similar plinth is carried round both. The two top courses form a splayed weathering, which would indicate that there were no buildings against it at this period. The remains of a circular-headed doorway in this thickening can be traced in front of the original south door, but at a much lower level. To accommodate this the head of the Norman door was lowered by inserting lintels at the new level, and filling up the

intervening space. This lowering was no doubt done to suit the level of the cloister.

As already pointed out, the monastery continued to prosper, and received large additions in 1216. It is apparent that from this date a new lay-out was contemplated, and further buildings were commenced, the earlier additions being the erection of the tower and of the beautiful chapter-house (fig. 9). The position of the latter and the adjoining wall connecting it to the church is peculiar, as it is not set at right angles to the church in the usual way. The setting in this manner presumes the intention to rebuild the cloister, but owing to the existence of previous buildings, possibly the first chapter-house and dormer, it was decided to build the new chapter-house before pulling down the other buildings.

The chapter-house is one of the few octagonal chapter-houses in Scotland. The mouldings of all caps, bases, window jambs, and vault ribs are in the first pointed style. The ribs of the vault have a hollow moulding in the centre of each, and spring from round shafts, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, set in each angle of the apartment. They meet in the centre in a carved boss, having a circular hole through which a light could be raised or lowered from the room above. The doorway is on the west side, and the jambs have detached shafts with caps but no bases. Between the shafts the mouldings of the semicircular arch continue down the jambs, and stop in an unusual way on a broad splay. The outer jambs are less elaborate, and the walls of the later (14th century) cloister are built against these. The stone bench round the walls is set on a broad step $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches above the floor. In the east wall the three recessed seats for the abbot, prior, and sub-prior are formed, two steps higher than the wall bench, and are enclosed with continuous mouldings forming arched heads, and terminating on a splay in a similar manner to the door jambs. The chapter-house is lit by five windows, the three on the east, south-east, and south bays being pointed and moulded; a smaller one on the north-east bay has a plain trefoil arched head in the interior and a simple pointed arched head on the exterior. The outer jambs and arch are a later insertion, and it is probable that the whole window is an addition, while the fifth window in the south-west bay is circular, and placed high up in the head of the bay.

The north wall of the tower was constructed upon the north wall of the first chancel, but the south wall was almost entirely rebuilt along the line of the straightened wall referred to in the previous alteration. The first and later chancel arches were enlarged to form a retrochoir, the pulpitum being under the east arch and the rood screen under

the west. Surmounting the pulpitum is an arcade of three spans, and over the rood screen one of two spans (fig. 2). The tower is 62 feet high, surmounted with a parapet carried on typical first pointed corbels. The tower rises two stories above the church, each story being separated by a string course. The windows in the upper story are each formed of two lancets enclosed within a round arch mould, having the spandrels pierced with simple quatrefoil openings. The first story was originally lit with a similar but smaller window on the north, and by a simple lancet on the south side. A doorway through the east wall opened into the roof of the choir. On both the east and west walls water tabling is formed for the roofs of the choir and the nave, but as there is no water tabling on the north and south walls, and as these walls have lancet windows, it is clear that it was not originally intended to provide transepts. At the south-east corner of the south wall is the doorway leading from the cloister to the church. The door is first pointed in style, having a plain pointed arch and a single detached shaft at each jamb. In the same wall, and leading from the retrochoir, a staircase rises to the first floor of the tower.

The presence of a raggle for a roof in the north wall of the tower led to the discovery of foundations of a north transept with an aisle on its west side. The raggle continues in an unbroken line across the wall of the nave, indicating that the roof of the aisle and transept was in one slope. The transept (which is quite distinct from the existing one) was approximately 21 feet 6 inches long by 16 feet 6 inches wide, and was presumably separated from the aisle by an open arcade as there are indications of foundations for a respond and buttress. The aisle is approximately 19 feet 6 inches long by 10 feet wide, and the west wall being only 7 feet 3 inches high was comparatively thin, being 2 feet thick. The base course is formed of ashlar work, having a very slight splay— $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide—wrought on the upper edge. This splay apparently continued round both the aisle and transept, as a considerable portion still remains on

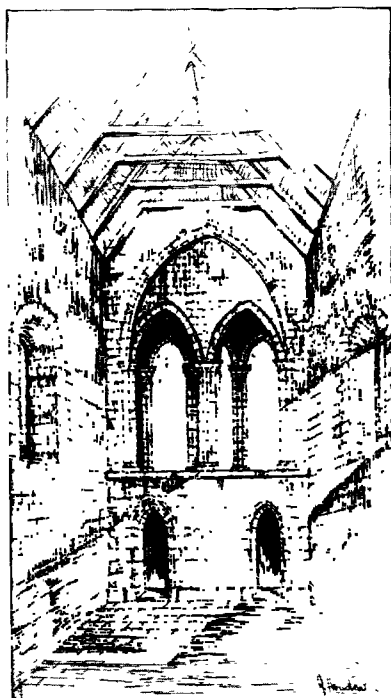


Fig. 2. Inchcolm Abbey: the Nave and 13th-century Rood Screen.

the east and west walls. There does not appear to have been any opening into the transept from the retrochoir, but there is evidence that access was obtained from the nave to the aisle, as the original plinth and wall of Norman work have been cut away at this point, but the wall was again rebuilt to form a window at a later period.

From the historical reference we know that Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, erected a new choir towards the end of the 13th century. There is not



Fig. 3. Inchcolm Abbey: Foundations of Church showing Mural Chamber in North Wall.

sufficient evidence to show whether he reconstructed the whole of the north wall of the Norman choir, but it is clear that he left a portion of the south wall (fig. 5). The east end of the new choir was then 61 feet from the pulpitum, and it is probable that the latter was also transferred east at this time, or shortly afterwards, to suit the new cloister.

While an endeavour was being made to trace the sedilia of this period, a backing was found approximately 14 feet from the east end (fig. 4). This backing is covered with plaster upon which a beautiful series of figures are painted. Unfortunately the heads of these figures are missing owing to the portion of the wall having been removed at some period. There are seven figures, two of which are swinging censers. The drawing

of the drapery is excellent and is executed principally in line; black, red and yellow colour being employed. At the foot of each vestment is a diaper pattern of black lines on a background of red and dark grey alternately. The panel, which is 6 feet 2 inches long and 2 feet 9 inches in height, is in a very good state of preservation, and is a splendid example of 13th-century mural decoration. The recess which contains the painting is 18 inches deep, and had been built up with



Fig. 4. Inchcolm Abbey: 13th-century Mural Painting.

masonry when the Church was extended eastwards in the late 14th or 15th century. In removing this masonry two other stones, measuring approximately 18 inches by 15 inches, covered with similar painting, were discovered. In this case the vestment has a diaper pattern of blue lines on a light ground. The stones have a small bowtel moulding worked on the arris, and appear to have formed part of the jambs or sill of the recess.

During the various alterations and extensions made to the church up to the end of the 13th century we must assume that the canons occupied the 12th-century dorter, as there are no remains which can be identified as the 13th-century dorter. The next stage in the development

of the establishment appears to have been commenced in the 14th century when the enlarged claustral buildings were set out (fig. 10). The plan of these buildings is unusual; firstly, in that the lower story was not occupied by cellars but formed one continuous cloister, in place of the lean-to roof with an arcade round the cloister garth; and, secondly, the eastern range is not set at right angles to the church. The reason for this has already been given when discussing the chapter-house. The choir having now been extended towards the east, there was no reason why the rood screen and pulpitum should remain where they were. They were therefore removed and the old nave and retrochoir were converted into the abbot's house with ambulatory below, barrel vaults being inserted in the old nave and under the tower (fig. 14). The insertion of the vault in the nave certainly preceded the erection of the western range of the cloister, as openings with arched heads were carefully formed in the new vault in order that the original north and south doors could still be used. The latter became blocked when the later cloister buildings were built against it. When the vault was inserted two windows were formed cutting through the first work, one on the north side and one on the south. The presence of the one in the north overlooking the aisle of the 13th-century transept would indicate that the aisle, and possibly the whole north transept, were demolished by this date. The transept, however, would serve no useful purpose in this position since the choir had been removed eastwards, and a new transept or sacristy was provided to the east, but with a projection equal to only one bay of the former transept. The vault under the tower extends the full width of the tower walls, the shafts of the arcades over the rood screen and pulpitum being cut through and the upper parts left and pinned up from the top of the vault. The spandrels of the arcades were also blocked up and formed partition walls in the abbot's quarters. A circular opening 3 feet 3 inches in diameter for bell ropes was left in the vault, and the 13th-century doorway to the cloister was partly built up to form a narrow window opening. Access to the circular stair leading to the upper stories was retained, and a new doorway cut through the staircase wall for entry to the new floor formed on the top of the vaults.

The cloister is 12 feet 6 inches wide and vaulted with a continuous barrel vault from end to end, and as the vault on the south is built into that on the east and the vault on the west into that on the south the sequence of building may be inferred. The vault with its supporting wall on the east is built against the dressed stonework of the wall adjoining the chapter-house, and is therefore a departure from the original plan, and proves that the cloister is later than the 13th-century

work. The windows overlooking the cloister garth are round with splayed jamb and arch, and those on the eastern and western ranges have stone window-seats which are absent in the windows on the southern range. In the east wall of the cloister at the south end is a doorway leading to the cemetery and an opening in the north wall leads to the church. At the junction of the east and south walks are the remains of a stone cresset, and almost opposite this, in the south wall, a door which was later converted into a water-trough or cistern having a channelled stone inlet above to connect to the rain-water pipes and a stone outlet basin below. In the east wall of the western range a staircase leads to the frater and guest hall above. Opposite the staircase is a narrow window, and farther north, in the same wall, a doorway leads into the garden. A new doorway was also cut at the north end to give access to the cloister in the old nave.

In the external angle between the first church and the cloister there is a small wing, the lower portion of which is vaulted to carry a lobby and garderobe. This wing, however, is of one build with the cloister wall, being thoroughly bonded into it. Over the cloister on the eastern range is the dorter, which is 62 feet long by 16 feet wide, and covered with a lofty pointed tunnel vault. The windows are square-headed on the exterior and arched in the interior. In the north wall the round-headed window of the Norman choir was now built up, and a doorway cut through for access to the night stair to the church. The doorway, however, has been altered at a later date (fig. 5). The dormitory does not appear to have had originally a day stair to the cloister, and it is probable that at first the night stair would serve both purposes, as the portion of the church to which the night stair led became part of the cloister. Possibly a timber staircase was afterwards erected in the cloister ascending to the northmost window of the dorter, as this window has been widened and a check cut on the outside jambs for a door. The southmost window on the same wall has also been widened, but the splayed jambs were reset. In the south wall a large round-headed window lit the south end of the dorter, while a smaller window at a lower level in the west corner lit the sub-prior's cubicle. Below the large window a doorway leads across a bridge to the reredorter. Through the east wall an awkward stair leads to an octagonal apartment above the chapter-house. This apartment is roofed with a pointed tunnel vault, a crude method of covering a room of this shape. It has a fireplace and two windows composed of two lancet lights, the smaller window having a circular arch mould over, similar to those in the tower. The presence of the fireplace (the only one in the canons' quarters) suggests that this was the warming-house.

The western range was occupied by the guest hall, to which access was obtained from the cloister stair through a round-headed doorway having bowtel mould jambs. On the west wall at the south end, almost opposite the door to the cloister stair, a similar doorway led to an outside stair giving access to the garden. A raggle cut in the external face of the west wall indicates that this staircase was covered with a roof. The guest hall was lit by two square-headed windows in the west wall and two in the east wall. The northmost window in the latter was later

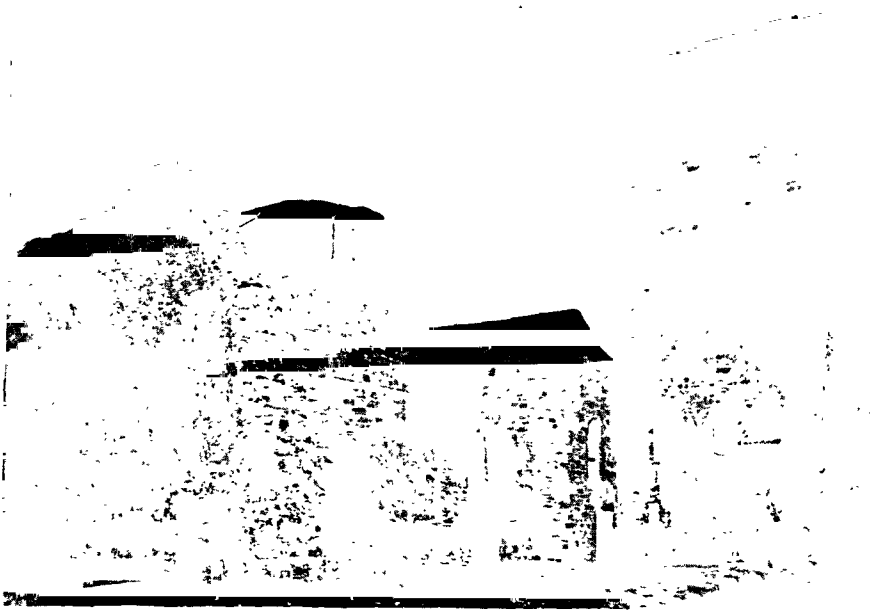


Fig. 5. Inchcolm Abbey: View from North-east showing 15th-century Night Stair to Dorter.

built up and converted into a fireplace. A doorway at the north-west angle leads to the garderobe and lobby, which in turn give entrance to the abbot's camera formed within the first nave, the early windows of the latter being built up and new windows inserted to suit the new requirements. The remains of only one window of this period exist. The east wall of this apartment is formed by the blocked arcade over the rood screen; a doorway, however, was left in the blocking to give access to the room under the tower, through which access is obtained to the staircase leading to the cloister below and to the tower above.

The frater, like the dorter and guest hall, has a pointed tunnel vault, and extends the whole length of the southern range. It is entered from

the staircase formed in the angle with the western range through a round-headed doorway similar to that of the guest hall, in fact, the one moulding forms the jamb of each opening. At the east end the high table stood on a raised dais, the wall behind being panelled and surmounted with a canopy. The chases for the panelling and the lines of the canopy can still be traced on the old wall-plaster, and built out from the south wall, supported on two piers and an arch, is the frater



Fig. 6. Inchcolm Abbey: Exterior of Frater and Reredorter.

pulpit. The platform on which the lectern was placed is 2 feet 9 inches above the dais, and reached by a short flight of steps formed in the wall. The pulpit window is circular-headed, having originally had two orders of mouldings, but the inner is now missing. Over the window a semi-circular hood mould of deep cavetto section terminates in two carved stops (fig. 6).

The window lighting the high table is square-headed, the jambs are splayed and have raggles for glass in the upper half only. The remaining three windows were pointed and had deep cavetto moulded jambs and arches. The internal jambs form a very wide splay, and support flat arched soffits. Traces of a circular window in the west gable exist,

the detail of the hood mould being similar to that over the pulpit window.

In the first instance the west end of the frater was used as a kitchen, the hearth probably being in the centre of the floor, as an opening in the vault is suitably placed to act as a smoke vent. In the south wall is the usual slop sink at the floor level, and at the west end of the north wall a hatch served the guest hall. In the 15th century, when the large fireplace was inserted, a partition wall was built to screen off the kitchen, and as the hatch was now blocked by the fireplace a new doorway was cut between the kitchen and the guest hall. From the type of mouldings in the refectory windows, in particular the pulpit window and those west of it, it would appear that it was late in the century before this portion of the cloister buildings was completed.

Let us now consider the buildings to the south-east of the cloister (fig. 11). The arrangement is at first a little difficult to understand, but on closer examination works out in a logical fashion. As we have already noted, the doorway in the south wall of the dorter leads to the reredorter. The first reredorter was a small rectangular building two stories high, and connected to the dorter by a narrow timber bridge, which is quite a usual construction. The stumps of the stone corbels supporting the bridge can still be seen at the bottom of the jambs of the dorter doorway. The reredorter no doubt had a wood floor, and the open drain, which is 4 feet 6 inches wide, extended the full width of the chamber. Near the base of the south wall are two segmental arched openings through which the sea at high tide entered and flushed the drain, a perfectly good arrangement. It is evident, however, that at a later date silting had taken place, or the level of the tide had receded and so failed to reach the drain, with the result that the reredorter had to be extended farther south in order to get effective cleansing. This was done, and an almost identical arrangement was erected 19 feet farther south, and the bridge was replaced by an arch and the dorter extended over it (fig. 6).

It is possible that another reason for the extension of the reredorter was to obtain a larger dorter, but as there never was a large establishment at Inchcolm it is perhaps reasonable to accept the former explanation. Even now the sea does not reach the new reredorter except at very exceptional tides.

In the new reredorter a vault carried the floor and another formed the roof. The axes of the vaults being parallel with the south gable of the extended dorter it was possible to have a large window in this gable, as the roof over the reredorter was constructed at right angles to that of the dorter. The dorter extension has three square-headed windows in

the west wall and possibly had originally the same number in the east wall; the latter, however, is now demolished and therefore all evidence is lost.

A section of the west wall, including a portion of the vaults adjoining, had been subsequently rebuilt. This is clearly indicated in the jointing of the masonry. There appears no reason for this except that it may have been destroyed or damaged during one of the many raids upon the monastery, or that it had collapsed owing to insufficient foundation,



Fig. 7. Inchcolm Abbey: View from the East.

much of the ground at this side being made up largely of sand. When rebuilding it was straightened and set parallel to the east wall.

The space on the ground-floor level between the first reredorter and the second was at first used as a passage having large open arches at the east and west ends. In the 15th century when additional buildings were erected at the east these arches were partly built up, doorways formed, and a timber floor inserted 5 feet 6 inches above the ground level, access to this floor being obtained through a doorway from the first floor of the new buildings.

The building to the east referred to consists of a series of chambers with windows and fireplaces and was probably used as the infirmary. From the 14th century onwards infirmaries ceased to be open halls and were cut up into a series of chambers, generally with fireplaces in each. The eastmost chamber may possibly have been used as a chapel. The

pointed window on the east gable tends to support this theory, but as there are so few features it is difficult to be precise. The westmost chamber has been divided by a timber floor into two stories, to which access is obtained by a circular staircase which also descends to the cellars below.

From the level of the timber floor direct communication is obtained from the dorter. This staircase could be used by the canons for entry to the cellars and kitchens without passing through the chambers to the east. Access to the cellar and kitchen from these chambers was obtained by an external staircase, for which the sunk area still remains. The lower story of this range is divided into two vaulted compartments; the smaller in the west end, being entered from the staircase adjacent to the dorter, and the larger by a door in the east end and also by the external staircase. At the north-east corner of the larger room there is a very fine large oven. The range of cellars is lighted by square-headed windows in the south wall.

We have seen that the pulpitum was removed to the east in order to allow the cloister to continue uninterrupted under the tower. This no doubt contracted the choir to such an extent that it was decided to extend it still farther, and it would appear that in the 15th century the church as a whole was removed bodily to the east (fig. 12). We know from the historical notes that in 1402 the Lady Chapel was founded. This chapel was apparently built as a transept to the new church. As will be seen from the previous plans there was little space to erect a south transept except to the east of the chapter-house; there was therefore every reason for removing the church bodily to the east, and it is possible that practically the whole of it was rebuilt at this time. The fact that mention is made only of the foundation of the Lady Chapel does not present any difficulty, as it is possible that the altar or altars which were already dedicated and which stood in the previous transept would be transferred to the north transept of this new church. The new church is cruciform in plan, the north and south transepts being equal in width and projection. In the new work the walls are wider and all of the same thickness where they extend beyond the end of the 13th-century church. The west end of the new church was built on the pulpitum base of the former church, and it is just possible that the space between the tower and this west end eventually became an open court, as a staircase added in the next century has all the appearance of being built as an external feature.

The west end of the church being now clear of the claustral buildings the stair from the dorter would not lead into the church; it would therefore be used as the day stair only, and it was necessary to construct

a new night stair. This difficulty was overcome by altering the window in the north-east end of the dormer into a doorway and building a stair leading down to a doorway cut in the wall of the church, west of the new pulpitum. This staircase was covered with a lean-to roof, the raggle for which exists. No trace of the high altar remains, or of the altars in the north transept. There are, however, the remains of one of the two altars in the south transept, and the mensa of another, with the usual five incised crosses, has been reused as a gravestone in the floor. In the south wall, near the base of the altar, there is an ambry and a piscina with a trefoiled arched head. The second altar stood to the north of the existing one and its piscina still remains. The transept was roofed with a pointed tunnel vault, only a portion of which now stands. The opening between the transept and the church is 9 feet wide, and the bases of the piers are of 15th-century detail.

At the point where the east wall of the transept adjoins the presbytery there remains one jamb of the sedilia. Only the foundations of the remainder of the church now exist. From these, however, it is clear that the entrance to the north transept was of similar width to that of the south. A considerable portion of the original stone paving, both in the church and transepts, remains in position.

In addition to those already described further important alterations were carried out in the 15th century, notably the provision of a covered walk along the north side of the cloister garth. To form this two semi-circular openings were cut through the cloister walls, and a light screen wall or arcade with five buttresses was built to carry a timber lean-to roof. The foundations of the wall and buttresses remain, and the raggle cut in the walls indicates the height of the arcade and the pitch of the roof. This addition enabled further cellar accommodation to be provided in the now discarded north ambulatory, which at its best must have been poorly lighted.

Three additional vaults, all lofty and pointed in form, were inserted in the tower, the soffit of the lower vault being built in line with the 13th-century arch (fig. 14). The chamber thus formed between the first and second of these vaults, and now forming the third floor in the tower, was converted into a dovecot, and the window on the south side altered at the same time. The windows in the east and west walls were blocked, and holes for nests cut in all the wall faces. The dovecot being at the original first-floor level had access from the 13th-century stair, while a shaft was left in the vault at the south-west angle through which to reach the top floor. The topmost vault, although now partly destroyed, would have risen well above the parapet level, and would be covered with either a slated or a stone roof. The insertion of the vault on the

top story partly blocks the window on the north side, while the one on the south is completely built up. The addition of the vaults was a daring piece of work, and in order to buttress the tower a "transept" (if we may call it such) was built on the site of the 13th-century one. This was a wise precaution, as the tower has an inclination of 12 inches to the north. The character of this addition, with its huge mass of masonry in the lower story, indicates that its first object was structural, the accommodation so obtained being too small to justify its erection for this purpose alone. Both stories are vaulted, and the upper has a garderobe in the angle. In the abbot's camera the doorway leading to the lobby was at this time built up and converted into a fireplace, and a new entrance formed immediately to the south.

In the 16th century a large circular staircase was added at the east end of the abbot's quarters to give better access thereto (fig. 13). The windows in this staircase having raggles for glass and the general appearance of the building suggest that the space or court to the west of the church had by this date become unroofed. From this staircase access is had to the first floor of the tower, and adjacent to this doorway there are the remains of another doorway to the north. The purpose of this door is not clear, but as there are joist holes cut in the external face of the east wall of the tower at this level, these suggest that a timber gallery extended from this doorway to the north wall of the church. The size of the joist holes is too small to assume that the whole court was floored at this level. The staircase continued some distance higher to a door cut in the upper part of the screen wall of the 13th-century arcade, which led to a new timber floor inserted at the springing-line of the 15th-century vault, the crown of the latter being cut away to give greater head-room.

Against the south wall of the cloister another large staircase was built as a rectangular tower, giving access to the frater. The tower originally had a parapet carried on corbels, characteristic of this period. The upper part now contains a small apartment having two windows and a fireplace.

Several other small buildings were erected on the site about this time, one immediately to the north of the church; this, however, is of late date, the foundations being at a much higher level, and oversailing the early work.

A portion of the extended dormer was converted into a small house and the remainder taken down, a wall-walk formed at floor-level and the east side crowned with battlements. These alterations, and possibly the addition of the large staircase to the frater, are post-Reformation.

We have now completed the survey of the whole group of buildings,

and followed the development step by step. Let us therefore review the situation and relate the findings to the dates given by the documentary evidence. Although it is not possible to give a definite date to each successive alteration, it is now possible to assign the approximate periods.

Owing to its insular position it is unlikely that a large number of workmen would be employed, and consequently the work would be slow and carried out in small sections. This is borne out in the evidence, and we find that when large extensions to the church were in progress little was done to the domestic buildings, and *vice versa*.

Between 1123 and the end of the 12th century the church was erected and a new choir added. The architectural details of these are typical of the period. A cloister must also have been built at this time although few remains exist.

In the 13th century the tower was added, the chapter-house and north transept built, and the choir extended; these were probably commenced in the order given, the details of the mouldings in the tower being of the transitional period and certainly earlier than those of the chapter-house. The date of the new choir is known, being founded by Prior Richard in 1265.

We have seen that a north transept was added to the 13th-century tower and taken down before the north ambulatory of the 14th-century cloister was formed in the church. It is therefore reasonable to assume that its date is about 1250.

The 14th-century work embraced the rebuilding of the claustral buildings with the various offices. We have already proved that the western range was later than the north cloister ambulatory, and that the latter occupied the 13th-century nave, while the eastern range was built against the facework of the 13th-century chapter-house. These facts and the conversion of the dorter window into a doorway for the new night stair to the 15th-century church definitely place this group between these two periods. We have confirmation of part of this arrangement in the *Pluscarden Chronicle*, where it refers to "a house adjoining the church" being set on fire in 1384. This house would probably be the abbot's house which, by the architectural evidence we have seen, had by this time been formed in the tower and nave. The floors in the tower were of wood, and there being direct access to the church roof it would be quite natural to start a fire in this place. The burning of these floors also gives a reason for their subsequent reconstruction in stone.

The additions in the 15th century embraced the rebuilding of the church, the erection of the new north ambulatory, the infirmary, and the insertion of the vaults in the tower.

The date of the rebuilding of the church presents no difficulty, as the foundation of the south transept is recorded as 1402 and the architectural details are of that period.

There is little doubt that the vaults in the tower, forming the dovecot and the so-called "transept" to stabilise the tower, were erected in this century, as it certainly preceded that of the 16th-century staircase. Further, it is implied in the Act of 1581 that the dovecot existed before the monastery was deserted in 1543.

The 16th-century pre-Reformation work is relatively unimportant, consisting of the addition of the two staircases and certain outbuildings, and it is possible that the latter and the staircase to the frater may be post-Reformation.

A characteristic feature of the buildings is the pointed tunnel vault, which after its introduction in the 14th century was used in all subsequent work.

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to Mr C. R. Peers, C.B.E., M.A., Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, for his criticism and help in sifting the evidence, to the Clerk of Works, Mr James Lamb, and the foreman, Mr John Macdonald, for the careful way they have carried out the works of preservation, so that no evidence was lost, and to Mr John Houston who prepared the drawings.

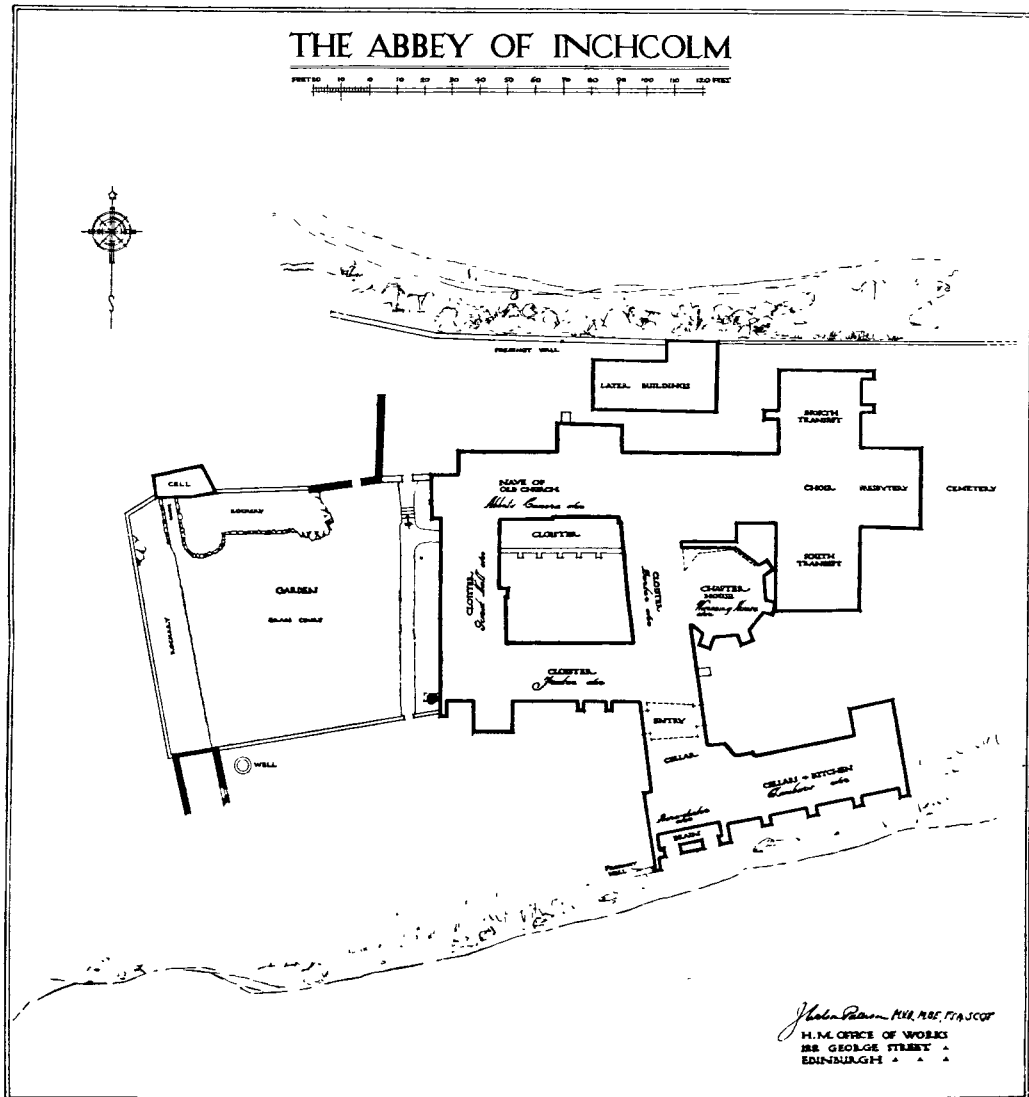


Fig. 8. Inchcolm Abbey: Block Plan.

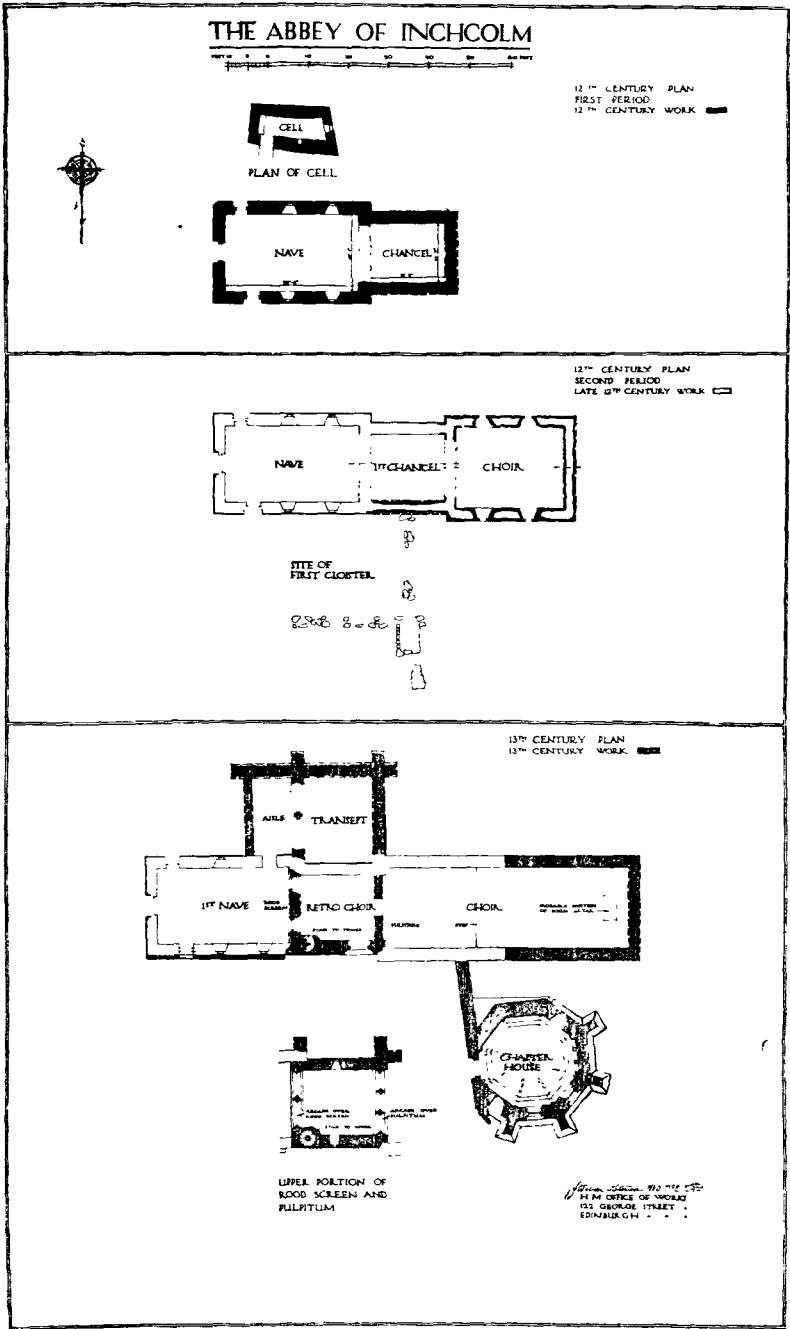


Fig. 9. Inchcolm Abbey: 12th and 13th century Plans.

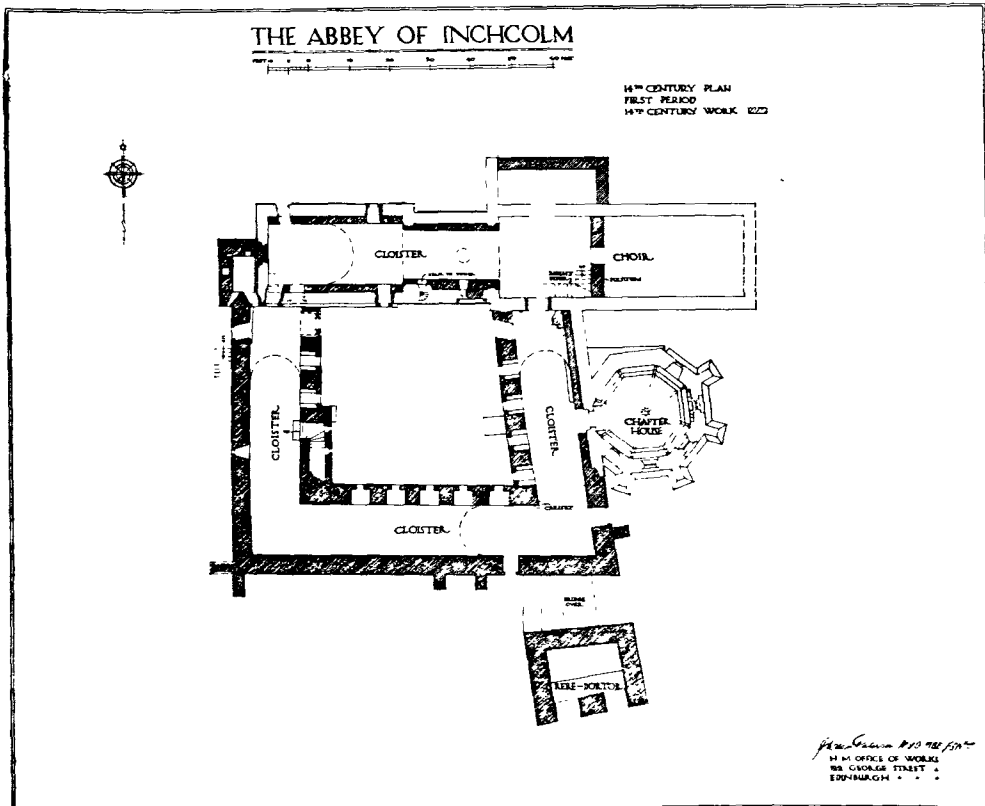
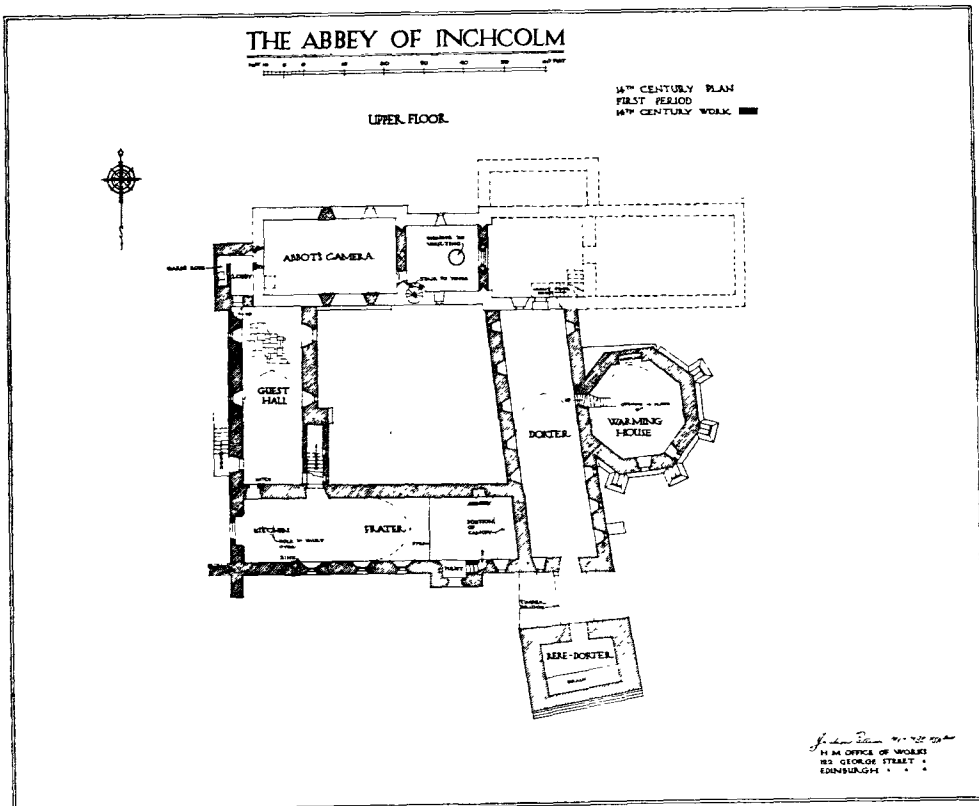


Fig. 10. Inchcolm Abbey: 14th-century Plans.

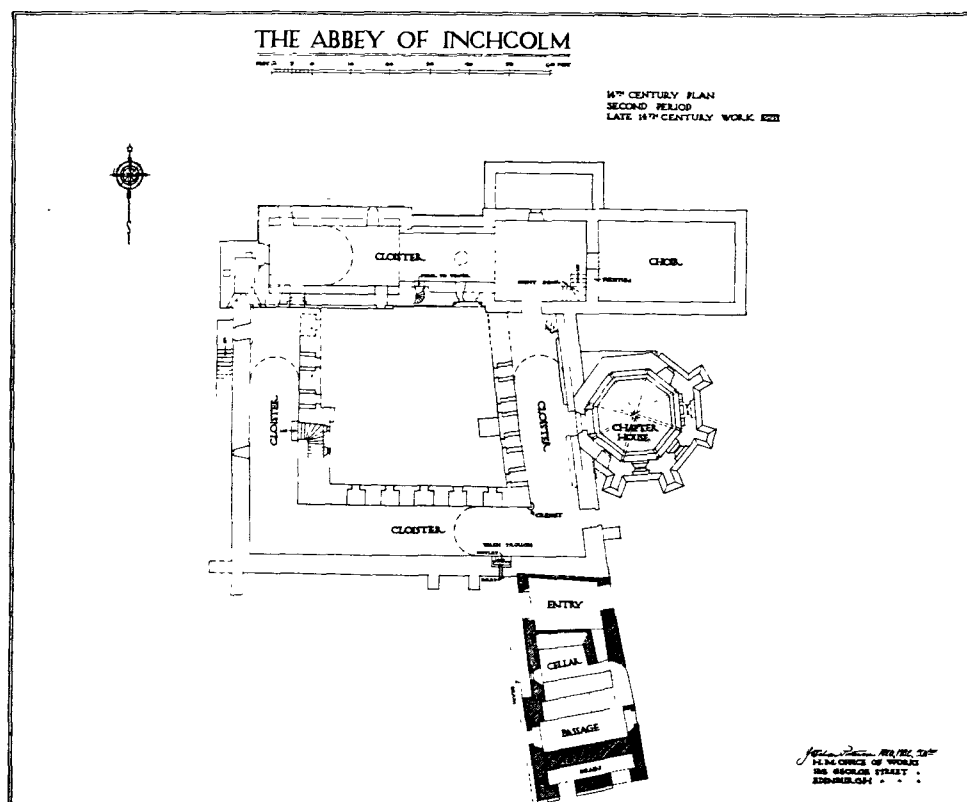
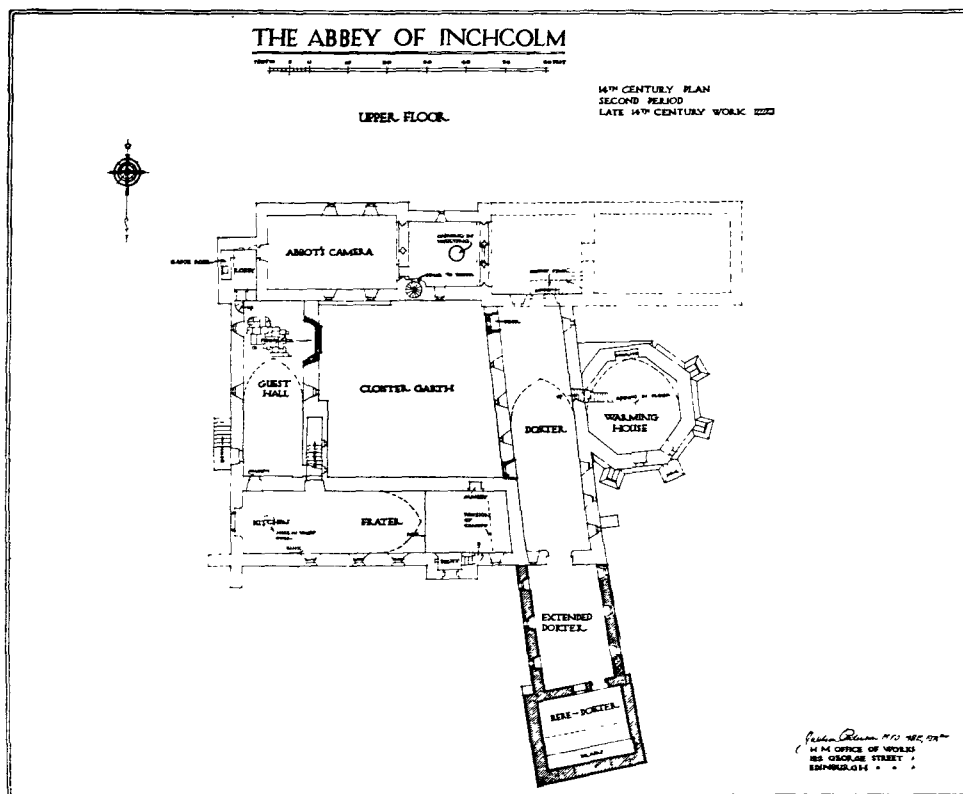


Fig. 11. Inchcolm Abbey: 14th-century Plans, showing later additions.

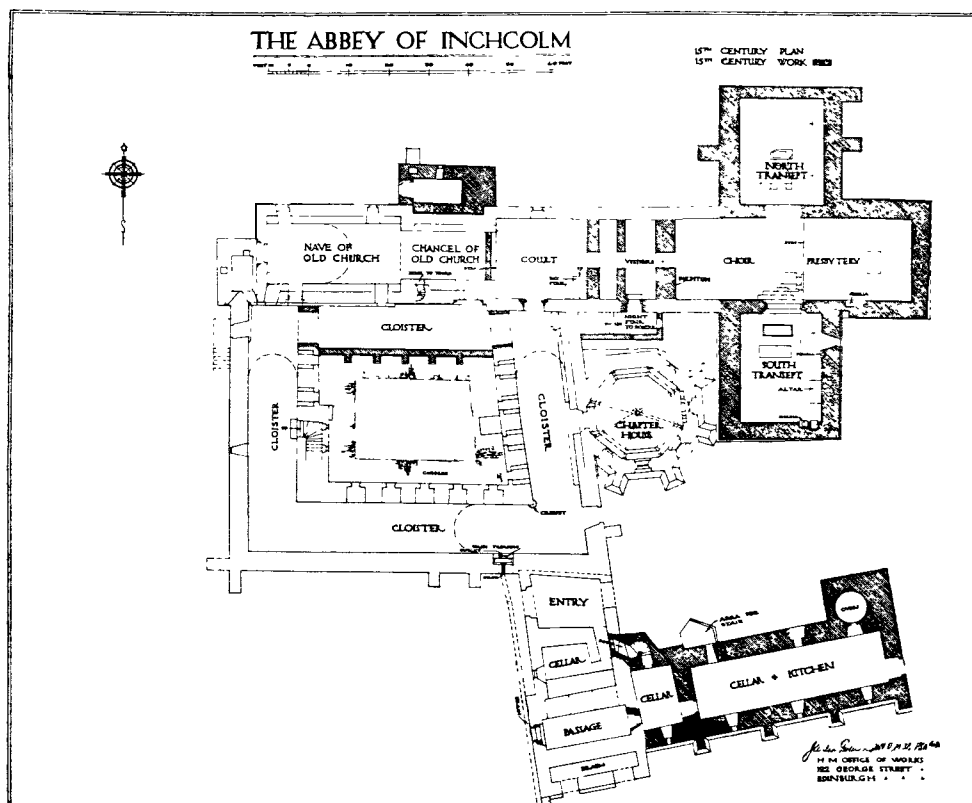
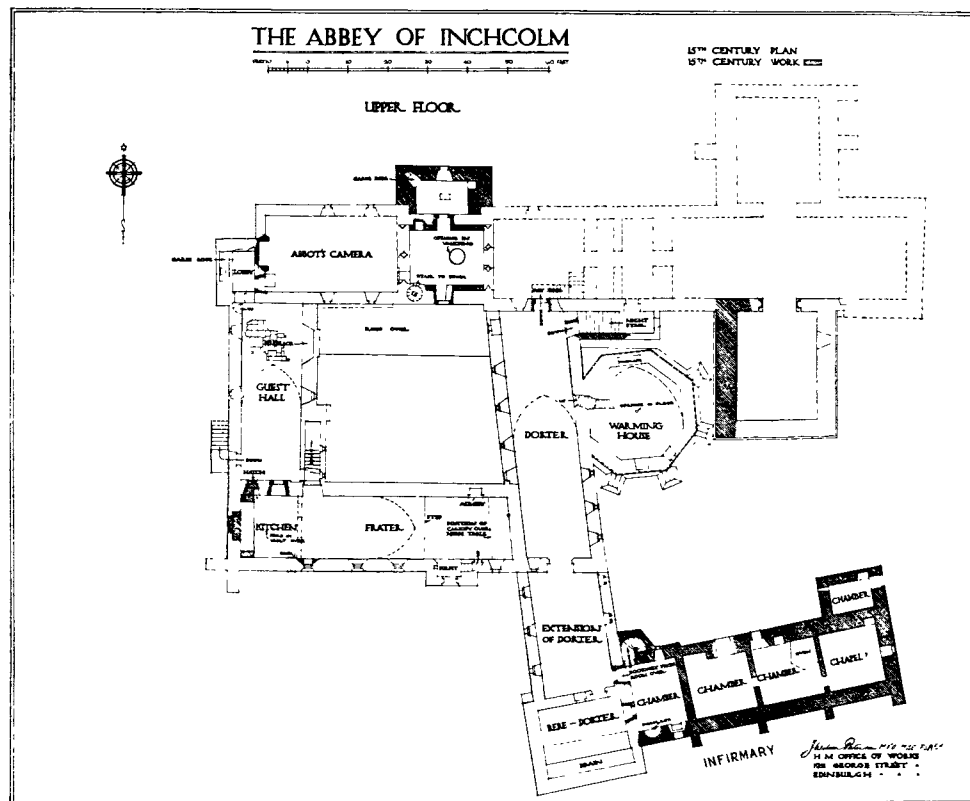


Fig. 12. Inchcolm Abbey: 15th-century Plans.

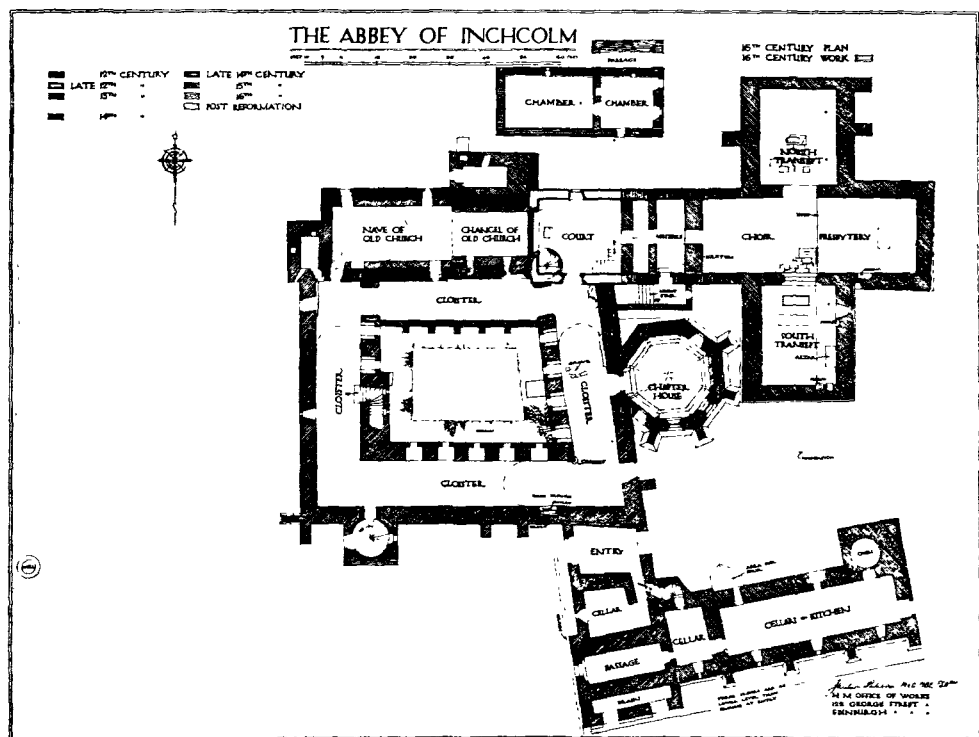
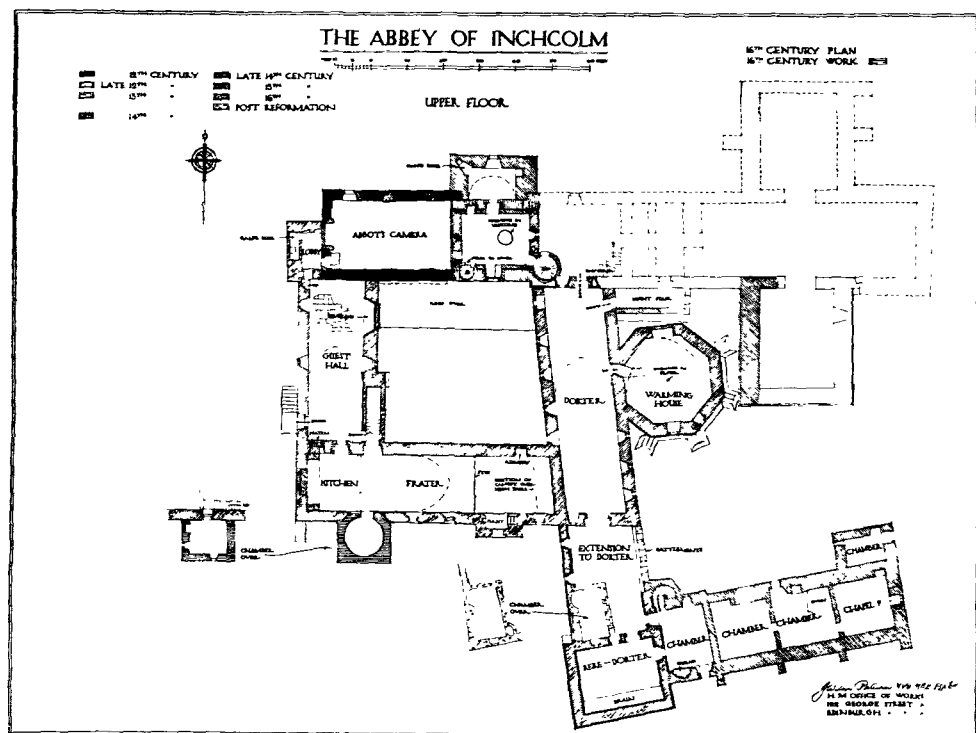


Fig. 13. Inchcolm Abbey: 16th-century Plans.

MONDAY, 12th April 1926.

SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, C.V.O., LL.D.,
in the Chair.

On the recommendation of the Council, there were elected Honorary Fellows of the Society:—

MARCELLIN BOULE, Professor in the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, and Director of the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, 1 rue René Panhard, boulevard Saint-Marcel, Paris 13^e.

Professor Dr philos A. W. BRØGGER, Bestyrer av Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Tullinløkken, Oslo, Norway.

O. M. DALTON, M.A., F.B.A., Keeper of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.

Professor E. FABRICIUS, Göthestrasse, 44 Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany.

Sir ARTHUR KEITH, M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.R.S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England; Past-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Anatomical Society.

Commendatore RODOLFO LANCIANI, K.C.V.O., D.C.L., 2 Via Nerva, Rome.
Dr R. PARIBENI, Director of the Institute of Archaeology of Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows:—

FREDERIC SUTHERLAND FERGUSON, Dunedin, 4 St George's Road, Palmers Green, London, N. 13.

Rev. P. J. FLOOD, D.D., Sacred Heart Rectory, Old Dalmarnock Road, Bridgeton, Glasgow.

JOHN GILMOUR, Willowdene, Auchinairn, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow.

Major JAMES ALEXANDER FREDERICK HENRY HAMILTON, 47 Castle Street.

THOMAS MACLELLAN HUNTER, Solicitor, Union Bank House, Stranraer.

NORMAN M. JOHNSON, B.Sc., L.C.P., F.R.S.G.S., Headmaster, M'Lean School, Dunfermline.

Rev. DUNCAN MACRAE, 26 Douglas Crescent.

Mrs MILDRED E. MAITLAND, Cairnbank, St Andrews.

JOHN REOCH, Bank Agent, 16 Mansion House Road, Langside, Glasgow, S. 1.

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, 2K Portman Mansions, London, W. 1.

The following Donations to the Museum were intimated and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By JAMES LAING, 1 Alma Place, Laurencekirk.

Bronze Mortar, bearing the inscription SOLI DEO GLORIA ANNO 1733, and foliaceous designs.

(2) By W. A. SHAFTO, M.D., Dundas Street, Bo'ness.

Jet Ring of rectangular section, with two perforations on the edge, measuring $1\frac{1}{32}$ inch in diameter. There are faint traces of a lozenge design of incised lines round the periphery and on both sides of the ring; found amongst the soil in making the seventeenth green, "The Graves," on the West Lothian Golf Course, near the summit of Airngath Hill, Bo'ness, where several mediæval and Bronze Age burials were discovered. (See subsequent paper by J. Graham Callander, F.S.A.Scot.)

(3) By JAMES S. RICHARDSON, F.S.A.Scot.

Platter of Samian Ware and Beaker, found together by the donor, 2 feet below the surface, in the sand, about 300 yards from the shore, on the southern outskirts of Wimereux, near Boulogne, France, in September 1918. The platter is 7 inches in diameter at the mouth, $3\frac{9}{16}$ inches across the base, and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch in height, and bears the maker's mark, MVX(TVL)LIM, on the inside; Dragendorff 31. The beaker is of cream-coloured ware coated with brownish-black slip, and measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter at the mouth, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bulge, $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch across the base, and 6 inches in height, the wall being decorated with two rows of roulette pattern above the bulge and one row below.

Leather Shot Flask with brass nozzle and adjustable gauge for the charge of pellets, both sides of the leather bag having tooled on them a man riding on a pony, wearing a Balmoral bonnet, holding a gun at the ready, and having a game-bag hanging at his left side, in front of the pony being a dog; from Aberdeen.

Block of Light Grey Flint, measuring $4\frac{1}{16}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches by 2 inches, from which flakes have been struck off round the greater part of the periphery; found at Gullane, 21st April 1908.

(4) By CHARLES E. WHITELAW, F.S.A.Scot.

Old Knife and Fork with bone handles, the fork having only two prongs.

Old turned wooden Egg-cup, $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches high.

The following Donations to the Library were also intimated:—

(1) By FRANK MILLER, F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Andrew Crosbie ("Pleydell"). Second Edition. Annan, 1925.

(2) By THOMAS SHEPPARD, M.Sc., F.S.A.Scot., F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

Hull Museum Publications, No. 141. Record of Additions, No. LXVIII.

(3) By the Trustees of Mrs HONYMAN GILLESPIE of Torbanehill,
through JAMES URQUHART, F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Memorial of William Honyman Gillespie of Torbanehill. Edinburgh,
1926.

(4) By E. HERBERT STONE, F.S.A., The Retreat, Devizes.

Some Notes on Stonehenge. Devizes, 1926.

It was announced that the following Books had been purchased for
the Library:—

Pola: I Monumenti Romani. Vol. IV, No. 1. By Bruna Tamaro.
Trieste.

Leptis Magna. Vol. I. By Pietro Romanelli. Rome, 1925.

Osebergfundet. Utgit av den Norske Stat under Redaktion av A. W.
Brøgger, Hj. Falk, Haakon Schetelig. Vols. I and III. Kristiania, 1917
and 1920.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

NOTICES OF (1) A STONE AXE-HAMMER FROM PERTHSHIRE, AND
(2) PREHISTORIC AND MEDIEVAL GRAVES ON AIRNGATH
HILL, NEAR BO'NESS. BY J. GRAHAM CALLANDER, F.S.A.Scot.,
DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES.

A STONE AXE-HAMMER FROM PERTHSHIRE.

In November 1923 a stone axe-hammer (fig. 1) was found among loose stones at the foot of a scaur on the north side of Rossie Law,



Fig. 1. Stone Axe-hammer from Rossie Law.

in the parish of Dunning, Perthshire. It was acquired by the Perth Museum,¹ and through the courtesy of Mr John Ritchie, the Curator, I have been enabled to exhibit it to the Society. Although the relic is rather badly pitted all over through exposure to the weather, it is an interesting and important specimen, because of its unusual decoration. Looked at from above, it is egg-shaped, with the narrow end distinctly rounded, and the perforation for the haft placed about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch nearer the butt than the other end. Its length is $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and its greatest breadth,

¹ Amongst a miscellaneous collection of relics found on Tents Muir, Fife, and recently deposited in Perth Museum, is a fragment of a star-shaped bead of blue vitreous paste similar to those found on the Glenluce and Culbin Sands. The record is interesting, as this class of Bronze Age bead had not previously been reported from this part of the country.

which is opposite the perforation, $2\frac{2}{3}\frac{7}{8}$ inches. It shows a fairly regular thickness of about $1\frac{9}{16}$ inch in the centre from the narrow end to the haft hole, after which it swells out to $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch at the butt, by a curving of the upper and under surfaces, that on the former being quite pronounced while that on the latter is very slight. It also varies from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness opposite the hole on one side to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch on the other. The perforation measures $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch in diameter at the outside and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch at the centre.

So far, except for being more oval than usual in its upper aspect, this axe-hammer shows no features which cannot be paralleled on other Scottish examples. But, extending along both sides and round the narrow end, though not round the butt, are two broad, rounded, raised mouldings, measuring 1 inch in total width and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height—a peculiarity which I have not heard of before on any Scottish or English specimen.

This new decorative motive adds considerable importance to this axe-hammer, as it confirms the opinion that has long been expressed regarding the use of these objects, namely, that because of the small size and care which has been bestowed on the manufacture of some of them, as well as the absence of marks of tear and wear by cutting or hammering on either the sharp end or the butt, they could not have been intended for implements employed in industry or weapons used in war, but rather they must have been made as insignia of authority or for ceremonial purposes. Had the Rossie Law example been meant for cutting, there was no sense in carrying the mouldings round the narrow end, as this would only have rendered it more inefficient for such a purpose.

Though made of stone, the period of the small wedge-shaped axe-hammer is the Bronze Age, as a considerable number of them have been found in graves belonging to this time. More than a dozen have been discovered in such burial deposits in Scotland, and they have also been found under similar conditions in England.

GRAVES ON AIRNGATH HILL.

While making the new seventeenth green¹ of the West Lothian Golf Course on Airngath Hill—which lies between Linlithgow and Bo'ness—in the month of December last, some workmen laid bare several ancient graves, the discovery being reported to Mr H. M. Cadell of Grange, who immediately let me know about it by telephone. However, on account of a snowstorm, it was the beginning of January before I was able to

¹ Some difficulty had arisen in deciding on a suitable name for this green, but this discovery has supplied one, as henceforth it is to be known as "The Graves." The positions of the different burials are now marked by small mounds.

accompany Mr Cadell to the site, by which time further burial deposits had been encountered.

The place where the graves were found lies near the highest point of the hill, about 40 yards east of a gully which cuts into the top from north to south, and about 400 yards north-east of the monument to Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, the elevation being rather more than 400 feet above Ordnance datum. The view is cut off to the south, but otherwise the site commands a magnificent prospect of the Firth of Forth and the country on either side from Perthshire to East Lothian.

To form the green it was necessary to cut into the slope as it rose towards the south, removing the thin layer of surface soil and penetrating the sub-soil down to the rock in places. While removing the turf on the east side of the green two long slab-lined graves and a very small stone cist-like structure were laid bare, but they had no coverstones, as probably these had been removed at some previous time owing to their being practically on the present surface. The long graves lay almost parallel to each other, orientated slightly south of east and north of west, a distance of 7 feet separating them. The small cist was placed 4 feet 6 inches further north, and lay about east-north-east and west-north-west. The sides and ends of the two graves were formed of small slabs of yellow sandstone, and they were paved with similar material, the side slabs at the east end of each converging slightly. The most southerly grave measured internally 5 feet 2 inches in length, 14 inches in breadth, and 11 inches in depth, and the other 4 feet 6 inches long, 13 inches broad, and 11 inches deep. The main axis of the first grave lay 117° east of north magnetic, and that of the second 115° . The small cist, which was roughly triangular on plan owing to the most easterly of the two stones on the north side being turned inwards, measured only 20 inches in length internally, 11 inches across the west end, and 9 inches deep, the main axis lying 90° east of north magnetic. No osseous remains or other relics were found in it.

In digging into the slope of the hill about 22 feet west of the most southerly of the graves described, at a depth of 2 feet 2 inches from the surface, a quantity of incinerated human bones amounting to about three double handfuls were found, with a slab of yellow sandstone, measuring 3 feet 2 inches in length, 2 feet 2 inches in breadth, and 4 inches in thickness, standing on its edge and inclined over the remains. No other stones which might have indicated the former presence of a cist were found, neither were any other relics. At a distance of 7 feet to the south-south-west another structure was exposed. It consisted of an oval chamber measuring internally 3 feet 6 inches from east to west, 2 feet from north to south, and 2 feet 6 inches in depth measuring from the surface of the

ground. The wall was built of small boulders from the boulder clay, with a large block at the east and west extremities, the first of yellow sandstone measuring 2 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 10 inches. There was evidence of rough causewaying at the bottom, but no trace of a covering stone. As in the case of the long graves, the cover had probably become exposed by the denudation of the soil, and had been removed at an earlier period. A very few fragments of burnt bone were the only relics found among the soil with which the structure was filled, but some pieces of sandstone which had evidently been submitted to the action of fire were taken from it. Midway between the last two deposits was a small pocket of burnt human bones lying beneath three small flat stones, at a depth of about 2 feet from the surface. Again, as in all the other graves, no further relics fell to be recorded.

It was quite plain that two different classes of interments belonging to very different periods had been brought to light, although there was a complete absence of grave furnishings by which their period might have been definitely indicated. The two long slab-lined graves, from their form, size, and orientation, were probably mediæval, as they were similar to many of those found in the numerous mediæval burying-grounds which have been discovered in the three Lothians. The small cist-like structure might also belong to this period, although this is doubtful, as less care has been bestowed on its orientation.

Regarding the two deposits of calcined bones and the oval structure, which also yielded a few fragments of similar remains, it seemed more likely that they belonged to the Bronze Age than to any other time. Oval graves built of small boulders are very unusual in Scotland, but pockets of incinerated human remains have been found not infrequently under cairns and about stone circles which belong to the Bronze Age. This attribution as to the period of these deposits was, to a certain extent, confirmed when two months later Dr W. A. Shafto of Bo'ness called at the Museum and showed me a small ring of cannel coal which had been found amongst the soil during the subsequent levelling of the ground.



Fig. 2. Jet Ring from
Airngath Hill. ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

The ring, or rather ring-pendant (fig. 2), as it seems to have been worn by suspension, is of square section, being rather thicker on one side than on the other. It measures $1\frac{1}{32}$ inch in external diameter, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in width, and

from $\frac{9}{32}$ inch to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in thickness. On the periphery, at the thickest part, are two V-shaped perforations, formed by boring two converging holes parallel to the faces till they meet—a method of perforation seen on the jet buttons of the Bronze Age. The septal portion in the “V” of one of the perforations is broken away, which is suggestive that the second perforation had been made after the fracture of the first. But this does not follow, seeing that nearly all the other figured examples of this form of ornament have complete double perforations. The ring shows traces of having been ornamented on both faces and round the periphery by a lattice pattern of incised lines, but these have almost been obliterated by wear. These objects, which have sometimes been called “pulley rings” in England, have occasionally been described as having three perforations; but this is not a very happy description, seeing that the appearance of the triple perforation is caused by the inner slopes of the two perforations being bored from one orifice. Such ornaments have been more frequently found in England than in Scotland, where only another one has been recorded. This example is preserved in the National Museum, and, according to the record that was attached to it, the ring “was taken out of a stone coffin near Craigiehall (Perthshire?) in 1805. The bones were in a state of perfect powder. There was, besides, a wooden button, but (it was) too much decayed to be preserved.” It measures $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch in diameter, and has two V-shaped perforations; but it is unornamented, and part of the ring is broken away. The distribution of English examples is wide, as they have been found in Yorkshire,¹ Wiltshire,² and Derbyshire,³ and, generally, have been recovered from Bronze Age graves, sometimes with buttons with V-shaped perforations. The majority of those which have been illustrated are more ornate than our latest example.

Dr Shafto has very kindly presented the ornament to our National Museum, and to him the thanks of the Society are due for the donation of a very rare relic.

¹ Greenwell's *British Barrows*, p. 33 (fig. 5), p. 229 (fig. 119), p. 263 (fig. 123); Mortimer's *Forty Years' Researches*, p. 92 (fig. 216), p. 340 (fig. 1002).

² *Crania Britannia* 58 (2); *Devizes Museum Catalogue*, Nos. 75 and 184a.

³ *British Barrows*, p. 229 f.n.

II.

THE EXCAVATION OF A PREHISTORIC AND MEDÆVAL SITE
NEAR BLACKSIDE, MUIRKIRK, AYRSHIRE. BY ARCHIBALD
FAIRBAIRN, F.S.A.Scot.

The site under review, situated within the parish of Muirkirk, at Whitefield, a short distance north-east of Blackside and north of the road leading to Priesthill, had in times past been called by local people "The Roman Camp." It is not uncommon in pastoral districts to ascribe to Roman times mysterious mediæval remains, probably formed in greater part by the dexterous use of the flauchter-spade in the early days of ewe bughts, ewe milking, and the building of fail dykes. The

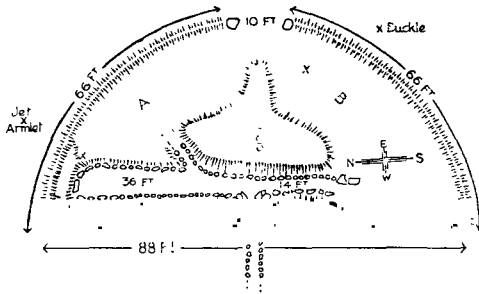


Fig. 1. Plan of an Earthwork in the Parish of Muirkirk, Ayrshire.

structure, prominently situated on rising ground, is easily noticeable on the skyline, and this, along with the finding of part of a flint implement or weapon in the vicinity many years ago, may have given rise to the local tradition. The excavation of the site was commenced in the autumn of 1913 by the late Col. J. G. A. Baird, F.S.A.Scot., proprietor of the Muirkirk estate, and the writer.

The structure seemed curiously planned (fig. 1),¹ and it presented at first an enigma as to its probable age and use. Two quadrant-shaped areas adjacent to each other are enclosed by fail dykes or turf walling, and are separated in the centre by a large mound of earth. Across one side of both enclosures, facing west, there is a massive grass-grown earth embankment in a line running north and south, and divided in the centre by an opening through it, opposite to the mound. This embankment is 44 feet in length each way, right and left of the opening, giving a total length of 88 feet, and it rises to an average height of 9 feet, with a corresponding thickness. The opening through the embankment runs outwards (west) in a straight channel for 32 feet. It has sloping banks 8 feet wide at middle distance, narrowing to 2 feet at ground level and to 1 foot 6 inches below ground level, as it passes between a setting of stones into the interior at the base of the mound. This opening at its upper

¹ I am indebted to Miss A. L. Shaw Smith for kindly planning the site.

end is cut into the clay-band rock underlying the surface soil, for the purpose evidently of draining the whole interior. Leading from the upper end of the opening there is a continuous setting of stones, going right and left along the inner base of the embankment. On the right, the stones run parallel to a similar setting along the base of the mound, indicating the foundations of a narrow turf-walled passage, 2 feet wide and 14 feet in length, leading to, and ending within, the circular enclosure on the south side of the mound. On the left, the stone setting is continuous along the interior base of the embankment, returning in a circular curve at the far end, and continuing in a parallel line along the base of an inner bank of earth, thus forming a bught or pen 36 feet in length and 6 feet in width.

There were indications of a double setting of stones leading from this bught into the circular enclosure on the north side of the mound—the foundations, no doubt, of a connecting passage. There is ample evidence that the soil had been cleared from the bught, and that, when in use, the floor was the native clay-band rock. The enclosing fail dykes, continuing from the ends of the 88-foot embankment, are each 66 feet in length; both swing round towards the east, ending against large boulder stones, and leaving an opening 10 feet wide, convenient for use as an entrance into either enclosure.

Should the arrangement of the structure be referable to ewe-milking practices, a glance at the accompanying plan will show that the ewes could be driven in through a shedding gate in the 10-foot opening to one enclosure, pass through the milking bught, and out into the other enclosure. Doubtless this was the use the structure was put to as we see the ruins of it to-day; all with the exception of the mound of earth which, though it conveniently forms a division between the two enclosures, seems to be out of place within the precincts of a sheep-fold.

The fact that 60 yards north-west from the structure a never-failing spring runs clearly from under the visible roots of a prehistoric oak in a now treeless district, suggested a more human element, and that the whole site was worthy of exploration. A strip of ground was trenched over within the enclosure facing north (marked A on plan) and the excavation carried into the central mound. Part of the upper soil had fallen from the decayed turf wall, but underneath this many chips of flint, chert, and water-worn stone were found mixed with the lower soil. The upper soil of the central mound contained numerous fragments of clay-band rock, suggesting that the repeated cleanings and scrapings of the bught and passages had been thrown over it. Under the turf, near the top of the mound, a small glazed vessel of light red ware and curved rim was discovered, while lower down several fragments of thick, glazed,

mediaeval pottery were recovered from the soil. At about 3 feet above ground level the greater part of a saddle quern was discovered set on end, and face inwards, within the mound. It measures 16 inches in length and 27 inches in breadth, the hollow part being 18 inches in diameter and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. Here the soil was fine, rich, and dark coloured, and under the closest scrutiny almost every spadeful was found to contain minute chips of flint and chert. Slightly under this level a row of ten stones was brought to light, all set on edge and in line over the lower base of the mound. These were carefully removed and laid aside in the formation in which they were found. The soil underneath continued dark in colour, and it was quite strewn with chips of flint; one or two worked but imperfect flints were recovered.

Immediately underneath the row of stones, and below the original ground level, in the centre of the mound, three small heaps of a whitish clay-like substance were laid bare. The heaps lay close together in a line running east and west, and the middle one, the largest, was marked with a square-shaped stone set on the top. This deposit was carefully examined, and the light-coloured substance composing it, which had an adhesive feeling, was found to be plentifully mixed with wood charcoal. The deposit was contained within a circular cavity, 18 inches in diameter and 6 inches deep, which had been picked out of the soft clay-band rock. On the bottom of the cavity lay a finely worked flint scraper and several flakes of dark-coloured flint. The lesser heaps contained a similar substance intermixed with charcoal, both deposits being also within circular cavities excavated in the rock, and both containing flint chips. A small water-worn stone, showing a ring of abrasions round its edge, possibly from use in fabricating flints, was discovered near the deposits, as well as a rubbing stone, associated no doubt with the saddle quern.

From the numerous fragments of hard water-worn stone found throughout the mound, as well as from larger pieces with portions flaked off them, it was obvious that the early inhabitants of the site had made liberal use of this material so easily obtained in the neighbourhood. That the site had been occupied in early times by a race who had chipped out their weapons and implements of stone on the spot, was clearly evident, but the later mediaeval reconstruction had, unfortunately, removed all trace above ground of the early form of dwelling.

Nothing further was done until some time ago, when the writer made an effort to examine the remaining portions of both enclosures, particularly that marked A on plan, where the extra depth of soil, it was hoped, might have preserved any relics underneath. Here, under

the deep accumulation of soil from the ruins of the inner wall, and on a layer of clay spread on the rock, and still presenting a particularly smooth surface, were found several large fragments of hand-made undecorated pottery of the Bronze Age. In close association with the potsherds were several small water-worn pebbles, which had evidently been subjected to intense heat and had become split in consequence. The pottery fragments were, no doubt, part of a Bronze Age cooking-pot, which accounts for the presence of the heat-cracked pot-boilers on the floor. The clay-covered floor was liberally strewn and stained with wood charcoal on a space about 5 feet square, which was carefully yet quite easily followed. Unfortunately, all trace of this floor was lost inwards, on the ground disturbed by the last users of the site. Underneath a portion of the inner wall of the ewe bught, and among the lower soil, was discovered a large segment of what had been a magnificent jet armlet, probably dating to the first few centuries of this era. Although only a length of $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches survives, it had measured about 5 inches in external and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in internal diameter when complete. The ring, which is of triangular section with slightly convex sides, measures $\frac{15}{16}$ inch in breadth and $\frac{13}{16}$ inch in thickness.

In this section also, but nearer the surface, were found a small silver button, ornamented with concentric circles, and a small portion of a whetstone.

In the enclosure marked B on plan, where the soil is very shallow, a brass shoe-buckle, probably of eighteenth-century origin, was recovered.

It will be gathered that the relics, though few in number, are sufficiently characteristic to indicate various periods for the occupation of this site. The fragments of Bronze Age pottery, pot-stones, hammer-stone, and flints are referable to the earliest occupation; while in succession we have the jet armlet and saddle quern probably indicating an Early Iron Age occupation, glazed potsherds pointing to a mediæval occupation, and, finally, the brass shoe-buckle and silver button suggesting an eighteenth-century occupation.

The unsolved enigma, and therein lies one of the charms of archæology, are the deposits within the excavated circular cavities underneath the mound. They do not quite compare with the cooking-holes recently discovered within Bronze Age hut-circles in the district, although it must be admitted that the hard strata in which they were formed may account for their want of depth. They were clean in comparison, and almost free from black residue, and, while they contained charcoal, there was no visible evidence of burnt bone. The smooth (comparatively speaking) clay-covered floor, however, is analogous with two such floors in local hut-circles, on both of which fragments of decorated and

undecorated Bronze Age pottery have recently been discovered. One noticeable feature of this site is the absence of stony debris. The original construction may have been for the greater part formed of turf, otherwise the stones forming a hut-circle, with its accompanying embankment, must have been very completely removed.

III.

THREE CROSSES IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF SCOTLAND.

BY REV. R. S. G. ANDERSON, B.D., F.S.A.Scot.

1. *Carleton*.—At the farm of Carleton, about two miles south-west of Glasserton House, Wigtownshire, there has been preserved an ancient slab with a cross carved on it (fig. 1). Many years ago it was brought from the neighbouring farm of Craiglemine. Craiglemine is already noted for the discovery there of a portion of a cross-shaft of green slate, and a fragment of a cross-head with boss and circular depression—both mentioned in the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Wigtownshire*, and both now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. There is no record or tradition of any ancient chapel or graveyard at Craiglemine. The probability is that the crosses were carried there from Glasserton Churchyard, which is little over a mile away. This was no uncommon act of vandalism in the districts round, down to comparatively recent times.



Fig. 1. Cross-slab at Carleton.
Wigtownshire.

The cross-slab at Carleton is a rectangular piece of Silurian sandstone, carefully shaped, smoothed back and front, 1 foot 2 inches long, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick. Originally the slab was longer; the lower end

being now broken off, taking with it a part of the shaft of the cross.

The cross on the slab is in low relief, about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch high. The drawing is very rude; no two of the arms are of the same shape or length—the length varying from $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch to $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches from the point of intersection. The full length of the vertical arm of the cross is 8 inches, and of the horizontal 7 inches. Whilst the

drawing is rude, the sculpture work shows no mean ability in the handling of tools.

The design of the cross is evidently of the Northumbrian type. It is very similar to one found in St Ninian's Cave, illustrated in fig. 8 in the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments*. The latter cross is much the better in its drawing, and is probably of slightly earlier date. The date of the Carleton cross may be tenth century, or a little later.

From its slimness, and also its present condition, it may be concluded that the slab was not meant for a headstone or a standing monument. In all likelihood it was used as a grave-cover.

2. *Glasserton*.—The cross, as shown in fig. 2, has been known for many years, having been discovered during the renovation of the interior of the church of Glasserton over thirty years ago. It is recorded in the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Wigtownshire* on p. 1. So far as I know, it has not yet been illustrated. When I first saw it, the cross-slab, broken in two, lay neglected on the stair-head outside the door of the "loft." It is now preserved in a temporary box in the vestibule of the church.

The cross-head is of the well-known Whithorn type, of which so many have been found in the district. In this case the arms of the cross are defined by a cord, formed by two grooves roughly parallel. This cord may have extended downwards, enclosing a panel. The head has been marked off from the panel beneath by a single incised line. Flat discs fill the hollows between the arms, whilst the centre is marked out by two concentric rings. The panel beneath, save for the merest fragment, has disappeared.

The greatest breadth of the cross-slab is $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the depth from the top of the stone to the incised line above the panel is 14 inches. The diameter of the larger circle in the centre is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The drawing and the workmanship of this monument are considerably below the level attained in the best examples of this type. In all probability it belongs to a later date, when the genius and the skill of the craftsmen were in decline. A date suggested is the late tenth century.



Fig. 2. Cross-slab at Glasserton.

3. *Fardenreoch, Colmonell, Ayrshire*.—When motoring from Glasgow into Wigtownshire last summer (1925), I had occasion to visit a farm near Pinwherry. In the course of conversation with a friend I inquired as to the known antiquities in the neighbourhood. By dint of questioning I learnt that there was a stone with carving on it in the wall of the stable at Fardenreoch Farm. This name was familiar, for here Dr Joseph Anderson records that a very fine stone axe was found. On

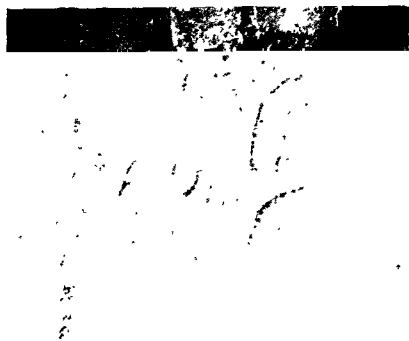


Fig. 3. Fragment of a Cross at Fardenreoch, Ayrshire.

my way I stopped at this farm, and found that the carved stone was the fragment of the shaft of a cross (fig. 3). Many years ago this had been found near the top of a hill behind the farmhouse, and had been built for preservation into the stable wall. Another fragment was noticed about the same time but was not salvaged, and is thought to be still hidden in the dyke of the same high field. The fragment in the stable wall is 1 foot in breadth, scarcely 1 foot in length at its longest, and 6 inches thick.

The design consists of a rope border at each edge of the shaft, within the border on each side a loose three-cord plait, and filling the centre, vertically, a twist ornament. The style is a very rare one in Scotland, but is not uncommon on the other side of the Border. The rope and the plait and the twist are a combination familiar in Cumberland in the late tenth century.

According to the farmer at Fardenreoch, the back of the cross-shaft was plain, but on each edge of the stone there was a similar twist ornament to that carved on the face.

I am greatly indebted to Mr W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., for suggestions as to dates, and for information as to the affinities of the Fardenreoch stone with certain of the Cumberland crosses.

IV.

NEWHILLS CROSS, ABERDEENSHIRE. BY JAMES
CRUICKSHANK, F.S.A.Scot.

Newhills Cross, and the other subjects to be here referred to, lie on the main Aberdeen-Inverurie-Inverness road, in the parish of Newhills, and distant about 8 miles from Aberdeen. To assist in describing them it may be well to give a short historical setting, the materials for which are fairly ample.

The Celtic kings appear to have favoured the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, and held considerable Crown territories there, chiefly the conjoined hunting forests of Stocket, Cordyce, and Kintore, a serpentine stretch nearly 20 miles long, all of which in due time came into the hands of King Robert the Bruce. King Robert either did not find time for the chase so far north, or the long wars may have left him without means to support the forests, or these may have afforded the readiest method of rewarding some of his chief lieutenants: at any rate, he proceeded soon after Bannockburn to divide them among his faithful friends. The town of Aberdeen was given the Stocket, Sir James de Garioch obtained Cordyce, and to Sir Robert Keith was assigned Kintore.

It is with Cordyce that our subject is concerned, a ridge about 3 miles in length and some 8 miles in circumference. Its upper levels have never been reclaimed and have for long been well wooded, which accounts for its prehistoric remains being unusually well preserved, these embracing a stone circle quite unspoiled, various round cairns of the Bronze Age, a large number of tumuli, and traces of very old roads. On its southern slope there are evidences which support the tradition that a castle, with a chapel near by, stood here, its name being Binghill Castle—perhaps a royal hunting-seat or a residence of the Gariochs. On the summit plateau is a mineral spring which used to be noted as a May Day wishing-well. From all sides a wide view is obtained, which is assisted by modern view-towers at two points. Adjoining Cordyce on the south-west lay certain other Crown lands known as the three Clintertys, one of which, known as Bishop's Clinterty (to-day Bishopston) was bestowed on the Bishop of Aberdeen at a still earlier period; the other two being given by Bruce's son David II. to Donald Bannerman, his physician. This grant to the Bishop carried with it the neighbouring southernly height of Cordyce, which for identification had at some previous date been marked by a large flat cross of stone and turf—doubtless an emblem of the sacred nature of the possession.

In drawing up the charter in 1316 to Sir James Garioch for the main portion of the ridge, care was taken to safeguard this episcopal section, and a copy of the Latin charter was lodged with the Bishop, which has been preserved with the episcopal charters, whereby a clue is given to much that would otherwise be mystifying. Among many place-names, most of them now untraceable, mention is made of this cross "in viâ regia," as also a large rock near it, a recumbent stone at another point, and certain boundary walls. These objects still exist, but the ground having been in wood for generations, all knowledge of them has been forgotten, and they have thus escaped notice in old parish records. During the late war a large area of trees was cut down which brought these objects to notice once more; and as the new landowners, the Forestry Commission, have just replanted this area, the present

seems a fitting time to record them before they again become obscured. The cross (fig. 1) from its position, and by its mention in the charter as a landmark then well established, is clearly intended to fix one end of the episcopal property. It had been carefully measured out and compactly built, with an attempt at kerbing. It has suffered but little during the seven or eight centuries of its existence, only one arm having been broken into, evidently in an attempt to find out what lay beneath. Its head points directly

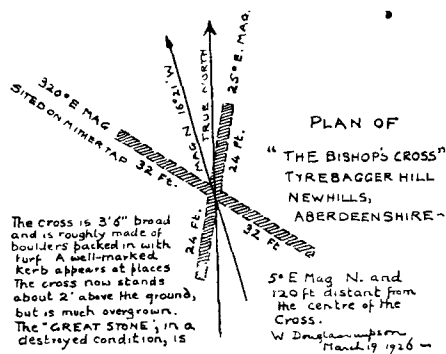


Fig. 1. Plan of the Bishop's Cross, Newhills, Aberdeenshire.

to Benachie, while at the other end it is broadened out to give the effect of an imaginary base. It may be explained that in Central Aberdeenshire different kinds of prehistoric remains, such as forts, camps, cairns, etc., command a view of the large fort on the Mither Tap of Benachie.

The large rock (*magnum lapidem*) adjoining the cross, while being clearly recognisable, has suffered much in the surface quarrying which is evident all over the hill. The recumbent stone (*lapistratum*) marking the north-western boundary is quite whole. Most of the walls or dykes appear to have been renewed, but at the extreme upper end the hoary appearance of the dyke warrants the belief that it represents the wall as it was in 1316. A marshy lake referred to as lying in the hollow has since been drained and the land cultivated, but its location is easily traceable. In a recent geological work reference is made to it: "At Clinterty is an erosion basin clearly the site of a vanished lake"—

a theory amply verified by our charter. Near the margin of this basin is a gravel mound in which, in 1897, a stone cist was found, the varied contents of which are now in Marischal College Museum, Aberdeen. A reference in the charter to the old waggon road (*veterem viam plaustorum*) would indicate a stage of progress which must have receded in the centuries following, since we are told by various modern writers that wheeled traffic did not come into being in Aberdeenshire till the middle of the eighteenth century.

When at a later stage parish boundaries came to be definitely laid down, the then north road seems to have been made the dividing line between Newhills and its neighbour Dyce, in which latter parish Cordyce lies, and although much of this road has vanished, its line still marks the boundary, explaining the reason why the division often appears unsatisfactory. But one exception to the road boundary fell to be made: following the custom of the times, that part of Cordyce attaching to the Bishop's lands was brought within Newhills so that all might be in one parish, and so it remains to this day, as shown by the map (fig. 2).

We come now to another discovery which the removal of the woods has made possible. In the charter the cross is described as lying "in viâ regia," the king's highway, and we are thus able to speak with assurance regarding this second feature of the subject. Here we have now revealed three roads running side by side for nearly a mile, and to give them a name these may be called the parallel roads of Tyrebagger, the modern name of the Cordyce ridge (fig. 3). At the lowest level is the modern turnpike formed in 1800, known to motorists for its steepness. At a still higher level is its predecessor, formed in the middle of the eighteenth century at a time when road reform was much in the air, and when the ancient tracks were being widened to admit of wheeled traffic. At this section the ancient track, perched on a hillside, could not be widened, and a new loop at a lower level became necessary. Its period of usefulness would be limited to half a century before the making of the turnpike lying below it, and it is now grass-covered and neglected.

Highest of all is the *viâ regia* of the charter, with the cross on its upper side—a stretch preserved to us because the nature of the ground did not admit of its being widened. Here, then, we have an example—

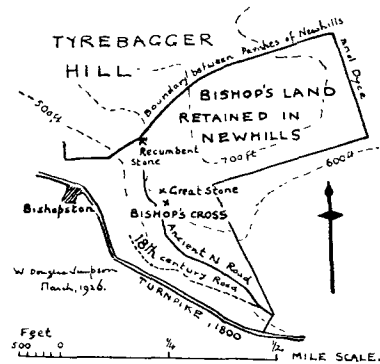


Fig. 2. Map of Bishop's Lands in Newhills parish.

probably almost unique in that its authenticity is certified—of a section of the king's highway as it existed in the times of the Celtic kings, and possibly long before their day. While its eighteenth-century successor has long been discarded, this old track has continued in use as a near approach through the woods to the crofts further ahead, which had been set down near the highway. It is less than 6 feet wide, has a solid, well-preserved bottom, and is almost level the whole way, being formed as a kind of shelf in the brow of the hillside.

A wealth of historic interest comes into view in standing near this ancient Kingsway. The Celtic kings would probably all have trodden it, Robert the Bruce would be familiar with it, various of the earlier Stuart rulers may have used it, and certainly Mary, Queen of Scots, on her northern tour in 1562. James VI. coming from his punitive expedition

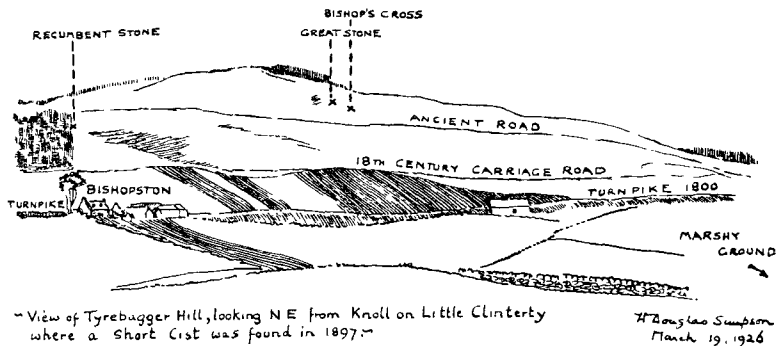


Fig. 3. View of Tyrebagger Hill, showing Roads and position of the Bishop's Cross.

to Huntly in 1594, and Charles II. returning from Holland in 1650, had to pass this way. The men of Aberdeen, led by their Provost, would march over it on their way to the battle of Harlaw in 1411, and would return a victorious but diminished host, bearing their leader "famous, calm, and dead." Time and again through the centuries the unruly gentry of the county made their fierce descents over it on the town of Aberdeen. Montrose passed by on his victorious career, and returned by it in his hour of ignominy; and the successive nobles of the house of Huntly must have constantly been journeying here. Certain of Prince Charlie's forces are recorded to have marched this way, and an old lady, not long deceased, used to tell that her grandmother saw the passing of Cumberland's soldiers on their way to Culloden. Bishops, statesmen, judges, scholars, younger sons intent on a continental career, the rich man and the beggar, all make up a goodly company to give colour to this bare hillside; and a further touch of realism is found near by in the "Robber's Cave."

One feature cannot have escaped the notice of even the most callous of all the long roll of noted travellers, and that is the glory of the view. In the foreground lie the rich plains of the Lower Garioch and Lower Deeside, and beyond a circle of noble hills, including noted peaks such as Benachie, Morven, Lochnagar, Mounts Keen and Battock, Clochnaben, and the Lower Grampians, with many a height of lesser renown.

To-day, inspired by this striking view, one may speculate on the former glories of the now silent king's highway, and by way of contrast turn to its modern substitute lying far beneath, to gaze on an almost endless chain of motor-cars, whose throb arises to disturb the peace of this heritage of the ages.

A reprint of the Bishop's copy of the charter of 1316 will be found in *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Spalding Club), vol. i. pp. 43-4.

The original, given to Sir James Garioch, was extant in 1574, in which year it was exhibited in Court in connection with a boundary dispute. (See *Aberdeen Sheriff Court Records* (New Spalding Club), vol. i. p. 262.)

I am much indebted to Dr Douglas Simpson, who has kindly drawn the illustrations and has given other valuable help and guidance.

V.

NOTES ON LULACH'S STONE, KILDRUMMY, ABERDEENSHIRE; A SYMBOL STONE RECENTLY FOUND IN MORTLACH CHURCH-YARD, BANFFSHIRE; AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES. BY W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.Scot.

Lulach's Stone, Kildrummy.—One of the most impressive of the solitary standing-stones in Aberdeenshire is Lulach's Stone, hidden in Drumnahive Wood, due west of Mossat Bridge, in the parish of Kildrummy (O.S. 6 inches, Aberdeenshire, sheet li.). It is a tall and shapely pillar of schist, 8 feet 9 inches in height above the present level of the ground, though older descriptions make the height 11 feet. At the shoulder the breadth of the stone is 2 feet 8 inches; the back is rounded and the thickness very irregular, at greatest about 2 feet. There seem to be no cup-marks and no indication of tooling, and the pillar stone stands in all the dignified simplicity of its natural rudeness, grey and lichen stained, hoary with the mute oblivion of its forgotten purpose. The name of the stone is of considerable interest. On Green Hill, in the parish of Tough (O.S. 6 inches, Aberdeenshire, sheet lxiii.), is a similar monolith, also called Lulach's

or Luath's Stone;¹ and the tradition attached to each pillar is that it marks the place where Lulach, stepson of Macbeth, was overtaken and killed after his father's defeat and death at Lumphanan (15th August 1057). The historical facts about Lulach the Fatuous² are briefly as follows. He was a son of Macbeth's wife, Gruoch, by her previous husband, Gillacomgain, of the ancient house of Moravia, and himself a cousin of Macbeth.³ After Macbeth was defeated and killed by Malcolm Canmore, Lulach carried on his stepfather's claims, but himself was killed at Essie, in Strathbogie, on 17th March 1058, and, like his stepfather, was buried in Iona. Two sources aver that Lulach was killed by Malcolm in battle, but another says that he died by treachery.⁴ Doubtless the two monoliths that bear his name are far anterior to his time in their origin; but we are probably not greatly wrong in regarding their subsequent popular association with Lulach's memory as a link in the chain of other evidence as to the large part which the province of Mar played in furthering the cause of the Macbeth dynasty against the rival and Normanising house of Canmore.

Symbol Stone found in Mortlach Churchyard, Banffshire.—On 18th September 1925, when opening a grave in the old churchyard of Mortlach, near Dufftown, Banffshire (O.S. 6 inches, Banffshire, sheet xxv.), the sexton came upon a large flat stone about 6 feet under the surface. It was lying face downwards and pointing to the south-east. Unfortunately, in order to take it out the stone was broken into five pieces, and it was only after it had been brought to the surface in fragments that the symbols were discovered on the under face. By a lucky chance the carved figures were almost unscathed by the breaking up of the stone, one of the fractures just passing through the scrolled hind feet of the "elephant." The place where it was found is within some 30 feet to the north-west of the well-known "Battle Stone" of Mortlach.

The upper of the two incised symbols found on the top part of the stone (fig. 1) is the familiar "elephant," wrought with great spirit. The lower symbol is hitherto unrecorded, and I am unable to hazard even a conjecture as to what it may purport to represent. The incised sculpturing is beautifully wrought and extremely well preserved. In height the stone measures about 5 feet 3 inches, and it is about 10 inches in greatest thickness. A small fragment, having become detached when it was taken up, was submitted to Professor A. W. Gibb, M.A., D.Sc.,

¹ See *New Statistical Account*, vol. xii. p. 613.

² *Lulach fatuus*—*Chronicle of the Picts and Scots* (ed. W. F. Skene), p. 152.

³ See genealogical table in A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. i. p. 580.

⁴ Tigernach, *Annals*, ed. W. Stokes in *Revue Celtique*, vol. xvii. p. 398; *Annals of Ulster* (ed. W. M. Hennessy), vol. ii. p. 4; *Chronica de Mailros* (ed. J. Stevenson), p. 227.

of the Chair of Geology in Aberdeen University, who reports that the stone is a metamorphic rock, psammitic gneiss or impure quartzite, and is probably an erratic from the Moine area on Speyside.

The church of Mortlach is one of the most ancient Christian sites in the district between the Dee and the Spey. A monastery was planted here by St Moluag of Lismore, whom St Comgall the Great of Bangor, in the Ards of Ulster, dispatched on a mission into Pictland in 562.¹ It is a beautiful example of the *insita sibi species venustatis* of an Old Celtic religious site, occupying a lovely position on the west bank of the Dullan. The mediæval parish church stands on a terrace overlooking the haugh by the riverside where the two symbol stones are, and where it is therefore probable that St Moluag's community was placed. On the opposite side of the river the bank rises steeply and is clothed with fine timber. Though greatly modernised, the church still retains its mediæval proportions, and some beautiful lancet windows of the thirteenth century. Within it are preserved a number of interesting mediæval grave-slabs, and a good recumbent effigy of a mail-clad knight—said to represent Alexander Leslie of Kininvie, who died about 1549.

The "Battle Stone" has on one side a Celtic cross between two fish-like monsters facing each other on top and a grotesque beast at the base, while on the other side are a bird, a serpent, and an ox's skull, and a horseman with his hound. In the illustration of the back of this stone in the *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part iii. p. 156, the bird is not shown. The cross has been carved with a simple scroll ornament. The sculpturing is incised, and the technique is not so spirited as on the other stone. The Battle Stone is 5 feet 9 inches in height above ground, and is 7 inches in greatest thickness. At least 2 feet of the pillar are below the surface, being wedged in among stones. The material appears to be similar to that of the other stone.

Round the Battle Stone "St Molloch's Fair" was formerly held. The church had anciently a Ronnach bell. Near it is the Priest's Well.²

¹ For St Moluag's work in the north-east, see my *Origins of Christianity in Aberdeenshire*, pp. 19-22.

² For these and other particulars about the church and churchyard of Mortlach, see A. Jervise *Epitaphs and Inscriptions of the North of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 326-34.



Fig. 1. Symbol Stone at Mortlach, Banffshire.

The stone recently discovered is of an earlier type than the Battle Stone, having the symbols without the distinctively Christian cross. Whether this class of stone is pagan is a much vexed question; but the presence of the monument at a definitely Early Christian site is a fact to be borne in mind. I know of fifteen ancient church sites between the Dee and the Spey with which are associated symbol stones of the oldest class. In many other cases where a symbol stone now stands unrelated with any known church site, all knowledge of an early wooden or wattled chapel or other religious centre on the spot may well have perished, and it is clear on the face of it that we cannot reject the possibility of the symbolism having been Christian from the outset.¹ At all events, it is certain that whether pagan in their origin or not, the symbols were capable in their entirety of bearing a Christian meaning, as their association with the cross on so many of the monuments shows.

The chronology of these symbols is equally obscure. Mr J. Graham Callander has drawn my attention to one fact that may have some bearing on this important problem. In the famous hoard of silver articles found at Norrie's Law, Largo, Fife, in 1817, occur two plates of silver and a silver pin (figs. 2 and 3) engraved with the double disc and Z-shaped rod symbol. Mr Callander points out that other fragments in this hoard are those of a silver vessel with a beaded rim similar to examples from the Traprain Law hoard, which is dated from numismatic and other evidence to *circa* A.D. 400. Also in the Norrie's Law hoard were found coins of Constantius II. (337-61) and Valens (364-78). These facts would thus afford some presumptive evidence as to the symbolism having been in use about the beginning of the fifth century: and in that case the symbols would almost certainly be pagan. On the other hand, it should be noted that the pin has a cross pattee in the central projecting stud of its head; though, of course, such a cross is not *necessarily* Christian. In any case, it is dangerous to infer dates from coins that may have been in circulation for a long period. For example, in a hoard of coins found immediately beside Norrie's Law in 1822, were included pieces ranging from Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony, a lady who died in A.D. 38, to a coin of the Byzantine period, dating apparently from the latter half of the seventh century—a total range of over six hundred years. And, as Sir Daniel Wilson pointed out,² if this find of coins can be associated with the silver hoard previously discovered in the Law, the date of the latter would

¹ For the probable connection of the symbolism with the Pictish Church, see my *Origins of Christianity in Aberdeenshire*, pp. 9-11.

² *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 2nd ed., vol. ii. p. 260.

thus be brought down at least to the end of the seventh century—a period fully in accordance with the chronology of the symbols put forward by Romilly Allen and Anderson.¹

I am indebted to the Rev. John B. Cumming, M.A., B.D., minister of the parish, who at once appreciated the importance of the discovery, for furnishing me with full particulars and pointing me out the locality, which I visited on 2nd October last. Mr Cumming is to have the fragments of the stone put together and the whole securely built up against a wall in the church-

¹ *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part i. p. cix.

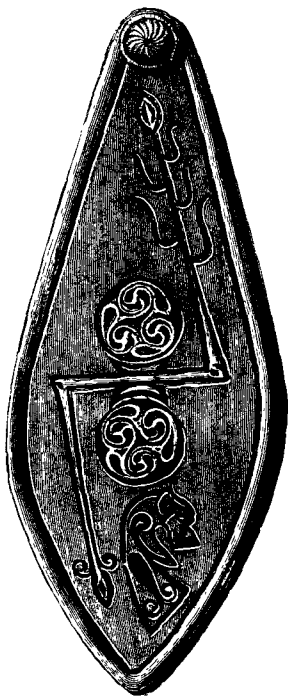


Fig. 2. Silver Plate from Norrie's Law, Fife.

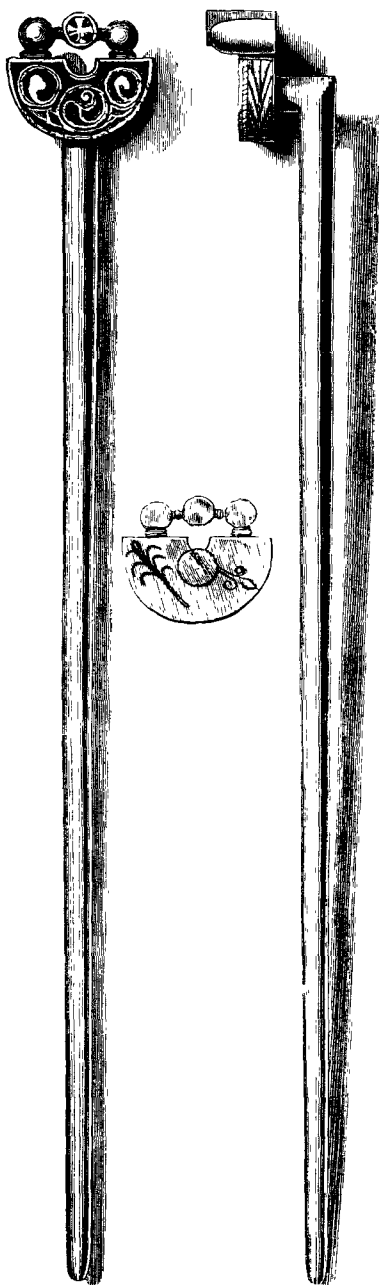


Fig. 3. Silver Pin from Norrie's Law, Fife.

yard,¹ where it will be perfectly safe, although unprotected from the weather.

Stone with Incised Cross in Botriphnie Churchyard, Banffshire.—Having been informed by the Rev. Alexander Mackay, M.A., minister of Botriphnie, that an undescribed stone with a Celtic cross exists in the parish churchyard, I visited the place on 8th March last. Mr Mackay informs me that the stone was found some years ago by Mr F. C. Eeles, F.S.A.Scot., lying prostrate in the south side of the churchyard (O.S. 6 inches, Banffshire, sheet xix.). It is now preserved in the ruined south aisle, which alone remains of the old church,² superseded in 1820 by the present building to the northward.



Fig. 4. Cross-slab at Botriphnie, Banffshire.

The stone (fig. 4) is a rough unhewn mass of hard schist showing a close foliation, and measures $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 12 inches in breadth, and 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. At its upper end is rudely carved an equal armed, wheeled, and shafted cross, formed in single incised lines. The over-all diameter of the cross has been about 8 inches, and the length of the shaft is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. A small wedge-shaped piece of the stone at the top end has been split out, destroying the apex of the cross. The position of the cross at the upper end of a roughly pointed stone suggests that this monument was originally set upright, either as a headstone or as a sacred boundary mark.

Like Mortlach Church, the church of Botriphnie is a very ancient Christian centre. It bears the name of St Fumac, who is also associated with the church of Dinnet in Aberdeenshire. "Botriffnie or Fumac Kirk," we are told *circa* 1726, "hath for its patron Saint Fumac, quhose wooden image is washed yearly, with much formality, by an old woman (quho keeps it) at his Fair (on the third of May) in his own well here."³ Having outlived the storms of the Reformation and the Covenant,

¹ This has since been done, June 1926.

² In this aisle lies the pediment stone of the old bell cot, inscribed M for Master Alexander
A F
1617

Fraser, the then minister. Between the initials is a florette. The aisle contains some interesting heraldic stones with beautiful carving and lettering, and is well worthy of being put into proper repair.

³ *Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. ii, p. 253.

the effigy was burned as a "monument of idolatry" early in the last century.¹

At Botriphnie, as at Mortlach, we see a typical Old Celtic religious site. Church and churchyard stand beautifully on a haugh overlooking the infant Isla, and backed by a steep slope on which is situated the manse. St Fumac's Well, enclosed by a paling, still flows, cold and abundant, on the haugh east of the church, at the foot of what was formerly the minister's garden.

Contents of a Midden from the Monastery on St Serf's Island, Lochleven.—In February 1921 Mr Walter G. Montgomery, O.B.E., F.S.A.Scot., Kinross House, sent me a boxful of remains found in the course of some chance digging within what are known as the monastic buildings of St Serf's Priory, Lochleven (O.S. 6 inches, Fife and Kinross, sheet xxii.). The remains included pottery; an iron nail about 2½ inches long, with a large flat round head, much wasted; a piece of charred wood, identified as hazel by Mr Macgregor Skene, D.Sc., Botany Department, Aberdeen University; and an assortment of bones. Evidently we have to deal with a refuse-heap or midden, the pottery of which shows it to have been of late mediæval date. The site of the deposit lies outside the centre of the north wall of the south-eastern room.²

The pottery comprises 68 shards of ordinary mediæval types, mostly small in size and none of any importance. The largest piece is part of the neck and bulging shoulder of a pitcher in dirty-white ware, about ⅙ inch in thickness. The interior surface shows the usual horizontal striation; the exterior, coated with a thick, bright green glaze, has been decorated with a large chevron pattern in relief. Such ware is probably rather late, about the end of the fifteenth century. Other fragments show a thick ware in brick-red clay with a rich deep brown glaze. One small piece of grey ware shows a chevron pattern in bold relief. Another piece has a raised fillet with vertical incisions at frequent intervals. Pottery with a similar pattern, assignable to the early fourteenth century, was found at Dundarg Castle and at Coull Castle, both in Aberdeenshire.³

¹ An account of the destruction of the effigy is given by Jervise, *Epitaphs and Inscriptions*, vol. ii. p. 13, where also occurs the following note: "About fifty years ago a cross of rude picked stone, in low relief, and about 5½ feet high by about 3 feet broad, stood within the kirkyard of Botriphnie. Unfortunately, about the time indicated [*i.e.* about 1823] the stone was broken up by a blacksmith, who used it as a hearth for his smiddy! This had probably been the ancient cross of St Fumac's Fair." The Old Style date of the fair was 15th February.

² See plan by Andrew Kerr, F.S.A.Scot., in *History of Lochleven Castle*, by R. Burns-Begg, F.S.A.Scot., pl. i.; also *Proceedings*, vol. xvi. p. 167.

³ See *Proceedings*, vol. xlviii. p. 191, and vol. lviii. pp. 80-8. Dundarg Castle was destroyed by Andrew de Moray in 1334 (*Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. F. J. H. Skene, vol. i. pp. 280-1); and at Coull Castle also the evidence recovered during excavation pointed to total destruction during the Wars of Independence. I have a shard showing a similar notched pattern from the Bass of Inverurie.

There are also a number of fragments of the coarse, dark-coloured, unglazed pipkins or cooking vessels, with broad, flat bases. These are mostly darkened by fire.

The bones were submitted to Mr Robert M. Neill, M.C., M.A., of the Natural History Department, Aberdeen University, who reports as follows: "There are about two dozen small pieces of bones of ox, sheep, and fowl. One-half of these are split rib or long bones of oxen; the largest piece is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. The sheep bones are fragments of vertebrae, scapula, jaw, and rib. In addition there are pieces of the skull and upper wing-bone of a fowl, and a fragment of oyster-shell. Several of the bones show chop-marks."

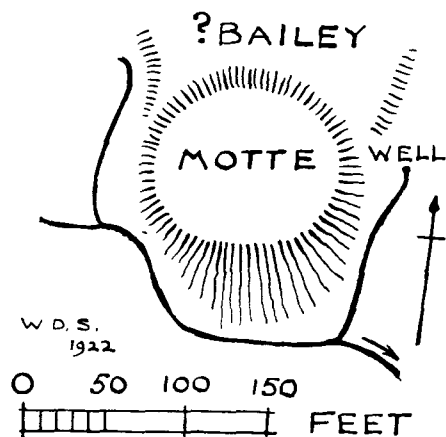


Fig. 5. Plan of Balcastle Mote, Kilsyth.

Balcastle Motte, Kilsyth.—At Balcastle, about a mile and a quarter to the west of Kilsyth (O.S. 6 inches, Stirlingshire, sheet xxviii.), is a remarkably fine example of a *motte* (fig. 5). The summit area measures about 38 yards in length from east to west, by about 31 yards from north to south. On the west side the *motte* is bounded by a small rocky ravine with a burn: on the east is a lesser ravine, also containing a burn which rises in a well to the north-east of the

motte. These two burns unite immediately below the *motte* to the south. Northwards the ground rises to the bare, treeless ridges of the Kilsyth Hills. On this side the slopes of the *motte* terminate abruptly on a level area here, which would give room for a bailey between the two ravines. At the base of the *motte* here is a modern dry-built retaining wall. The *motte* is about 12 or 15 feet in height above the level area to the north, and about 50 feet above the ravine to the south. Its sides slope down with great regularity at an angle of 45° . From the summit a magnificent view is obtained southwards over the Kelvin Valley to the Roman fort on Bar Hill, which is directly opposite. The farm-steading of Balcastle lies a short distance north-east of the *motte*, to the north-east of which is a cottage known as Castlegray.

VI.

AN EARLY ORKNEY CASTLE. BY J. STORER
CLOUSTON, F.S.A.Scot.

I.

Of the structure which forms the subject of this paper nothing but the bare foundations remain. As a rule only one or two courses of stones are left; and in many cases even these have vanished. Its interest lies in the singular character of the whole building. Even in Norway, surviving defensive structures of an early date are practically non-existent. How rare they are may be judged from the fact that Professor A. W. Brøgger of Oslo Museum, to whom I was recommended to apply for information, as the likeliest authority to have any to give, replied that there is no Norwegian material throwing any light on the subject. In the small Norse colony of Orkney one would scarcely expect what one fails to find in the old mother country; but here foreign influences were evidently at work, and, as will be seen later, there are actually the remains of several such fortalices in our islands. This, however, is the first to be excavated and described.

The two buildings within the courtyard of the castle—a drinking-hall and a bath-room—are, so far as I can discover, a unique find outside Iceland and Greenland. Certainly, if anything quite like these has been found in Norway, no reference to it is made in such recent works as *Norges Historie* and *Norges Bønder*, in the sections dealing with old dwelling-houses.

The position and immediate surroundings of the site are shown in fig. 1. The castle (A) stands at the end of a little peninsula called Gernaness (O.N. *Græna-nes*=green ness), in the loch of Stenness, just over 1 mile east of the tidal channel opening into the sea. Gernaness is roughly about 70 yards long and a little over 30 yards wide where the foundations are situated. It is quite flat, and only rises about a couple

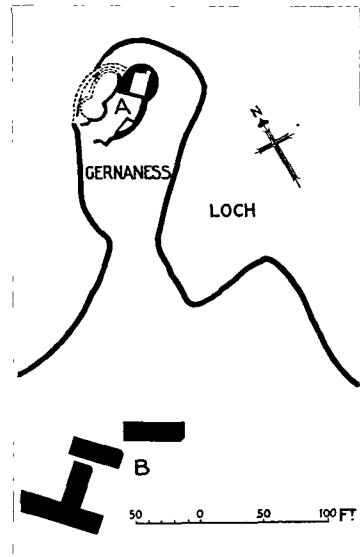


Fig. 1. Plan of the Site.

of feet above average loch-level. The soil is particularly rich. Just above the inland end stands a group of buildings forming the double farm of the East and West Netherbigging of Clouston; the whole being sometimes styled in old deeds, "The House of Clouston." Some of these buildings, shown in the plan (B), are of great age.

What actually led to the excavations being made was the tradition of a chapel site at the end of the point. As these chapel traditions have always proved reliable, and as this was very specific—even to the extent of crediting the chapel with the distinction of having provided the stones for the dyke round the ness—digging was begun in the summer of 1924 in the hope of discovering its foundations. At first a stretch of east and west running wall seemed to indicate that we had found them, but this proved to be merely part of a small, much later structure (possibly a boat-house). Then at last we came upon foundations of a different and very unclerical kind, in the form of a clay-cemented wall, 8 feet thick, with one edge curved and the other straight.

Before long I was able to send a preliminary plan of the foundations to Mr G. P. H. Watson, F.S.A.Scot., who at once confirmed the view that already seemed the only possible conclusion. They were clearly those of a place of strength, of a date yet to be determined, but certainly not earlier than mediæval. In the course of last winter and this summer the excavations were completed, and there was disclosed a structure which may briefly be described as consisting, in the first place, of a primitive donjon or keep of unusual shape and dimensions; secondly, of a courtyard surrounded by a curving defensive wall; and thirdly, of at least two buildings and some stretches of rough paving within the court.

The difficulties of working out the plan were considerable. In fact, it has proved impossible to trace the foundations completely. The chief difficulty was the fact that, probably for many generations, the site had been used as a quarry whenever stones were required for building purposes. Not only had the walls been removed right down to the foundations, but the large stones on the outer edges of the foundations themselves had in many places been lifted too. Occasionally one could follow the line of the heart of a wall, if its direction were obvious; but when it came to fallen debris being mingled with this, the job was impossible.

Again, in one particular place (the area X, X in fig. 2), the Air Force, who commandeered this ness during the war in connection with an abortive seaplane station, had for some reason removed every vestige of the old foundations. A third difficulty was the outer dyke round the ness, since, for part of the way, it stands right on top of

the northern curtain-wall. And a final difficulty was the loch, which in winter, and even during spring tides in summer, rose through the excavations and flooded us out of certain areas. One particular December day, when we could work only on one or two islets in the flood, and a full gale was blowing the spin drift from the loch over us in showers, will not readily be forgotten.

Against these difficulties must be set one remarkable bit of luck. Once the foundations had revealed themselves as a place of strength, it was natural to think of other early Orkney castles on record in the saga. One such structure is mentioned as standing at Cairston, in Stromness parish,¹ and the recollection of a stretch of thick wall noticed some years before at the Bu of Cairston suggested a second visit. This disclosed the surprising fact that there still stand considerable remains of a clay-cemented keep-and-courtyard castle. They will be referred to again; meanwhile it is only necessary to say that they naturally helped materially to trace out the plan of the castle at Clouston.

II.

Fig. 2 shows the plan of the whole structure, so far as it has been possible to trace it with certainty. Wherever both edges were found, the wall is blocked in black throughout. Where edges are missing, but the heart of the wall is there and its course known, edges are shown by broken lines and the heart blocked black with a wavy border. Where the line can merely be inferred, only the probable edges are indicated.

I may say here that throughout almost the entire excavations I have had the assistance of Mr Thomas Brass, an old and experienced mason, and at every turn I relied on his expert knowledge of Orkney masonry. We lifted and replaced stone after stone at various points, to test the presence of building clay, the bonding at junctions, and the question of whether we were dealing with true foundations or debris which resembled foundations; and as Mr Brass was an exacting critic,

¹ Since a guess that Knarston (near Scapa), not Cairston, should be the true reading, has found its way into print in works of some authority, it is perhaps as well to record the facts. The guess was based on the saga anecdote that when Earl Harald and his men left their ships and took refuge in the castle, one man was so frightened that he ran all the way to Kirkwall; the point being that Cairston is too far from Kirkwall. But, seriously considered, it is quite incredible that a fighting-man of that—or any other—age should be so panic-stricken before he was even attacked. A second battle did take place near Knarston two years later, in which the same Earl Harald was surprised in the night and put to flight with considerable slaughter, and the anecdote evidently really refers to this encounter. The saga reading *Kjarreksstaðir* is quite explicit and is repeated later. Knarston was well known to the saga writer, being mentioned several times, so that such a mistake as the guess implies would be most improbable on general grounds.

nothing was passed without a severe examination. The site was then surveyed by Mr T. H. Clouston, F.S.A., by the method of stringing it into 10-foot squares.

Beginning with the keep (K), the foundations of the south-east wall are intact for most of its length, and show the style of masonry we found throughout all the thicker walls. The outside stones are large flat blocks, the inner edge stones not so large, and the interior a mixture of various shapes and sizes; the whole being laid in building clay. This wall has a maximum thickness of 8 feet.

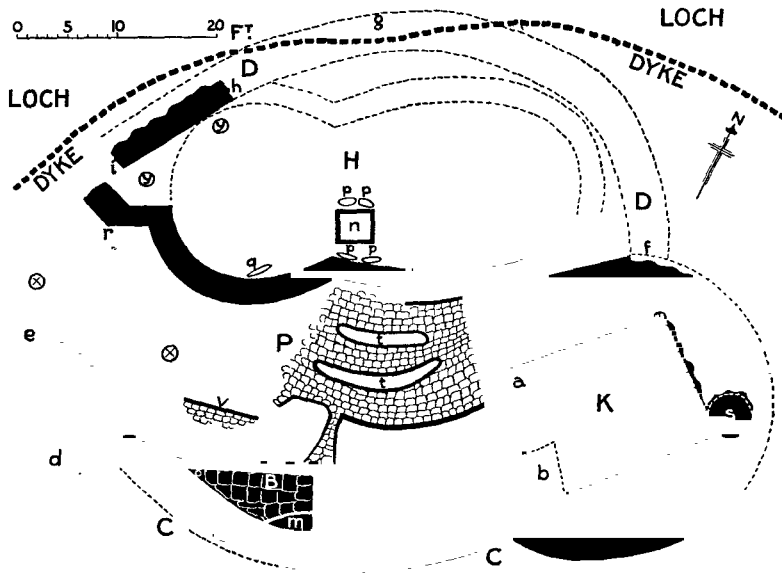


Fig. 2. Plan of Castle on Gernaness, Clouston, Orkney.

The north-east wall has lost all the edge stones on both sides, but the core debris lies in a rough curve on its outer side.¹ A few stones still in position, and forming part of a circle, evidently mark the base of a narrow circular stair (S) approximately 4 feet, or a few inches over, in diameter. It was placed not exactly in the corner, but so as to bring the door into the end wall. One can thus tell the position of the east corner within a few inches. In the plan this north-east wall has been assumed to reach a maximum thickness of 8 feet also. This is certainly very nearly right, but of course is only an approximation.

¹ Running through this debris we found what seemed to be a paved slip-way in connection with the later shed or boat-house. The large edge stones of the keep wall had been used to build these two structures.

Part of the north-west wall has been quite destroyed, but at several places both edges were found, and the thickness could be told exactly. It is 8 feet thick at one end and 6 feet 3 inches at the other, and it has no curve. The south-west wall is also quite straight, and is only 2 feet 4 inches thick. The door must have been placed at *a*, opposite the paving outside.

Inside, the keep is 13 feet wide, and as nearly as possible 19 feet long on the south-east side and 17 feet on the north-west. The earth and clay floor is intact in the middle, but has been cut into round the sides in tracing the walls. In the south corner is a large hearth-stone (*b*), once exposed to great heat, and now much broken, but approximately 5 feet by 3 feet 6 inches originally. Below it are layers of clay and stone, and the whole fireplace thus formed is built into the south-west wall—*i.e.* the two have been built up together to the level of the hearth-stone.

The curious line of the curving south curtain-wall (C, C), with its sharp salient at *d*, is shown on the plan, and at *e* it ends abruptly. So far as both edges can be traced, it is 4 feet thick, and in every respect like the south-east wall of the keep, except that in some places we could find no signs of building clay. The outer stones are equally large (one that became displaced required two men to roll it over). For the latter part of its course no inner edge can be found, and its thickness cannot be estimated.

The junction of the north curtain-wall (D, D) can be located at *f*, from the presence of a small strip of roughly coursed stones beyond, but no edges can be found. For the first part of its course, from *f* to the dyke round the ness, it passes through a devastated area, every large stone worth removing having been lifted. At *g*, under the beach outside the dyke, traces of it were found. Finally, after it emerges again from under the dyke, its inner edge from *h* to *i* is plain, but we dared not dig further out for fear of bringing the dyke down. At *i* it seemed to vanish, but owing to the inrush of water the conditions were very difficult there. Its thickness can nowhere be told, but presumably it was 4 feet, like the south wall.

Coming now to the two buildings within the courtyard, B is the bathroom, the *baðstofa* of the sagas. It is just over 12 feet long by 5 feet wide at the widest end. The floor is paved with large flat stones, and slopes down from the corner *o*. At *o* were found several burnt stones, one of the tests of an Icelandic *baðstofa*, and at *m* is a long hole with a clean curved edge, evidently to run the water off into the soil. When one adds to these features the impossibility of there being any other use for such a small, odd-shaped, paved chamber, the nature

of this apartment is quite obvious. It is bounded on the east by a wall 2 feet 4 inches thick bonded into the curtain-wall. The whole inner edge of the north wall is extant, but the outer edge is gone and its thickness cannot be told.

H is the hall or *skali*, lying roughly east and west. The whole of one side, nearly half of one end, and part of the other are clearly traceable as the foundations of a wall, varying from 2 feet 6 inches to a little over 2 feet thick, and composed of large stones, flat and pretty thick, which follows a series of peculiar curves. What remains of the west end is part of a nearly true circle having a radius of 11 feet. The side wall then swings into a waist and out again, but though the rest of the side and the other end are curved, the curve is much flatter and nothing like circular. It may be added that though some stones have slipped a little out of position (there is only one course left, by the way), the wall is perfectly distinct, and there is no question about this being its actual line. As it passes the keep, it and the north-west wall of the keep overlap several inches, showing that the *skali* wall must have had a slight scarcement. Its varying thickness seems to indicate a 2-foot wall above, with a scarcement sometimes as much as 6 inches and sometimes less.

The rest of the east end and most of the other side wall have, like everything else in this area, been completely removed. But towards the west end a new and very curious state of things is met with. The area marked Y, Y is quite different from the rest of the ness. Instead of the ordinary stony subsoil, our spades suddenly began to go deep into a peaty substance which my fellow-diggers declared to resemble nothing so much as the old-fashioned heathery bedding used for animals, mixed with dung, and at one place a large number of shells of limpets and periwinkles mingled with it; it goes far down below loch-level, and was there a long time before the castle was built. It looks as if we had here the refuse pit of some much earlier prehistoric structure; and, if so, it is possible that the curtain-wall (C, C) owes its curved form to its having been founded on an older wall. I am indebted to Mr J. Graham Callander for the opinion that the supposititious structure can scarcely have been a broch, but might quite well have been such a prehistoric fort as is depicted in Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times*, p. 261, standing on a very similar site in the loch of Hogsetter in Shetland. This suggestion, however, must merely be taken as indicating a possibility. The foundations of the curtain-wall along *h, i* are laid deep down through the peaty substance, so deep that owing to the inrush of water it was impossible to get to their bottom.

It is just when it comes to this area that the west end of the

skali stops abruptly and the curious elbow *r* branches out towards the curtain-wall. With the aid of damming and bailing out the water we searched this area thoroughly, but nothing else could be found. It will be seen from the plan that if the end of the *skali* were to continue to swing round on its 11-foot radius, the *inside* would just touch the curtain-wall. The probable explanation of all this would seem to be that the builders only discovered the presence of the soft area after most of the foundations of H had been laid, and thereupon altered their methods till they got past this obstacle. Probably the rounded end was completed by a wall of wood supported on a few piles.

It is impossible to reconstruct the hall in its entirety. In the plan I have assumed that the missing walls resembled the surviving and followed the broken lines shown; since the hall would be an exceedingly odd-shaped apartment otherwise. On the other hand, this leaves a curious gap between it and the outer wall (D, D) (whose general direction is certain from the edge *h*, *i*). One has, in fact, a choice of two odd reconstructions, and the one indicated in the plan must merely be taken as the solution which suggests itself to me personally as the more probable.

The inside length can be told accurately as just over 40 feet. The extreme inside width at the west end was as nearly as possible 17 feet, if the existing curve were continued, and approximately 16 feet at the other end on the same assumption. The floor of hard earth (just like the keep) is still intact over parts of the west end. Wherever we broke through this floor we found a pavement of large flat stones a little above normal loch-level. The floor was thus first roughly paved, and then covered with a thick layer of earth and clay.

A most interesting feature is the large hearth built into the south side wall, just as the other hearth was built into the keep. It consists of a rectangular hearth-stone (*n*) 4 feet by 3 feet 3 inches (mischievously broken after we had found it), red with fire, and round it a ring of stones set on edge, of which four (*p*, *p*) are still in position, with the space between packed hard with earth. At *q* is another stone on edge, evidently part of a second fireplace. The hearth-stone is gone, but burnt earth is thick at this spot. No doubt there was a third fire on the other side of *n*. In fact, the area of strongly burnt earth extended well to the east of it, indicating that the line of three hearths stood pretty close to one another, all built into the south wall.

One or two interesting questions are raised by this *skali*. Why was it constructed with such a remarkable curved outline? An answer is suggested by a study of the various temple sites discovered in Iceland, where alone can be found buildings resembling this singular hall on

Gernaness.¹ Briefly, these heathen temples were long-shaped structures, divided into two unequal parts by a thick cross wall. The longer part was, in effect, a kind of *skali*, with fires in the middle and benches along the walls, where feasts were held on holy days. The shorter, and more sacred, part contained the images of the Gods and the altar, and it had in most instances a *semicircular end*, with a dome roof, exactly resembling a Norman apse. There was no door in the cross wall, and this sanctuary had a separate outer entrance. As a rule the longer room was rectangular, but in a few cases it also shows a curved outline.

These temples varied greatly in size and considerably in outline and proportion, and had no system of orientation; but they all had the cross wall, and none had hearths in the rounded sacred end. Hence the absence of this cross wall and the position of the hearth at the neck where it should be, together with the other fireplace inside the circular end, and the presence everywhere of strongly burnt earth and animal bones (a feature almost entirely lacking in temple sites, where traces of fire seem singularly slight), show definitely that this structure cannot have been a temple latterly. Nor is it possible to reconcile the stronghold as a whole with any type of building existing before the introduction of Christianity into Orkney in A.D. 995.

But the close general resemblance of the hall to some of these temples, and the extreme difficulty of explaining its outline otherwise, seem to me to raise a very strong presumption that we have here the shell of a temple converted into a drinking *skali*. Since the hearths were built into the walls, the walls must have been pulled down at these points and built up again, the cross wall has been completely removed, and the elbow *r* probably added; but apart from the presence of the fireplaces and the elbow, and the absence of the cross wall, the structure is, to all appearances, an ancient heathen temple.²

¹ The authorities here are the descriptions of temple sites, with plans, by Sigurd Vigfusson, Brynjulf Jonsson, and Jon Jonsson in various numbers of the Icelandic *Arbok* (*hins. Isl. Forn.*) from 1882 to 1896; and a short summary of their features by Professor A. Bugge in *Norges Historie*, I. i. p. 208.

² Some support for the view that the *skali* was originally a *hof* or heathen temple is to be found in the place-names in Clouston. In 1666 a perambulation of the township took place, and the record of this (preserved in the Kirkwall Record Room) gives a list of the "sheds" or fields with their old names. At one place, within a couple of hundred yards or so of Gernaness, there were three close together, called "the Home," "Tursland," and "Lundago." On referring these names to Mr Marwick, he expressed the opinion that the juxtaposition of Tursland (*Thorsland*) and Lundago (apparently from *Lundar*, the genitive of *Lundr*, a grove, used with special reference to the sacred groves at temple sites) is decidedly suggestive. Home might well be from *Hof-vin*, temple-pasture, but an alternative derivation is possible here. It is not easy, however, to find alternatives for the other two, and their presence close together seems significant.

Again, what were the arrangements within the hall? Once more one can but grope in the dark—or perhaps this time one may venture to say in the firelight, for it is at least certain that where the two known fires were, there can have been neither seats nor doors. Also one may fairly point out that the regular rule in the old Norse halls was a door in the west end with a porch before it, and here at the west end there was apparently a chamber (between *h i* and *r*) that might well have been a porch. Further, if one supposes a door into the circular end immediately to the north of the elbow *r*, it would be exactly in the centre line of the hall. Again, it would be highly convenient to have another door opening under cover from the keep, and actually keep and *skali* do overlap along several feet. A passage through the double wall is at least suggested by this. And, moreover, it would account for this end of the north-west wall of the keep being made so much thicker than the other, and the two buildings being thus squeezed together.

As to seating arrangements, one has only this practical consideration to go upon—that the best way, in order to get in as many people, and yet leave as much space as possible, and also to give as many guests as possible a wall at their backs, would be to have one bench against the wall, following the curves, with a series of narrow trestle tables in front, and another row of benches on the other side of them. If one assumes the hall to be seated thus along the ends and north side, between the supposititious doors, and allows 1 foot 6 inches per man, thirty-eight could sit on the outer bench and thirty-two on the inner, seventy in all if the *skali* were packed.

The early arrangement in these halls consisted of fires down the middle and one row of benches along each wall. But in this case the fires against the side wall prove that the *skali* was not of the early type. Towards the end of the eleventh century, King Olaf Kyrre altered the *skali* arrangements in Norway, and in the middle of the thirteenth century we certainly find guests sitting in two rows at a royal feast.¹ So that it seems a fair assumption to suppose this was the arrangement here, rather than that the floor space was gratuitously wasted and the hall only half filled.

The only other recognisable feature within the courtyard is a wide stretch of paving (P) down the centre—the *stett* of Icelandic homesteads; a fairly well-known feature. There is a branch leading towards the

¹ The alterations made by King Olaf are briefly and somewhat vaguely described in chap. ii. of his saga in *Heimskringla*. They included the removal of the fires from the middle of the floor, and the introduction of what is termed an *ofn*, or stove of stone. The Norwegian halls being of wood, the building of the fire against the wall was of course impossible, unless it were encased in such a stone *ofn*. The description of the royal feast in 1247 is given in *Hakon's Saga*, chap. ccliv.

bathroom, and apparently a separate stretch marked *v*, but the work of the quarriers and Air Force has made it impossible to define the boundaries of these pavements, except at the east end of the courtyard and the edge at *v*. They consist throughout of two or three layers of flattish stones. A narrow strip of it would be indistinguishable from the foundations of an ordinary wall.

A curious feature is the pair of long curving openings in the pavement (*t*, *t*). They have definitely formed sides and ends, and there was clay in them when they were found. I can think of no other probable purpose for them than drinking-troughs for cattle. Such strongholds as this must have been intended as refuges for animals as well as men in time of invasion or raid. Moreover, there is an actual account in *Hakon's Saga* of the garrison driving a herd of cattle into the *utkastali* (outer castle or courtyard) of the castle of Wyre in Orkney, in the year 1230, preparatory to standing a siege.

It is quite possible that some other building may have stood in the west end of the courtyard, but if so, it can only have been very small; and we can now reconstruct the whole castle, apart from this possible small outbuilding, as consisting of a large hall and a bathroom in the court, a kitchen in the base of the keep (the large, strongly fired hearth seems to make this certain), and some rooms above. Long vanished though these rooms are, there is one interesting clue to the number of floors. An old Stenness tradition relates that there once stood a house at Netherbigging so high that one could see the sea over the ridge of land at the back. Actually, if the keep were in the neighbourhood of 40 feet high, one could see from the battlements the tidal outlet of the loch (called the "Bush") nearly to the sea itself, and certainly one could see a ship at sea. We may thus take it that the tower actually was of that height, and therefore contained three floors above the kitchen, two probably used as sleeping-chambers and one for stores.¹

This stronghold, as can be seen from fig. 1, was well placed defensively at the end of the ness, with the landward side strengthened by the keep and salient. The disadvantage of the site was its very slight elevation above the water-level of the loch. Measurements taken in July, when the loch was pretty low, made the floor of the *skali* 1 foot 5 inches above loch-level, the hearth of the *skali* 1 foot 8 inches, and the floor of the keep 1 foot 10 inches. So far as we could calculate the

¹ It is an interesting fact that this keep, partly rounded and partly rectangular in form, bears a marked resemblance to the tower of the old Cross Kirk of Stenness depicted in Low's *Tour* (1774), p. xxiii, and described in the description of the drawing as a steeple in the form of a semicircle. It was actually straight-sided where it was attached to the kirk and the rest of it was round. These two singular towers stood in adjoining townships—a striking coincidence. The church tower has long vanished.

highest loch-level in a quite abnormal flood the winter before, the keep floor was only $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches above this, which would imply that the *skali* floor was actually flooded. Presumably the loch-level was somewhat lower in past centuries (this is supported by local tradition, and also by the depth of the refuse pit). At the same time, it must always have been a damp situation in winter, and it is not unlikely that this fact may have had something to do with the ultimate abandonment of the site.

III.

In order to arrive at any conclusion as to the date of this fortalice, it is necessary to glance for a moment at the castle of Cairston. It is to be hoped that before very long this most interesting relic may be properly examined and described. Meanwhile, fig. 3 shows all that is necessary for the present purpose. The castle consisted of a courtyard (C), 70 feet square outside, the curtain-wall of which is still standing for part of its height along considerable stretches. In one corner was a rectangular keep (K), 19 feet 6 inches by 12 feet 8 inches inside, the outer walls being simply the curtain-walls produced, and, like them, 4 feet thick. The longer inner wall is 8 feet thick, and the shorter 2 feet 6 inches. In the outer corner a circular angle tower projects, 5 feet 9 inches in diameter inside, with walls just over 2 feet thick, evidently to carry a stair. All these walls are clay cemented and bonded together, and from this latter fact and the ancient and consistent appearance of the masonry, it is certain that the whole structure was erected at the same time and has never been added to.¹

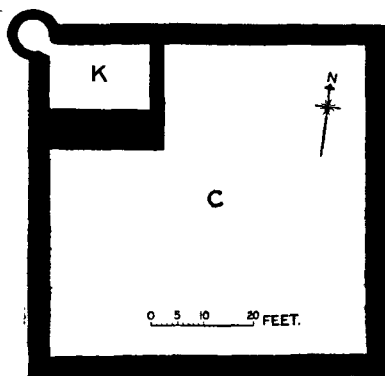


Fig. 3.—Plan of Castle of Cairston, Orkney.

No attempt has yet been made to look for buildings within the court, but taking it as it stands, the essential resemblance to the castle at Clouston is apparent. The main difference is that at Clouston the two outer walls of the keep have been made much thicker and swung round the narrower stair; thus making the whole keep into an angle tower. But it is evident that these two primitive, clay-cemented strongholds, with so many details practically identical, must belong to the same general period. As it is recorded in the nearly contemporary *Orkneyinga*

¹ On a final visit of inspection I was accompanied by Mr T. Brass, and the structure was pretty carefully examined.

Saga that Cairston Castle was attacked on 29th September 1152, it appears evident, on the face of it, that both castles must belong to a period not later than the middle of the twelfth century.

In the days when a fortalice attributed to William the Conqueror or Malcolm Canmore was considered comparatively juvenile, nobody would have questioned this apparently obvious conclusion. Since then, however, the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction, and archæologists have grown exceedingly canny. It seems not unlikely—judging from the ebb and flow of opinion to be observed over periods of time in other fields—that the pendulum has swung too far. But it is at any rate an excellent thing that all claims to antiquity should be thoroughly examined. It is necessary then to go, as briefly as possible, into the whole evidence; the crucial point at issue being—Are the existing ruins at Cairston the remains of the castle known to be there in 1152, or was the old stronghold completely demolished and replaced by a later one?

In the first place, it is perhaps as well to make it clear that whatever the 1152 stronghold was like, it was not a timber fort. Orkney has been treeless since the ninth century, and both here and in Iceland the proof is overwhelming that stone (or in Iceland stone and turf) was the only building material used, save in exceptional cases, early in the settlement of Iceland, where timber was imported. In Iceland, innumerable early house and temple sites prove it. In Orkney, good building stone is plentiful, and the many prehistoric structures provided it already quarried. All the old churches and chapels were of stone, and also the only two dwelling-houses in the *Orkneyinga Saga* where the material is specified.¹

With regard to early defensive structures erected by the Norse Vikings in the lands they conquered and settled in, the evidence which Professor Alexander Bugge has collected in his *Vesterlandenes Indflydelse paa Nordbærnes* (pp. 230–46) demonstrates one of the most remarkable qualities of the race—their plasticity—the genius they possessed both for adapting themselves to new conditions and for picking up hints from every new thing they saw. They grasped the fact at once that an invading force requires a secure base, they noted the fortifications already in places existing on the continent of Europe, and in a short time they were introducing earth, stone, and timber defensive works wherever they settled in Ireland and England. But in Norway, Bugge specially notes

¹ Old Icelandic house sites in district after district are described in the various volumes of the *Arbok hins Islenszka Fornleifafelags*. The two houses referred to in the *Orkneyinga Saga* are mentioned in chaps. cv. and cxiii. One was in Sanday, the other in Caithness, and in both cases there was a “secret door” filled with loosely piled stones. Obviously there would be little secret about such doors if the rest of the walls were made of any different material.

that when King Olaf, in 1016, erected the "borg" of Sarpsborg of "stones, turf, and timber," he "has had foreign models in his eye."

This seems the more certain when one turns to Iceland, where the Norsemen settled in an empty land. In Iceland such defensive works appear to have outnumbered the snakes by one, since only a single specimen of a stronghold is known, and that one is mostly the creation of nature.¹ It must be added that there are also one or two saga references to a *virki* or work; this word, together with *vigi* and *borg*, being used to signify all kinds of primitive earthworks or other early defensive structures—including the Pictish brochs. In Iceland no traces are left, however, of any of these save the one I have mentioned.

In the Faroes there is one saga reference to an "earthwork" which the chieftain Ossur Hafgrimson threw up round his house at the end of the tenth century.² In Norway, in very early days, such primitive "works" seem to have been not uncommon as refuges for the people of a district.³ But throughout saga-time generally the absence of anything like castles is as conspicuous as in Iceland. The only instances recorded of what can really be called "castles" were two or three built by the kings for the protection of certain towns.

The first of these, however, is significant. In the year 1100 King Magnus Barefoot had built a stronghold of "turf and wood" on the Isle of Kvaldinsey, in the Vener Lake, as a defence against the Swedes, and this fort was termed a "borg." But in, or soon after, the year 1116 his son, King Sigurd, for the defence of the town of Konghelle, "built there a great castle and dug a great ditch round it; it was made of turf and stone; he built houses in the castle and erected a church there."⁴ Here we have stone used as the material; and the term applied to the structure in the saga was *kastali*, a new word manufactured out of the Latin *castellum* to describe a new thing. Twice again this castle is referred to, and each time as a *kastali*. It included, as we can see, a very large courtyard, and it was erected a few years after King Sigurd returned from his crusade through the Mediterranean to the Holy Land. The foreign inspiration is thus manifest. It may be noted, furthermore, that in a long list of the edifices built by King Hakon Hakonson in the thirteenth century, given at the end of his saga, three *kastala* are included, and twice at least the term referred specifically to a tower or

¹ This is the *Borgarvirki* described in *Arbok Isl. Forn.* for 1899. It consists of a large flat depression in the top of an outcrop of basalt rocks, with the only entrance closed by a wall—the sole artificial part of the fort.

² *Færeyinga Saga*, chaps. xxii. and xxiv.

³ *Norges Bønder*, p. 45.

⁴ Both these references are from *Heimskringla*; Magnus Barefoot's saga, chap. xii., and the saga of his sons, chap. xix.

keep. Hence it would seem that a fortalice including a donjon or keep was implied by the word.

One thing at least is certain from these various references, taken together with the fact that stone castles only appeared in any part of Western Europe in the eleventh century, and were not introduced into England till towards the end of it. No Orkney castle could possibly be earlier than the twelfth century; nor would it be reasonably likely to find one before 1116. Also, the whole conception of such a structure was foreign and imported.

But somewhere about the year 1120 Earl Hakon of Orkney also made a journey to Jerusalem as a penance for the murder of St Magnus, and being an exceedingly able penitent, it may be assumed that he was no less observant than King Sigurd. He had won, moreover, his kinsman's share of the isles by force; by force alone it was likely to be retained, and it is a fact that within the next few decades the saga mentions three castles in Orkney, besides one at Thurso, the word *kastali* being used each time.

The earliest recorded was the castle on the little isle of Damsay, already built by 1136. A large *skali* is also mentioned there; exactly the same combination as at Clouston. There are said to be no visible traces of this structure, but I have not been there yet to see. Then we have Cairston, already there in 1152. And finally we have what is the test case, the castle on the isle of Wyre. The *Orkneyinga Saga*, an accurate record for the events of this period, states that the chieftain Kolbein Hruga built there a "good stone castle; that was a safe stronghold." Kolbein was a Norwegian who married an Orkney heiress and settled on her estates. He was certainly still in Norway in 1142,¹ and was certainly well established in Orkney by 1155;² while his son Bjarne became bishop in 1188.³ The castle may thus be safely dated as round about 1150-70, probably nearer 1150.

Again, in *Hakon's Saga*, another most reliable saga, written in 1264, there is an account of the murder of Earl Jon of Orkney by Hanef, the royal sysselman, in 1230. Hanef and his friends thereupon retired to the castle of Wyre, "which Kolbein Hruga had built," gathered stores and a herd of cattle (kept in the *utkastali*), and stood a siege by the earl's friends; and so strong was the castle that all efforts to take it were fruitless.

The ruins of this castle still exist, and are still known as "Cubbie Roo's" (Kolbein Hruga's) castle; so that a better pedigreed castle it

¹ *Heimskringla*, saga of Inge and his brothers, chap. xlii.

² *Orkneyinga Saga*, chap. cvii. (Rolls ed.).

³ *Dip. Norv. Tillaeg til syttende samling*, p. 297.

would be hard to find. We know, moreover, from contemporary records that it was a place of real strength, built of stone, and including a courtyard. Notes given me this summer, through the kindness of Mr James Craigie, show that the one exposed wall of the keep is approximately 6 feet thick and 28 feet long outside, and that it is built with hard run lime. (Mr Craigie brought me one or two fragments to examine.) Grass-covered debris indicate the courtyard, and there are traces of external earthworks in addition.

Besides these three castles mentioned in the sagas I have now come across two more. One at Skaill in Westness in Rousay (shown me by Mr John Logie), at the old seat of Sigurd of Westness, Kolbein's contemporary and kinsman, would be well worth excavating. Enough can be seen at present to show the presence of a square, lime-cemented keep of much the same dimensions as the keep on Wyre, together with the grass-covered foundations of the courtyard wall, traceable for 37 feet beyond the keep and flush with its face, and then turning back at right angles—exactly the same arrangement as at Cairston.¹ The other castle is the one described in this paper.

I have said that Wyre is the test case. We know for certain (from the 1136 Damsay castle) that there was a type of stronghold in Orkney known as a *kastali* before it was built. The Bu of Cairston was old "bordland," *i.e.* the private property of the earls, and therefore any castle there was erected by one of them. If, then, the existing ruin be later than Wyre, we have a primitive, relatively weakly designed, clay-cemented stronghold, erected by an earl, to replace an older fortalice, *after* a private landowner had built the well-designed, powerful, lime-cemented castle in Wyre. That is, plainly, the only alternative to accepting the ruins as those of the 1152 *kastali*; and some extraordinarily strong reason would have to be adduced for advancing such a view. Otherwise the primitive, clay-built castle of Cairston must be put down as anterior to Wyre, and of the Damsay type, on the ground of construction, even apart from the 1152 reference. The castle of Clouston seems somewhat better designed defensively than Cairston, and therefore is perhaps a little later, but its similar clay binding, and the practical identity of some of the details, such as the two inside walls of the keep (*i.e.* facing the courtyard), one quite thin, the other very thick, the internal dimensions of the keep, and the thickness of the curtain-walls, show that there certainly cannot be much difference in their dates.

¹ I am indebted to Mr Hugh Marwick, F.S.A.Scot., for fuller notes of this structure than I made myself when I saw it some years ago.

It may be added that their design is in every respect consistent with those of the eleventh- and twelfth-century continental and English castles, illustrated and described by Viollet le Duc and Clark. Both keeps belong essentially to the early rectangular type, as is shown by their interior shape; though two of the outer sides at Clouston are rounded. It is worth noting that the resultant outline, partly curved and partly rectangular, is almost exactly that of the very early towers in the wall of the Visigoth stronghold at Carcassonne, illustrated in Viollet le Duc's *Dictionnaire*; and also of the twelfth-century keep of Château Gaillard, built by Richard Cœur de Lion. Both at Cairston and Westness the courtyards are rectangular, while the court at Clouston is curved in outline, and seems to have been roughly pear-shaped when it was intact. The possibility of the curtain-walls having been founded (partly at least) on those of a prehistoric circular-shaped fort has already been mentioned, but since early courtyards had various forms, it is not necessary to look beyond the mere preference of the builders.

Owing to the constant disturbance of the ground to get stone, no objects of any value for dating purposes were found at Gernaness during the recent excavations. Everything we collected, including a few hammer-stones, fragments of pottery and pieces of stag's horn, and many bones of domestic animals, were sent to the National Museum of Antiquities, and Mr Graham Callander was able to pronounce definitely that nothing could be identified with any particular period. But at one time a mound of earth covered the site, and in the year 1879, when this was being carted away and spread over the fields of the farm, four gold rings, two twisted and two plain, undoubtedly brought from the castle, were found in one of the fields. These are now in the National Museum, and are rings of the Viking age, usually associated with a period earlier than the twelfth century. But actually the only other twisted ring in the Museum closely resembling these was found in Bute, along with pennies of David I. of Scotland, and Henry I. and Stephen of England, whose reigns all fell between 1100 and 1153; a very singular piece of corroborative evidence for the date of the castle.¹

To this may be added the evidence of the large *skali* characteristic of the Viking period (though in this case late in that period, as we have seen), made the weightier by the known combination of *kastali* and *skali* at Damsay. And there is the evidence also of the old houses (B in fig. 1), which replaced the castle as the "head house" or

¹ These five rings are all described by Dr Joseph Anderson in *Scotland in Pagan Times*, pp. 106-8.

manor-place of the property, and which probably date from the fifteenth century.¹ Even supposing they were the immediate successors of the castle, which is by no means certain, the period of its demolition which they indicate puts the probable period of its erection very far back indeed.

In view of this agreement of all the evidence from every side, there can scarcely, I think, be reasonable room for doubt that the structure may safely be dated as between 1120 and 1150.

Early though this may seem for an Orkney castle, looking to the later dates which are attributed to the earliest Scottish castles, there are certain general historical facts to be remembered with regard to Orkney at this period. In the recent great *Norges Historie*, Professor A. Bugge says: "The eleven hundreds were a great epoch in the Orkney-men's saga. It was St Magnus', Earl Rognvald's, and Bjarne Kolbein's son's time; a time of architecture and sculpture, of literature and culture." Nor is this an exaggerated picture. Taking architecture alone, St Magnus' Cathedral was begun in 1137, the round church of Orphir (one of only six known in Great Britain) was certainly built before 1136, and St Peter's, Birsay, and Egilsay Kirk are also held to be somewhat earlier than St Magnus'. And this implies that good masons and imported building traditions were in the islands then. As for castles, we have reviewed the evidence of their presence. In fact, at that particular epoch the civilisation of this remote archipelago had reached, in certain things at least, a point surprisingly high: much as happened in certain islands of the Mediterranean some thousands of years before.

IV.

If the date of this castle can be held to be established, there is very strong evidence to show who its builder was. He must obviously have been one of the greater magnates of the day, and in chapter lix. of the *Orkneyinga Saga* (Rolls ed.) a long list is given of "noble men of earls' kin" in Orkney at that very period. In this list one is safe to say he must be included, especially as it is very comprehensive and contains the names of several men, well born but by no means of the

¹ One of the houses was described in *Proceedings Orkney Antiq. Soc.*, vol. ii., and documentary evidence cited showing it was at least as old as the early sixteenth century. Since then I have found that the only house of similar plan (in Kirkwall) was ruinous by 1677, so that a date well back in the fifteenth century seems likely for both. Another old dwelling-house at Netherbigging has one-half of it clean gone, and there is documentary evidence that this was the case in 1664; while a byre on the end of it is described as the "auld byre" in 1646.

first importance.¹ Out of the whole list only one family is possible, as the residences of all the others are known. This family consisted of the four sons of the earlier chieftain Havard Gunnason, all themselves "gödings" or vassal chieftains of the earl. On this evidence one of these four must have been the builder, and this is so far corroborated by the fact that their father Havard came from Earl Hakon's half of Orkney, which consisted mostly of the West Mainland.² Of the four, it is not likely to have been Magnus the eldest, since he was chieftain or war lord of Sanday in 1136, or Thorstein the third brother, as he is also found in the North Isles.

But he can be identified more exactly by one very convincing fact. All place-names ending in *staðir* ("stead" or abode), with exceptions so rare as to be practically negligible, were compounded with proper nouns—in the vast majority of cases with men's names or nicknames. *Klostaðir* (afterwards Cloustath, and now Clouston) is certainly such a case, and the nickname *Klo* (a claw) is only once found in all the sagas, the bearer being Hakon Havardson Klo, the second of the four brothers. In Norway, it may be mentioned, *staðir* names as late as this period are very rare, though a few are found. But in Orkney there are distinct suggestions that a number were formed after the Norwegian *staðir* period, and one striking parallel to *Klostaðir* was certainly *Jaddvararstaðir* in St Ola, named after its owner Jaddvor, natural daughter of Earl Erlend, and herself included in the same list.³

This double line of independent proof is sufficiently striking; but there is yet another bit of evidence. Almost next door to Clouston lies the township of Ireland, once containing one of the largest recorded

¹ The list was evidently intended as a full record of the chief families actually in Orkney at the time, and only one man of chieftain's rank at the period is found outside it. This was Eyvind Melbrigdason, a kinsman of Sweyn Asleifson. Sweyn's estates lay partly in Caithness, and from this fact and the name Melbrigda, Eyvind was apparently a half-Celtic Caithness chief in the earl's service. He certainly cannot have lived near Stenness, as he arrived in his ship at Westness in a matter of hours when Earl Paul gathered his forces there.

² See S. Nordal's edition of the *Orkneyinga Saga* (1913-6), p. 114: "Havard was on the earl's (Hakon's) ship; he was the relation-in-law and good friend of both earls, and always Hakon's councillor."

³ *Jaddvararstaðir* is styled *Knarrarstaðir* or Knarston in the two English editions, but this is undoubtedly wrong from the facts related in the saga itself. The true form is given in the old Danish translation (see Nordal's edition of the *Ork. Saga*). It was evidently an alternative form of the original *Geitaberg* (Gaitnip), where Jaddvor actually lived (another family altogether occupied Knarston). Other known instances of these *staðir* names in Orkney as alternative forms are Flenstath *alias* Sands, in the early rentals, and *Skeggbjarnarstaðir* of the saga, which must have had an alternative, since it has disappeared. In all four instances these names were evidently superimposed on older names. In the case of *Klostaðir* it seems not unlikely that the name Stedhus, still traditionally attached to the existing group of old buildings, may actually be the original name of the township, since it may well be formed from the O.N. *steðja*, in the sense of "a level plain with perpendicular border"—an exact description of the land at this point. (See *Norske Gaardnavne*, xii, p. 95.)

odal "bus" or manors in Orkney, clearly an old chieftain's seat. In the twelfth century, when these chiefs were very powerful people with extensive estates, there cannot well have been two different families in such extremely close proximity; but the near presence of this great bus exactly fits the fact that there were four Havardson brothers, all gödings, and that Hakon was only the second of them. Ireland may therefore be taken to be their father's seat, and Clouston to be part of a younger son's share of the estate.¹

Hakon Klo, whom this accumulation of evidence seems to associate pretty certainly with the stronghold on Gernaness, is only once mentioned in action in the *Orkneyinga Saga*; when he and his brothers, Magnus and Thorstein, pursued and slew the murderer of Earl Rognvald at Calder in Caithness in 1159. He appears several times, however, in this and other sagas in connection with his ancestry and marriage, and on that account figures also in several of the pedigrees in Munch's *Norske Folks Historie*. His mother Bergliot was a granddaughter of Earl Paul I. of Orkney; his wife Ingigerd was the daughter of the famous adventurer and claimant to the Norwegian throne, Sigurd Slembe, by the daughter of a great Celtic house in Caithness; and the youngest of his four sons married into a leading Icelandic family.

As for the chapel which formed the starting-point of these excavations, no sign of it was found. There is no room for it in the courtyard, and it presumably would not be placed outside to hamper the defence. Yet, as was mentioned before, the tradition is very specific, and in the course of extensive inquiries some years ago no chapel traditions proved to be wrong. Apparently, then, it must have been built on top of the foundations after the castle was pulled down and converted, as all old buildings in Orkney were—and still are, into something more immediately useful; which in that dark age included spiritual usefulness. Finally, when a conception of a more utilitarian Creator (little inclined to appreciate wasted building material) came into vogue, the chapel became a dyke. It seems the more likely that the chapel replaced the castle in actual fact, since it has entirely replaced it in tradition, save for the tale of the vague tall house. If so, one has further evidence that the castle was demolished a very long time ago.

¹ A traditional pedigree which supports the other evidence rather remarkably was mentioned in a leading article in the *Orcadian* of 25th February 1868. In connection with the ancestry of the distinguished physicist Balfour Stewart, it referred to his descent from the Cloustons of Clouston, "whose 22nd chief in direct succession" was stated to be Nicol Clouston, then of Netherbigging. At three generations to a century this takes one back to approximately 1130-40, the precise period at which a younger son, according to the other evidence, built the stronghold and settled there. It may be mentioned that the strict entail on the whole family, which in effect the odal laws created, caused an extraordinary adhesiveness of land and family, often over many centuries.

In conclusion, I should like to express my gratitude to Mr G. P. H. Watson, Mr J. Graham Callander, and Mr J. S. Richardson for their counsel and information, to Mr T. H. Clouston for his survey, and also for a form of assistance peculiarly valuable in such an expensive operation as excavation, and to Mr Hugh Marwick for his invaluable assistance with place-names. Everything I have said with regard to any name has been either information given by him, or has been checked and passed by him. To all those who assisted me in the actual work of digging my best thanks are also due. But especially do I feel indebted to Mr Tom Brass for his technical advice and common-sense judgment throughout the whole operations.

MONDAY, 10th May 1926.

GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., D.LITT.,
F.S.A.Scot., in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows:—

WILLIAM ALLAN, M.B.E., 40 Howieshill Road, Cambuslang.
JOHN BANNERMAN, Junr., St Margarets, Elgin.
Rev. DONALD C. CAMPBELL GOLLAN, United Free Manse, Fort William.
EDWARD R. T. GRIMSTON, M.A., 5 Bellevue Street.
JAMES LOVE, 23 Neilson Street, Falkirk.
Rev. JOHN MACLEOD, O.B.E., Hon. C.F., 8 Lansdowne Crescent,
Glasgow, W.
JAMES MATHER, Member of the Board of Agriculture for Scotland,
Ravelston Bank, Blackhall, Edinburgh.
GEORGE S. ROBERTSON, M.A., 10 Culloden Terrace, Arbroath.
Rev. W. ALEXANDER ROSS, East United Free Manse, Blantyre, Lanark-
shire.
THOMAS WALKER-LOVE, M.B., Greenbank, Clark Street, Airdrie.

The following Donations to the Museum were intimated and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By GEORGE BEVERIDGE of Vallay, North Uist.

Iron Fleerish and three Worked Flints of yellow-grey colour, from Shian, Balranald, North Uist.

(2) By MRS NEILL RAE, 26 Morningside Park.

Three Flint Arrow-heads from Lochmaben district, Dumfriesshire, the first of triangular shape and of blackish-grey colour, measuring $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch by $1\frac{5}{32}$ inch, the second barbed, but with one barb wanting, of light grey colour, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch, and the third barbed, one barb imperfect, of light grey colour, measuring 1 inch by $\frac{1}{8}$ inch.

(3) By GEORGE BUTLER, Haddington Place, Aberlady.

Stone Axe, felstone, measuring $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch, well polished, with a chip at the butt end and another on one side near the butt, found on the surface at Invereil, Dirleton, East Lothian, by the donor.

(4) By BELLERBY LOWERISON, F.S.A.Scot.

Stone Idol, measuring $6\frac{7}{16}$ inches by 4 inches by $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches, one end in the form of a tortoise's head, with a deep groove behind, found on the surface in the woods in British Columbia.

(5) By WILLIAM BROOK, F.S.A.Scot.

Silver Toddy Ladle, ornamented with a shell pattern on the top of the stem, and bearing the hall-marks R. & R. K., with a double-headed eagle, for Perth, both repeated.

(6) By MRS MACINTOSH, F.S.A.Scot.

Brass Calendar, dated 1803, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, stating birthdays of King, Queen, and Prince of Wales, and various Church dates.

(7) By JOHN GREEN, Drylaw Road, Blackhall.

Set of Lowland Scottish Bagpipes with bellows, which belonged to a family in Peeblesshire, the drones having deep cup-shaped tops.

(8) By J. MAITLAND ANDERSON, LL.D., The University, St Andrews, through JAMES S. RICHARDSON, F.S.A.Scot.

Fragment of a Tempera Painted Ceiling, from Castlewynd House, St Andrews, consisting of piece of a board of fir, measuring 2 feet by 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. The colours are very faded, but a female head and bust, with foliaceous and other designs in black and white, can still be traced.

(9) By Colonel E. S. FORDE, Provost of Castle Douglas.

Brass Military Field Compass with sighting vanes, spirit-level, and ball-and-socket stand attachment, in wooden case, which belonged to

Major Forde, great-granduncle of the donor, measuring 11 inches in diameter, inscribed COLE, MAKER, FLEET ST., LONDON. Major Forde served in India with Lord Clive.

Communion Tokens—Urr, 1850; Carsphairn, Brook 173; Dalmellington, 1760, Brook 272; Kirkpatrick-Durham, 1850; Twynholm, 1821.

- (10) By Mrs CAMPBELL BROWN, Culbourne, Manor Green Road, West Hill, Epsom, through J. H. STEVENSON, C.B.E., F.S.A.Scot., Marchmont Herald.

Small thirteenth-century Seal of Bronze, of shield form, with a shank of hexagonal section terminating in a loop, showing a stag's head cabossed with two clasped hands between the antlers, and an indecipherable legend above, found at Epsom. (See preceding paper by J. H. Stevenson, F.S.A.Scot.)

- (11) By Miss H. DRUMMOND, 5 Luton Place.

Two Armlets of plaited human Hair and six Dress-fasteners of Brass.

- (12) By EUSTACE MAXWELL, House of Elrig, Portwilliam, Wigtownshire.

Small Enamelled Bronze Mount of rectangular form, and measuring $\frac{9}{16}$ inch in length and $\frac{3}{16}$ inch in breadth. It has two lozenges of blue enamel in the centre, with particles of red enamel in the alternate angles on its upper surface; found by the donor on the Glenluce Sands, near Genoch, at the spot where some rude hand-made pottery was discovered previously. (See *Proceedings*, vol. lviii. p. 141.)

The following Purchases for the Museum were announced:—

Highland Ring Brooch of silver, measuring $1\frac{9}{32}$ inch in diameter, the front ornamented with four circles and curves between, inlaid with niello, the back bearing the initials I. F. and date 1734. The pin is looped on to the ring.

Part of an octagonal Highland Ring Brooch (barely half) of brass, original extreme diameter about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches externally; the sides are concave, and the ring is divided into eight panels by radial lines running into each of the eight angles. Of the three remaining panels two show an engraved beast, of very crude form, simulating a unicorn, and the third, which is the central one, shows fan-shaped designs springing from the two inside corners; found on the battlefield of Falkirk.

Stone Axe-hammer, measuring 5 inches long, the top and bottom sides being concave until about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch from the butt, which is in the

form of a truncated cone. In breadth it contracts from $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the cutting edge to $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch at the perforation, and then swells out to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; it is $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch in thickness. The hole contracts from $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter at the exterior to $\frac{5}{8}$ inch at the middle. The curved top and bottom sides are each bordered by three incised parallel lines; found in the neighbourhood of Perth.

Flanged Bronze Axe, measuring $6\frac{7}{16}$ inches in length, $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches across the cutting edge, and $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch across the flanges. There is a stop-ridge measuring $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep behind and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in front between the flanges, the edges of which are carried round in front of the stop-ridge till they meet and form a shield-shaped panel, the interior of the panel being filled by small longitudinal parallel mouldings. There are remains of a thick brown patina in parts; found in the neighbourhood of Perth.

Flanged Bronze Axe, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 3 inches across the cutting edge, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch across the flanges. There is a very slight stop-ridge, in front of which is a shield-shaped space bounded at the front by a slight moulding and filled in with short, longitudinal, punched, straight lines. On the top and bottom edges is a punched herring-bone pattern with a medial line. There is a green patina, much pitted and corroded; from Aberdeenshire.

The following Donations to the Library were intimated:—

(1) By JAMES GEBBIE, F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Old and New Kilpatrick.

(2) By LÉON COUTIL, Honorary Fellow, the Author.

Archéologie Gauloise, Gallo-Romaine, Franque et Carolingienne. Vol. V.—Arrondissement de Pont Andemer.

(3) By G. A. GARDNER, F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Some Argentine Rock-Paintings. Reprint from Conférence faite au XXI. Congrès International des Américanistes, Session de Göteborg, 20-26 août, 1924.

(4) By R. R. JAMES, Esq., through Dr GEORGE MACKAY, F.S.A.Scot.

Roman Oculist-Stamps in Britain. Reprinted from the British Journal of Ophthalmology, March 1926.

(5) By F. SUTHERLAND FERGUSON, F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

The Edinburgh Gazette, 1680. Reprint from the Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. xii., 1925.

(6) By Dr W. E. COLLINGE, Keeper of the Museum, York.

Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for 1925.

The following Purchases for the Library were also intimated:—

Storia dell' Arte Italiana. A Venturi. Vol. ix., Part 1.

Curious Episodes in Scottish History, by Robert Scott Fittis. Paisley, 1895.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

FOLKLORE OF THE ABERDEENSHIRE STONE CIRCLES AND STANDING-STONES. BY THE LATE JAMES RITCHIE, CORRESPONDING MEMBER, F.E.I.S.

The mysterious has a fascination for the human mind. Any phenomenon beyond the comprehension of man challenges him to find an explanation of it that will satisfy his restless intellect. And as time passes and the once sufficient explanation becomes inadequate, it is replaced by further attempts at a solution of the problem. The tracing of such folklore has become a recognised branch of the study of human races; for it is clear that it reveals traits of mentality which otherwise fail to leave much mark in human progress. The tracing is not always easy, for before writing was invented memory was the sole repository of these traditions, and many factors, particularly the movements of populations, militate against their permanence. Nevertheless, a considerable number remain, and it is the purpose of this paper to gather together those which are still current in Aberdeenshire in connection with stone circles and standing-stones, so that they may not be altogether forgotten. A few traditional stories are included which, although not strictly belonging to the bounds of Aberdeenshire, fall within the same geographical district. They have taken many years and much patient inquiry to gather, as the subject is one on which many people are reticent.

The traditions as they have come to my notice show more variety than might have been expected. Yet there is a substratum of similarity in many which permits of their being ranged in a series of groups

each with a common motif, although it must be admitted that no classification can be regarded as hard and fast. In the following pages I group the Aberdeenshire traditions under these heads:—

- (1) The Influence of Good and Evil Spirits.
- (2) The Notion of Worship.
- (3) The Idea of Buried Treasure.
- (4) Human Associations.
- (5) Animal Associations.

These groups are not of equal import. Of the first three it may be said that they have a general significance and are exceedingly common and widespread, whereas Groups 4 and 5 have rather an individual significance, which tends to be of local instead of general interest.

(1) THE INFLUENCE OF GOOD AND EVIL SPIRITS.

The idea that the stone circles and standing-stones are under the special care of the spirit-world is widely prevalent, and has had a great deal to do with the preservation of these monuments from destruction at the hands of the utilitarian.

Many years ago some of the stones of Mains of Hatton Circle, Auchterless, were removed to form gateposts, but the spirits, it is said, resented human interference with the circle, and it was only with great trouble that horses could ever be induced to pass through the gate. So little was the farmer prepared to encounter the spiritual enmity thus clearly indicated, that he decided to replace, on their original site, the stones which had been taken away; but it was remarked that while two horses with difficulty dragged each stone downhill to the gate, one only found it easy work to pull a stone uphill from the gate to the circle. A somewhat similar story is told of the Drumel Stone on the farm of Old Noth, near Gartly. The stone was taken to the farm to make a lintel over a doorway in the steading, but thereafter the steading door was so often found open, and the interned animals wandering about the countryside, that at last it was decided to put the stone back again. When this was done the trouble ceased.

Near Auchleven, in the parish of Premnay, there once stood a stone circle now completely destroyed. The farmer who removed the stones, shortly afterwards lost many of his cattle from disease and was ruined. Disease and ruin have visited farmers before and since that time, but nevertheless many of the good man's neighbours considered

the fate of Auchleven a judgment upon him for destroying the circle. The devastation of his cattle herd by disease fell also upon the farmer of Cairnfauld, in Durris parish, following upon his removal of some of the stones of the circle near-by.

The notion that ill-luck attends the destruction of the circles is not yet altogether dead, as is apparent from an incident which occurred in recent times at Corrydoun. Some alterations were being made on the farm buildings, and the mason employed to do the work reckoned that he could make good use in his building operations of the stones in the stone circle. So he set to work to trim one of them, but, finding the stone harder than he had supposed, made little progress. At the dinner-hour he returned to the farm, where it was noticed that he had damaged one of his fingers badly, an injury of which he was not conscious. Someone suggested that it was unlucky to interfere with the stones, and the workman, agreeing, made no further attempt to use them; but his tool-marks still remain.

The spirit influence was not always exerted to protect the ancient monuments. It was sometimes, though this is a rarer belief, antagonistic to their preservation. Probably this belief pictures a phase of the everlasting warfare between the spirits of good and the spirits of evil. Thus the *Sunken Kirk* marks the site of a stone circle on Tofthills farm, in the parish of Clatt; but not a stone remains, and the absence is accounted for by the story that the spirits have caused the circle to sink underground. A similar tale accounts for the name of *Chapel o' Sink* on the farm of Westerton, Fetternear. In the large and almost complete circle at Cothiemuir, in the parish of Keig, the recumbent stone is of peculiar rounded shape, and has numerous hollows upon its surface, caused by weathering. Two of these on the outside, rather larger than their fellows, are known as the "Devil's Hoof-marks," their shape resembling the mark of a cloven hoof.

(2) THE NOTION OF WORSHIP.

The notion of associating worship with the stone monuments is interlinked with the idea of spirit influence, for both meet in the belief in a supernatural world, the powers of which guard their own and must be propitiated. The belief that the circles were used for purposes of worship is very prevalent and very firmly established. Throughout Aberdeenshire they are almost universally known as "Druids' Circles" and "Druids' Stones," and by these names are more readily recognised by the country people than by any other name the

inquiring archæologist may care to use. A word of caution, however, is necessary: "Druid" to the archæologist and to the Aberdeenshire countryman do not mean the same. To the archæologist the term connotes a definite cult, associated with the oak tree and mistletoe, and it is doubtful if in this sense the Druids had ever any connection with the stone circles. But the countryman uses the term in a very wide sense—to mean anything *pagan* or *heathen*. Thus a "Druid Circle" means no more than a circle or temple employed in heathen worship. How long the term has been in common use it is impossible to say. Its origin has been attributed to John Aubrey, who derived his knowledge of it from Dr James Garden, appointed Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, in 1680. But Dr Garden's letter to Aubrey, dated 15th June 1692, shows that the name was in use before his time. It is too deeply rooted among a class not given to reading archæological works to be of modern origin.

The circle at *Druidstone*, Premnay, gives its name to the farm, and the two pillar-stones near Montgarrie, Alford, are *Druids' Stones*, and their site *Druidsfield*. In addition to the names Druids' Circle or Druids' Stones, a number of these erections are also known as Druids' Temples or simply Temples. The recumbent stone and pillars of what must originally have been a fine circle on the home farm of Potterton, about five miles north of Aberdeen, are locally known as the *Druid Temple*, and the field in which they stand as the *Temple Field*. At South Ythsie stands another *Druid Temple*, again in a *Temple Field* or *Park*; the circle at Castle Fraser is *The Temple*, and the single stone at Inchmarlo Cottage, Banchory-Ternan, is a *Druids' Temple*.

The same idea of worship clings about the name "Auld Kirk" which sometimes attaches to the circles. Thus the remains of one in the neighbourhood of Alford are known as the *Auld Kirk o' Alford*; that on the farm of Denhead is the *Auld Kirk o' Tough*. The latter circle is now almost destroyed: only one stone remains on its original site, the others having been removed many years ago by a tenant on the farm. He is said to have formed one of the stones into a field-roller, which broke just after having been put to use—a just judgment upon his interference, said his neighbours. The name "kirk" appears also in the *Sunken Kirk*, to which reference has already been made.

A short distance, some 200 yards, from the Chapel o' Sink lies the *Ark Stone*, very likely the recumbent stone of the circle, which would help to account for its unusual name.

A number of circles used formerly to be called "Law Stones," probably because law courts were accustomed to be held near them.

The suggestion receives some support from the case of the Standing-stones of Rayne, a circle at which, in 1349, a court was held to settle a dispute between the Bishop of Aberdeen and William of St Michael concerning the ownership of certain lands in the neighbourhood.

As well as the tradition of pagan worship, the tradition of Christian worship also lingers about some of the early stone relics of Aberdeenshire. In such cases, of course, it is simply that a Christian name and memory have superseded an earlier pagan tradition, for it was a policy inculcated by Pope Gregory the Great upon his missionaries that they should utilise as far as possible the sacred places of the heathen; and so it may have happened that the circles became recognised meeting-centres of the new faith. Thus we find that some of the circles are associated with the names of the early saints. The remains of a circle on the farm of Bankhead, near Tillynaught in Banffshire, are known as St Brennan's Stanes, i.e. *St Brandan's Stones*, after the patron saint of Boyndie. A little further afield, in Banffshire, just beyond the Aberdeenshire boundary, two standing-stones represent all that remains of a circle which stood on the site of the present parish church of Marnoch. The taller of the two is known as *St Marnan's Chair*, though it bears no resemblance to such an article of furniture in its present state. As, however, it seems likely to have been one of the pillar-stones associated with the recumbent stone, its original position may have given some excuse for the designation. St Marnan, or Marnoch, was a seventh-century missionary who is said to have died at his church here in 625. Close against the outside of the wall of the old church of Logie-Coldstone is an upright standing-stone known as *St Walloch's Stone*, after St Walloch, a southern missionary who is said, though the statement cannot be substantiated, to have laboured in Aberdeenshire about the first quarter of the eighth century. It may also be noted that the parish church of Midmar, which is dedicated to St Nidan, occupies part of the area of a stone-circle, the recumbent stone and pillars of which, as well as several of the circumference stones, are still standing.

(3) THE IDEA OF BURIED TREASURE.

The tradition of buried treasure is associated with a number of the ancient stone monuments. Although one is frequently told of a pot of gold, or a bull's hide filled with gold, being concealed somewhere underneath a stone, not much faith is now placed in these stories, notwithstanding that they are still kept in remembrance. There is, of course,

little, if any, foundation for such a belief, which may have originated in times of invasion or civil war, when valuables had to be concealed, and the sacred vicinity of the monuments afforded as good a place as any. At Sinnahard, Towie, there is a standing-stone near which a pot of gold is said to be buried. On one of my visits a good many years ago, the farmer announced that he had no faith in the tale: the only gold he hoped to gain from the place was that of the golden grain then ripening for the harvest. A similar tale is connected with a large block of quartz, known as the White Cow, near the parish church of Marnoch. The story goes that many years ago some local adventurers made up their minds to run the risk of removing the stone to reach the treasure. They did not manage to complete the task that evening, and on returning to resume their labours on the following day, they discovered their excavations filled in and the stone back in its former place. The work was abandoned.

Sometimes the tradition varies a little. At Cortiegraw is a standing-stone of large size, which leans over partly on its side. Tradition relates that once it stood upright, but on an occasion tipped over and crushed to death a man who was digging for the pot of gold supposed to lie beside it.

The story of a bull's hide filled with gold is connected with many stones. At its simplest it is found at the Binghill stone circle on Deeside, at Lulach's Stone near Kildrummy, at a standing-stone at Glenkindie close by a branch road to Towie, and at the Muckle Stane o' Cloch-forbie, near the steading of the farm of that name. The last may be a broken recumbent stone, but there is nowadays no standing-stone near it. In this case also an attempt was once made to remove the treasure, but the great efforts made to shift the stone proved fruitless, and a warning voice having been heard from beneath the depths of the stone to command "Let be!" the advice was taken and the stone has remained undisturbed ever since.

The farm of Camiestone, in the parish of Kintore, derives its name from a standing-stone similarly named, where the leader of an invading army of Danes is reputed to have been killed. On the neighbouring farm of Braeside is a stone cist, called Camie's Grave, which the farmer opened. At his death he left a considerable fortune, and this was attributed to his having found treasure in the cist, though the wealth had a more prosaic origin in farming skill and hard work. The top of the ridge above his farm carries a number of cairns scattered irregularly, and one of these also is said to conceal treasure, though the difficulty of deciding the lucky cairn is solved with a touch of Scottish humour by designating it the "eastmost wastmost carn."

(4) HUMAN ASSOCIATIONS.

Here I have grouped a number of stories which have little connection except that they are associated with the memory of persons. In some of the traditions dealt with in the second section a personal significance attaches to the memorials, but in such cases the individual stood as a symbol of his religion. It is a curious fact, however, that whereas the missionary stones are usually the remains of circles, those to which reference is made in the present section are chiefly isolated and single standing-stones. It may almost be assumed that many of the nameless standing-stones were erected as memorials of individuals, whose names and deeds are long since forgotten; but how far tradition and truth may be assumed to agree in those cases where the names have been preserved is impossible to decide.

Macbeth's Stone at Lumphanan is said to mark the spot where the Scottish king was killed on 15th August 1057, and *Macbeth's Cairn*, fully a mile further north, the place where he was buried. *Lulach's Stone* at Kildrummy is associated with a son of Macbeth's wife, namely Lulach, who was slain at Strathbogie in 1058; and *Luath's Stone* on the hillside some distance north of Whitehouse Station on the Alford railway, is reputed to mark the site of the death of "Luath," said to be a son of Macbeth. Some doubt must attach to the tradition, which is repeated in connection with another site a good many miles away; even the existence of a son so-called is doubtful. The colour of the stone suggests that the present name may have been derived from the Gaelic word *liath*, meaning "grey"—the "Grey Stone" and nothing more. The *Crichton and Federate Stones*, now badly dilapidated, mark the place near Rayne where a duel was fought between representatives of these families.

Not far from the last, on the farm of Knowley, stands an upright pillar known as the *Tow Stone*. Its significance is doubtful. Dr Stuart thought that it might have been the seat of tax-gathering in far back days (*Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 44). But Professor Watson suggests to me that the name may be connected with the Gaelic *toll*, signifying a hollow.

Often it is apparent that the names now in use have no connection with the origin of the monument, but are recent and frequently trivial additions. *Johnnie Kelly's Lass*, a large cup-marked standing-stone on the farm of Balhalgardy, near Inverurie, perhaps the sole remnant of a circle, furnishes a good example of the trivial origin of what may be curious and puzzling names. The name is just a century old. Johnnie Kelly, for long a farm servant at Balhalgardy, when old age came upon him, took to knitting stockings, a common country occupation in those

times. On fine days he climbed to the stone, resting against it as he worked, and scanned the rich plains of Garioch; the humour of the countryside dubbed his constant companion "Johnnie Kelly's Lass," and the name stuck. Perhaps some such petty incident is responsible for the name of a stone, very like the recumbent stone of a circle, which lies close to the steading of Upperton, Durris—*The Sutor's Mither*. Professor Watson has pointed out that the Gaelic form of sutor indicates a tanner, but who the tanner may have been legend leaves no hint. The *Piper's Stone* and the *Bell Stone*, both near the parish church of Bourtie, mark respectively the place where the piper who accompanied marriage parties took his stand, and the stone on which the hand-bell of the church rested, perhaps under a wooden covering.

To the *Grinago Stone*, near Old Meldrum, attaches one of the somewhat obvious and usually absurd tales invented to account for a puzzling name. After the defeat of the Comyns at the Battle of Barra in 1308, Bruce pursued the retreating army towards Buchan, whence it came. Having risen from a sick-bed to fight the battle, exhaustion compelled him to rest against this stone as he passed. To the appeals of his men that he should rest a while he gave a blunt refusal; it was his but to "grin an' go," hence Grinago! The name, which Professor Watson regards as likely to be Gaelic, has become too seriously corrupted to be identifiable.

A tradition of equal historic worth attaches to the *Maiden Stone*, an elaborately carved cross-and-symbol stone close to the roadside, half a mile west of Chapel of Garioch. The maiden of Drumdurno, a farm near-by, was complimented on her skill in baking by a stranger, who at the same time remarked on her lack of speed. On her remonstrance, he challenged her to bake a firlof of meal while he took in hand the building of a road to the top of Benachie, the stake to be the maiden's freedom. Confident in the impossibility of the task of the would-be road-maker, she accepted the challenge, but just as her last "cakes" were ready for the fire she looked up, to see that the road was finished and the Devil, as she now perceived him to be, was approaching to claim her. She fled, and, as her pursuer laid a hand upon her shoulder, uttered a prayer to God for deliverance. At once she was turned into stone, but the place where the Evil One's hand touched her shoulder is marked by the large triangular niche in the Maiden Stone's profile. The origin of the name Maiden Stone is unknown, but it is possible that it may be corrupted from St Medan, to whom several Aberdeenshire sites were dedicated.

(5) ANIMAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Animal associations account for the nomenclature of a large number of the Aberdeenshire stones; but even here appearances are deceptive,

for some names which at first sight recall animals have quite a different origin. There are *Ramstones* in the parishes of Drumblade and Monymusk, and several *Harestones* in the county; but these seem to be boundary marks, and it is doubtful if their names have any direct connection with animals. *Harehill*, near Bourtie, on which there stands a pillar-stone at one time connected with a cairn, may possibly have been named from the abundance of its hares before the ground was broken in; and the *Whitecow Stone* at Marnoch is obviously so-called from its resemblance at a distance to a white cow resting in a field. The *Crow Stone* at Rhynie is said to have gained its name from the numbers of crows which rested upon it—a somewhat unlikely supposition, since crows prefer the ground to a stone perch. It may be that the name is a corruption of “cross stone,” for it stands in a field beside the parish church, and, although there is no cross upon it, it bears several of the symbols associated with early Christian worship; but Professor Watson suggests that the word may be that used in the Gaelic *Teampull na Crò Naomh* at Galson, the “Temple of Holy Blood.” The “Cro” Stone would then be the “Stone of Blood.” The *Wolf Stone* lies prostrate at the roadside in Auchterless and is now a boundary mark. The origin of the name is unknown, though it may well be connected with a time when wolves were abundant in Scotland.

The county has several *Gowk Stones*, generally explained as favourite resting-places of the cuckoo. There is, however, another possibility. North-east ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles) and south-west ($1\frac{1}{2}$ mile) of Strathpeffer are remains of cairns each of which is known as *an Clachan Gòrach*, or the Foolish Stones. (The second group is more often called Brodie's Graves.) Now gowk in north-east Scotland means a fool as well as a cuckoo, and it may be that, as applied to some of the Aberdeenshire Gowk Stones, it is a translation of an older Gaelic appellation like those at Strathpeffer.

Last in our list, the name “candle,” attached to various ancient stone monuments, may have an indirect animal association. The *Candle Stone* is a large pillar-stone which stands at *Candle Ridge*, Drumwhindle, near Arnage, and there are three *Candle Hills*, one at Oyne, one in the parish of Rayne, and the other near Inch, within a few miles of each other. On each of these Candle Hills there are remains of a stone circle, so that all these candle-names appear to be associated with either stone circles or a standing-stone. The association has given rise to the idea that candles were employed in the ceremonies performed by the “Druids” at such places; but Professor Watson tells me that the Gaelic word signifies not a diminutive candle, but even a huge torch, so that the word might well be applied figuratively to a tall stone suggesting the shape of a torch. Another

explanation of the name, however, is possible. In former days wax candles were much used in Church services, and since the wax was derived from bees, whose honey was used for sweetening, it was not over-plentiful, and was accordingly highly valued. Thus gifts of wax frequently find mention in old deeds and charters: two stones of wax were dedicated in 1233 by the Earl of Buchan to the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Rattray, and another grant of $5\frac{1}{2}$ pounds is referred to in the confirmation of a charter of John Lord of the Isles in 1460. Grants of wax for Church use came to be associated with land suitable for bee-keeping: thus the *Candlelands* at Ellon were dedicated to the use of the church there, and had to provide twenty-four wax candles three times a year to burn before the high altar of the Church of Ellon. These Candlelands are only some 5 miles distant from the Candlestone and Candle Ridge of Drumwhindle. It may be no more than a coincidence that the Candle Ridge near Ellon and the three Candle Hills in the Inch district have each a standing-stone or a stone circle. Naturally hill-top monuments would escape much of the destruction which visited similar monuments on arable land, so that out of the large numbers of these monuments which must have existed at one time, the hill-top examples stood every chance of survival; further, the very conditions which would account for the preservation of the stones, rough, rather high ground with abundance of heather and the characteristic vegetation of such places, would be just those best suited for the keeping of the bee-stocks which were to produce the sacred candle wax. The suggestion, therefore, is that the ancient stones have only a casual connection with candlelands from which beeswax was obtained or levied.

So far as I am aware, there appears to be no trace in Aberdeenshire of a legend otherwise rather widespread, and exemplified at Stanton Drew in Somerset, and "Long Meg and her Daughters" near Little Salkeld, Cumberland, where the circles of stones are said to represent persons who were turned into stone as a punishment for desecrating the Sabbath Day by dancing.

The old stories, inconceivably absurd and even childish as many seem nowadays, have played their part in past times in satisfying the deep-seated hankering after explanations of origins; but they have been of some service even to the moderns, for the mystery and superstition with which they surrounded the circles and standing-stones have been factors of no little importance in preserving these relics throughout the dark ages.

II.

SCOTLAND'S SUPPLICATION AND COMPLAINT AGAINST THE BOOK
OF COMMON PRAYER (OTHERWISE LAUD'S LITURGY), THE
BOOK OF CANONS, AND THE PRELATES, 18TH OCTOBER 1637.
BY D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D., F.S.A.ScOT.

This remarkable and important document would, in all probability, have crossed the Atlantic, and found a permanent home there, had it not been for the foresight of Mr George P. Johnston and the open-handed patriotism of Dr W. B. Laikie. Thanks to the Secretary for Scotland, it was deposited in the Register House on the 7th of December 1925, and there it is safe for all time coming. Historical students will find the beautiful full-sized facsimile, which Dr Laikie has generously had made, quite sufficient for working purposes; but the original itself is open to all reasonable inspection in the Register House.

The three grievances petitioned against were (1) *The Book of Common Prayer*, better known now as Laud's Liturgy, (2) *The Book of Canons*, and (3) the Archbishops and Bishops. To understand how in these the shoe pinched, it is necessary to look back to the early history and constitution of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

A *Confession of Faith* drawn up by the six Johns—Knox, Wynram, Spottiswoode, Willock, Douglas, and Row—was approved and ratified by Parliament on the 17th of August 1560—that is, four months before the meeting of the First General Assembly. The same six Johns drew up the *First Book of Discipline*, which, in the opinion of Professor Hume Brown, is "the most interesting and, in many respects, the most important of public documents in the history of Scotland."¹ The *Order of Geneva*, used in the English congregation at Geneva of which Knox was a minister, was adopted by the Reformed Church of Scotland, and, as enlarged, became its *Book of Common Order*. If not partly prepared by Knox, it was certainly sanctioned by him. Its prayers were optional; and, as David Laing has said, "in no instance do we find Knox himself using set forms of prayer."²

Neither in the *Confession of Faith*, nor in the *First Book of Discipline*, nor in the *Book of Common Order*, is Prelacy expressly condemned; but they leave no room for it. It is true that in that *Confession of Faith* this passage occurs: "Not that we think that ane polecie and ane ordour in ceremonies can be appointit for all aiges, tymes, and places,

¹ *History of Scotland*, 1902, vol. ii. p. 74.

² Laing's *Knox's Works*, vol. vi. p. 283.

for as ceremonies (sic as men have devysit) ar bot temporall, so may and aucht thay to be changeit, quhan thay rather foster superstitioun than that thay edifie the Kirk using the same." It has been argued that this left an open door for the introduction of Prelacy. Had I been an Episcopalian I would have resented this as derogatory, grossly derogatory, to the office of a bishop, as if he were merely a ceremony or point of policy.

The Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, when in London in 1644, wrote of our first Reformers: "They intended and designed from the beginning the government of the Church by assemblies and presbyteries, although they could not attain that perfection at first in the infancy of reformation, but gave place to necessity, which in such cases is universall."¹ And Bishop Maxwell put it more briefly thus: "The goodly order and government of the Church was shouldred out."²

There was a gradation of church-courts from the first. Of these the kirk-session was the earliest. In St Andrews a kirk-session was in full swing by October 1559—that is, ten months before Parliament abolished the papal authority and suppressed the mass. The deacons as well as the elders sat in the kirk-session; and, as prescribed in the *First Book of Discipline*, both deacons and elders were elected annually, a much more democratic arrangement than the present.³ The first meeting of the General Assembly was in December 1560, and for three-and-twenty years thereafter it usually met twice a year. There is no trace of a moderator in the first six Assemblies, and thus a love of parity, utterly inconsistent with Prelacy, was exemplified. When a moderator was chosen in December 1563, it was explained to be "for avoyding confusion in reasoning."⁴

Neither synods nor presbyteries are mentioned in the *First Book of Discipline*. But in December 1562 the General Assembly ordered the

¹ *The Reformation of Church-Government in Scotland cleered from some Mistakes and Prejudices*, 1644, p. 11. Principal Lee, who knew the history of the Reformed Church of Scotland as few have ever known it, could not "discover any just foundation" for the opinion that, in its early years, its affairs were "conducted as if a modified system of Episcopacy, instead of the strict Presbyterian discipline, had been intended to be established" (Lee's *Lectures*, 1860, vol. i. p. 301).

² *The Burden of Issachar*, 1646, p. 28.

³ The "Privie Kirk of Edinburgh," which met in private houses or in the fields, had elders and deacons (Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. p. 151).

⁴ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 38. In March 1573-4 it was claimed "that sen the tyme God blessed this countrey with the light of the Evangell, the haill Kirk maist godlie appointit, and the same be Act of Parliament authorized, that twa godlie Assemblies of the haill General Kirk of this realme sould be ever ilk zeir, asweill of all members therof in all estates as of the ministers: the whilk Assemblies hes bein sen the first ordinance continually keipit in sic sort, that the most noble ther of the hiest estate hes joynit themselves be their awin presence in the Assemblies as members of ane body, concurreand, voteand, and autorizand in all things their proceeding with their brether" (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 292).

superintendents to hold their synods twice a year, in April and October, the minister with an elder or deacon from each congregation attending "to consult upon the comon affaires";¹ and in June 1563 it ordained that anyone deeming himself injured by the kirk-session could appeal to the superintendent's synod, and from it to the Assembly.²

The germ of the presbytery may be found in the weekly meetings known as "the exercise," which in the *First Book of Discipline* are characterised as "most necessarie for the Church of God this day in Scotland," and were deemed to be most expedient in every town where there were schools "and repair of learned men." The ministers of the neighbouring landward churches were to attend, and so were readers, within a circuit of six miles, if they had any gift of interpretation.³ Though primarily intended for Bible study, such gatherings could hardly take place week by week—as Professor Mitchell pointed out—without such cases as came before the kirk-sessions being occasionally discussed and advised on. And in March 1572-3 the General Assembly thought it necessary that a copy of the Acts of the Assembly should be given to every exercise, and that matters happening betwixt the meetings of the synods and of the assemblies should be "headed and notit at every exercise 20 dayes befor the Generall Assemblie, that the brethren may be ripely advised with the samine."⁴ When the country was regularly divided into presbyteries in 1581, "the exercises previously existing in particular towns were merged in and their work devolved on these."⁵

Our Reformers were greatly hampered by the dearth of ministers. Of the forty-two names on the roll of the first General Assembly, only six are entered as ministers. But the high standard of necessary qualifications was not lowered on that account; and so, in the *First Book of Discipline*, besides the three permanent offices of ministers, elders, and deacons, two temporary ones are recognised, namely, readers and superintendents. Readers were to be chosen from "the most apt men" who could distinctly read the prayers and the Scriptures; and, if they developed the necessary gifts and graces, they were to be promoted to the ministry.⁶

As for the superintendents, the framers of the *First Book of Discipline* say: "We have thocht it a thing most expedient for this tyme," that twelve or ten men should be selected and each set over a province "to plant and erect churches, to set ordour, and appoint ministeris." In their visitations they were to preach thrice a week at least, to examine "the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministeris," the order of their churches,

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 29.

² Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 242-4.

³ Mitchell's *Scottish Reformation*, p. 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 32, 33.

⁵ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 265.

⁶ Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 195, 196, 199.

and the manners of the people. When in residence in their principal towns, they were likewise to preach and edify the Church. Ten provinces or dioceses were designed,¹ but only five superintendents were ever appointed, and occasionally ministers had the same duties temporarily assigned to them.

Archbishop Spottiswoode, in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, when dealing with the *First Book of Discipline*, calmly wrote: "Because this will fall to be often mentioned, and serveth to the clearing of many questions which were afterwards agitated in the Church, I have thought meet, *word by word*, here to insert the same, that the reader may see what were the grounds laid down at first for the government of the Church, so we shall the better decern of the changes that followed."² Instead of reproducing it "word by word," he took grave liberties with it, so much so that, in Principal Lee's opinion, "his account might almost appear to have been intended for the purpose of misleading negligent inquirers."³ From his curtailed passages concerning the superintendents, it is by no means obvious that their office was intended to be temporary. It was not difficult to foresee, in 1560, that there would be a scarcity of ministers for a good many years to come, hence the directions for the choosing of superintendents after "thre yeiris be passed."⁴ In 1567 there were about 1080 churches and only 257 ordained ministers; in 1574 there were 988 churches and only 289 ministers;⁵ and in 1596 there were "above foure hundreth paroch kirks destitute of the ministrie of the Word, by and attour the kirks of Argyle and the Yles."⁶

Attempts have frequently been made to identify the office of a superintendent as substantially the same as that of a bishop. David Laing puts the matter very briefly: "This employment of superintendents was beyond all question only a temporary expedient. They were elected and admitted in the same manner as ordinary pastors; and while they were, equally with any other minister of the Church, subject to be censured, suspended, or deposed by the Assembly, the office itself conferred on them no precedence or superiority over their brethren. . . . Neither could they exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction without the consent of the provincial assemblies."⁷ Not only so, but they were subject to censure and correction by the ministers and elders of the provinces of which they were the overseers.⁸ Dr Grub, writing from the Episcopal

¹ Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 201-8.

² Spottiswoode's *History*, Spot. Soc. ed., vol. i. p. 331.

³ Lee's *Lectures*, vol. i. p. 151. The principal alterations and omissions in Spottiswoode's version are pointed out in Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 588, 589.

⁴ Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 206, 208.

⁵ *Wodrow Miscellany*, p. 326.

⁶ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 876.

⁷ *Wodrow Miscellany*, p. 322.

⁸ Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. p. 207.

point of view, says that, although the scheme had been fully carried out and regarded by its promoters as more than a temporary arrangement, "it bore only a faint external resemblance to the hierarchy."¹

In the autumn of 1566 Knox received a letter from Beza expressing a desire to obtain from the Church of Scotland its approbation of the *Second Helvetic Confession* then recently published. The ministers of the neighbourhood promptly assembled at St Andrews, read that *Confession*, considered it chapter by chapter, diligently examined everything, leaving nothing unexplored. In the reply to Beza, signed by all present and bearing the university seal, they say: "It is impossible to express the exceeding delight we derived from that work, when we clearly perceived that in your little book was most faithfully, holily, piously, and indeed divinely explained, and that briefly, whatever we have been constantly teaching these eight years, and still by the grace of God continue to teach. . . . We are, therefore, altogether compelled, as well by our consciences as from a sense of duty, to undertake its patronage, and not only to express our approval, but also our exceeding commendation."

The sincerity of this hearty approbation was emphasised by their taking exception "to what is written in the 24th chapter of the aforesaid *Confession* concerning the 'festivals of our Lord's nativity, circumcision, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending the Holy Ghost upon His disciples,'" which festivals "obtain no place among us; for we dare not religiously celebrate any other feast-day than what the divine oracles have prescribed. Everything else, as we have said, we teach, approve, and most willingly embrace."²

Now, in the eighteenth chapter of that *Confession*, it is clearly laid down that all ministers are equal in power and commission, and that bishops and presbyters were originally the same in office.³ This cuts off Prelacy at the very roots.

Among those who signed this letter were John Douglas, Principal of St Mary's College, John Rutherford, Principal of St Salvator's College, John Duncanson, Principal of St Leonard's College, John Knox and his colleague John Craig, three of the superintendents, viz. Wynram, Erskine of Dun, and Spottiswoode, four professors, and other twenty-nine ministers including John Row of Perth, Robert Hamilton of St Andrews,

¹ Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 99. Superintendents are mentioned in Article xxxii. of the *Confession of Faith* enacted by the first National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France in 1559 (Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. i. p. xiii). The National Synod, held at Gap in 1603, explained that the word superintendent in that article "is not to be understood of any superiority of one pastor above another, but only in general of such as have office and charge in the Church" (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 227); and that explanation was confirmed by the National Synod held at Rochell in 1607 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 266).

² Laing's *Knox*, vol. vi. pp. 544-8.

³ Schaff's *History of the Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i. p. 412; vol. iii. p. 283.

David Fergusson of Dunfermline, William Christison of Dundee, Adam Heriot of Aberdeen, David Lyndsay of Leith, John Duncanson of Stirling, Andrew Simpson of Dunbar, and John Brand of Holyrood-house.¹ When the General Assembly met in December it approved Pont's translation of that *Confession*, and ordered it to be printed; but with a note in the margin where the five festival days were mentioned.²

Although Parliament had no difficulty in formally ratifying the *Confession of Faith* in 1560, it did not ratify the *First Book of Discipline*. The nobles perused it many days. Some approved; others objected for various reasons. Sensualists dreaded the proposals for the suppression of vice. Those who had acquired church lands or revenues were loath to disgorge, as they would have had to do had the scheme been accepted for endowing the universities from the temporality of the Church, and sustaining the ministers, the schools, and the poor from the teinds. Those who signified their approval by their signatures did so on condition that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other beneficed men, who had already joined the Protestants, should enjoy the revenues of their benefices for life, they sustaining the ministers and ministry.³

On the 15th of February 1561-2, the Privy Council resolved that "the auld possessouris" of all the benefices should be allowed to retain two-thirds of the revenues of their respective benefices, and that the other third should be used for the Queen's expenses and for sustaining the preachers and readers.⁴ Knox denounced this scheme—"I see twa partis freely given to the devill, and the thrid maun be devidid betwix God and the devill: weill, bear witnes to me, that this day I say it, or [*i.e.* ere] it be long the devill shall have three partis of the thrid; and judge you then, what Goddis portioun shal be."⁵

Knox's prophecy or forecast was fulfilled. The ministers were so wretchedly paid that some of them gave up their work. Speaking for himself and other ministers in 1562, David Fergusson of Dunfermline said: "The greatest number of us have lived in great penurie, without all stipend some tuelf moneth, some eight, and some half-a-year, having nothing in the meanetime to susteane ourselves and our families but that which freindes have given us, and that which we have borrowed of cheritable persones until God send it us to repay them."⁶ On the 17th of September 1566, the Privy Council owned that, by a great number of "schiftis and inventionis," her Majesty's liberality had been "sa planelie abusit be unsaciabill and gredie askeris" that now of the "thridis of

¹ Laing's *Knox*, vol. vi. pp. 548-50.

² *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 90.

³ Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 128-30, 218, 222, 257, 258.

⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. i. pp. 199, 201, 202.

⁵ Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. p. 310.

⁶ Fergusson's *Tracts*, Ban. Club, p. 11.

benefices, commoun kirkis, freris landis, and rentis, lytill or nathing is left undisponit, owther to the sustentatioun of hir Hienes hous and uther neidfull effaris, nor yit to the sustentatioun of the ministeris," and therefore, with consent of her council, she formally revoked and annulled all these gifts.¹

Mr Patrick MacClane, who had royal letters for provision to be made to him of the bishopric of the Isles and of the abbacy of Icolmkill, realising his physical inability to discharge the duties, transferred his rights to John Carswell (the Superintendent of Argyle and the Isles), on condition that he gave him a yearly pension. The Queen, understanding that Carswell was hereby obliged "to paye the stipendis of the ministeris plantit within the boundis foirsaidis, and to releif the Quenis Majestie and hir comptrollare thairof," assigned and disposed to him for life all the rents, profits, teinds, etc. of the said bishopric and abbacy, and commanded her comptroller to desist from craving the thirds and from otherwise troubling Carswell "in brouking thairof." In this document, which is dated 12th January 1564-5, Carswell is not designated superintendent, but simply "Maister Johnne Carswell," and seven times merely "Maister Johnne."²

This arrangement seems reasonable as, according to Keith, MacClane's predecessor, John Campbell, had dilapidated most of the benefice of the bishopric in favour of his relations, and had conveyed some heritable jurisdictions to his own family of Calder.³ Under the Queen's signature of 12th January 1564-5, Carswell should have had ample power to deal with the revenues of the bishopric and abbacy; but he may have feared that his right was imperilled, if not reduced, by the Privy Council's Act of 17th September 1566. On 24th March 1566-7, the Queen made, constituted, and created him Bishop of the Isles and Abbot of Icolmkill, with power to deal with the lands, benefices, teinds, fruits, rentis, etc., in all respects, causes, and conditions as if he had been provided in the Court of Rome. Of course, from the ecclesiastical point of view, she could not make him either a bishop or an abbot, and consequently he was as much or as little of the one as of the other.⁴ In this creation there is no reference to Patrick MacClane; and Carswell's right for life is declared to date from all the years and terms that have elapsed since his first intromission, notwithstanding any acts, statutes, or revocation to the contrary. The comptroller was not to demand the thirds from him, and he was to use them for sustaining the ministers at their proper

¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. i. p. 478.

² *MS. Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. xxxii. fol. 126.

³ Keith's *Catalogue*, 1824 ed., p. 307.

⁴ See extracts quoted below from Erskine of Dun's letter to the Regent Mar.

churches.¹ In Bishop Keith's opinion, "all this provision was, no doubt, made with a view that he might dilapidate the temporality to the family of Argyle."² The date of this creation may lend some support to Keith's opinion, as it was exactly six weeks after Darnley's murder, and seven and a half before the Queen's marriage to Bothwell.

Carswell does not appear to have been a regular attender at the General Assemblies, but he was present in July 1569 and "was reproved for accepting the bishoprick of the Isles without making the Assembly forseen; and for riding at and assisting of the Parliament holden by the Queen after the murther of the King."³

In December 1567—that is, six months after Queen Mary was sent as a prisoner to Loch Leven—Parliament, considering that "the ministeris hes bene lang defraudit of thair stipendis, sua that thay ar becum in greit povertie and necessitie," ordained that "the hail thriddis of the hail benefices of this realme sall now instantlie, and in all tymes to cum, first be payit to the ministeris of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and thair successouris."⁴ This was not given effect to; and as benefices became vacant, by the death or forfeiture of their Roman Catholic holders, they were frequently given by way of reward or favour to utterly unqualified men. In March 1570-1, the General Assembly sent commissioners to the Regent and Privy Council to plead "that no disposition of any benefice or presentation be made of any person, without the admission and collation of the Kirk following upon just presentations."⁵

It was after the Earl of Morton returned from his mission to England, in April 1571, that he was, on account of his expenses in the public service, "rewarded with the bishoprick of Sanct Andrewes now vacant by the death of Johne Hammiltoun."⁶ "Reserving to himself the profite," Morton transferred the title to John Douglas, Rector of St Andrews University and Provost of St Mary's College.⁷ Following Richard Bannatyne, Calderwood gives the 18th August as the date of Douglas's

¹ *MS. Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. xxxvi. ff. 68, 69. On the 15th December 1561, the Queen, with the advice of the Three Estates, had ordained that all her future confirmations of infeftments of kirk-lands should be as lawful and of as great strength and avail "as gif the samin had bene obtenit and purchest fra the Pape or sate of Rome" (*Acts of Parliament*, vol. ii. p. 545). The infant James exercised the same right in 1570 (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 418).

² Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 308.

³ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 144. As Bishop of Sodor (or the Isles) he sat in the Parliament which met on the 14th April 1567 (*Acts of Parliament*, vol. ii. pp. 545-7).

⁴ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iii. p. 24.

⁵ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 185-8.

⁶ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. p. 67. Randolph, the English Ambassador, was said to have used his influence on Morton's behalf (Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, Mait. Club, pp. 236, 240). In October 1570 "the Erle of Glencarne, being in this toun, wald not assist to this Parliament, bot departit of Edinburgh, becaus my Lord Regent wald nocht give to him the archbishoprick of Glasgow" (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 191).

⁷ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. p. 156.

presentation.¹ But the precept in his favour is dated, at Leith, 6th August 1571. By it he was to have, for life, the archbishopric, both temporality and spirituality, subject to a pension to James Halyburton, Provost of Dundee, or his cousins George or Andrew Halyburtons. The see was declared to be vacant as well by the forfeiture as by the death of John [Hamilton], the last archbishop, or by the forfeiture and death of Gavin [Hamilton], Commendator of Kilwinning, his pretended successor.² In September, Douglas sat in the Parliament at Stirling as Archbishop of St Andrews.³ Wynram, the Superintendent of Fife, forbade him, under pain of excommunication, "to voit as ane of the Kirke till he sould be admitted be the Kirke:" and "Mortoun commandit him to voit (as Bischope of Sanct Androis) undir the paine of treasone."⁴

Writing from St Andrews, in August 1571, to the General Assembly at Stirling, Knox thus warned its members: "Unfaithfull and traitours to the flock sall ye be before the Lord Jesus, if that, with your consent, directlie or indirectlie, ye suffer unworthie men to be thrust in into the ministrie of the Kirk, under quhat pretence that ever it be. Remember the Judge befor quhom ye must make account, and resist that tyrrannie as ye wald avoyd hell's fyre. This battell, I grant, will be hard; bot in the second it will be harder; that is, that, with the lyke uprightness and strenth in God, ye gainstand the mercilesse devourers of the patrimonie of the Kirk."⁵ That Assembly sent commissioners to plead the cause before Parliament.⁶ They did so on the 31st August. "But their petitions were rejected. The ministers were called proud knaves, and received manie injurious words from the lords, speciallie from Morton, who ruled all. He said he sould lay their pride, and putt order to them."⁷

While that Parliament was in session, the Regent Lennox was assassinated. To his successor, the Regent Mar, Erskine of Dun, Superintendent of Angus, wrote on the 10th November: "A greater offence or contempt of God and His Kirk can no prince doe than to sett

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. p. 135; Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, p. 178.

² *MS. Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. xxxix. fol. 117. Provost Halyburton's pension was £1000 a year, half of which was from the abbacy of Seone, and the other half from the bishopric of Moray when it should "raik" by the death of Patrick Hepburn; but, on 5th September 1570, the latter half was made over to George and Andrew Halyburtons and was to be uplifted from the archbishopric of St Andrews (*Ibid.*, vol. xxxix. fol. 7). In two writs of 9th February 1571-2, reference is made to this pension, and to the contract and appointment between George and Andrew Halyburtons and John Douglas (*Ibid.*, vol. xl. ff. 94, 119). See *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iii. pp. 417, 418; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 233. John Hamilton had been hanged at Stirling on 7th April 1571, and Gavin had been slain in a skirmish on the 16th of the following June.

³ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iii. p. 65.

⁴ Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, p. 183.

⁵ Laing's *Knox*, vol. vi. p. 605; Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. p. 134.

⁶ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 200, 201.

⁷ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 137, 138.

up by his authoritie men in spirituall offices, as to creat bishops and pastors of the Kirk. . . . They may be called bishops but are not bishops . . . for they enter not by the doore, but by another way, and therefore are not pastors, sayeth Christ, but theeves and robbers. I cannot but, lament frome my verie heart that great misorder used in Stirline at the last Parliament, in creating bishops, placing them, and giving them vote in Parliament as bishops, in despite of the Kirk and high contempt of God. . . . I heare some were offended with the commissioners of the Kirk at that time, but without caus; for they passed not the bounds of their commission; and the whole Kirk will affirme their proceedings. and insist farther in that mater."¹ After that Parliament rose, a number of barons and other zealous Protestants remonstrated with the Regent and Privy Council: "Our poore ministers . . . with dolorous hearts see their wives, childrein, and familie sterve for hunger, and that becaus your Grace and greedie courteours violentlie reave and unjustlie consume that which just law and good order hath appointed for their sustentation; to witt, the thrids of benefices. . . . Erles and lords become bishops and abbots; gentlemen, courteours, babes, and persons unable to guide themselves are promoted by you to suche benefices as require learned preachers. When such enormiteis are fostered, we say, what a face of a Kirk sall we looke for ere it be long within this realme?"²

A scheme was now introduced, professedly to put the sustentation of the ministers on a secure basis and to obviate certain objections to recent procedure. A Convention of the Church, which met at Leith on 12th January 1571-2, after resolving that it should have the strength, force, and effect of a General Assembly, gave full power, on the 16th, to seven commissioners, or any four of them, to compear before the Regent and as many Lords of Privy Council as he deemed meet, to confer and conclude on certain articles, and to report to the General Assembly next March.³ On the same 16th January, the Regent nominated Morton and seven others, any four of whom might meet with the Church commissioners to advise, treat, and conclude with them, "anent all matters tending to the ordering and establishing the policy of the Kirk, the sustentation of the ministers, and support of the King's Majesty and common affaires of the realme, to continue in such order as shall be agreed upon while [*i.e.* until] his Highness' perfect age, or while the same be altered and abolished be the Three Estates in Parliament."⁴

The elaborate "articles and formes," doubtless drafted beforehand,

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 158-61; Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, pp. 200-2; Wodrow's *Lives of the Reformers*, Mait. Club, vol. i. pp. 38-40.

² Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 145, 146; Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, pp. 181, 182.

³ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 204, 205, 208.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 207.

which they agreed upon, were approved by the Regent in the King's name on 1st February. They provide "for support of the scoles and increas of letters," for the support of the poor "in a part," for the names and titles of archbishops and bishops being retained, for the abolition of pluralities, for the exclusion of unqualified persons from benefices, for the sustenance of the ministry, for the deprivation of all claiming to be ministers of the Word, or possessing spiritual livings, who do not subscribe the *Confession of Faith*. They also provide that no one be admitted to the ministry under twenty-three years of age; that those found worthy and qualified to be ministers and preachers be planted throughout the whole realm; and that no one should leave that vocation or his appointed place above forty days in a year without a lawful impediment and permission. They further provide for the nomination of bishops and archbishops, who shall not be under thirty years of age, and, as far as may be, shall possess the qualities specified by Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus, and "sall exerce na farther jurisdiction in spirituall function nor the superintendentis hes and presently exerces quhill the same be agreit upoun." A register was to be kept of all signatures and other grants of spiritual promotion, or matters concerning the same; "and na letters to pas [the seals] with blankes." The commissioners for the Kirk agreed to certain sums from the thirds being assigned for the support of the King and common affairs of the realm, etc.¹

According to Calderwood, the lords who met the Church commissioners at Leith "were hunting for fatt kirk-livings."² And Morton, who wished to curtail the powers of the General Assembly,³ did not wait until the commissioners gave in their report to it, but at once took steps, by acting on these "articles and formes," to make his pecuniary interest in the see of St Andrews technically secure. He arrived in St Andrews on 28th January; and on 3rd February an edict, dated at Leith 24th January, was posted

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 209-36. Erskine of Dun, in his letter to the Regent Mar, had said: "I understand a bishop or superintendent to be but one office; and where the one is the other is" (Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. p. 160); and so, from his point of view, it was practically unnecessary to stipulate that the bishops should have no more jurisdiction in spiritual functions than the superintendents had. There was need for the stipulation regarding letters with blanks. In the *MS. Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. xxxix. fol. 66, there is a precept of a letter of donation and provision of the archbishopric of Glasgow, as well temporality as spirituality, in favour of [blank] dated 26th January 1570-1. The bishoprics of Moray and Dunkeld were granted by Henry and Mary to persons unnamed in letters undated (*Ibid.*, vol. xxxv. ff. 85-7), and also the priory of Whithorn (*Ibid.*, vol. xxxiii. fol. 107). The order signed by Mary and Henry, commanding the Keeper of the Privy Seal to seal the Whithorn grant, although the person's name "be nocht expremitt thairintill, nor zit the samin daitit," has been pasted into the Register, and is dated October 1565.

² Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. p. 170.

³ James Melville's *Autobiography and Diary*, Wodrow Society, p. 61; Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 306, 393, 394; R. Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, pp. 206, 207, 323.

on the church-door and on the abbey-yett, summoning certain ministers, appointed "to represent the chapter in the Reformed Kirke," to be present on 6th February, "to chuse ane uther archbischepe and pastore; the seat now vacand be the *naturall* death¹ of the last archbischepe." On the 6th John Douglas "gave specimen doctrine . . . in the oppin pulpet," Morton being present. On the 8th Patrick Constantine (*alias* Adamson) preached, and thereafter those who had been cited met in the abbey, and after "meikle ressoning," Douglas was elected, although many of "the godly ministeris wer against it." Morton was again present on the 10th when Knox, who was then living in St Andrews, preached, but "refused to inaugurat the said bischope."²

Wynram, however, on that day admitted him, and in doing so followed the "Forme and Ordour of the Electioun of the Superintendents."³ Douglas read his answers to the questions, and one of the bailies responded for the people. Robert Stewart (Bishop of Caithness and Commendator of St Andrews Priory), Spottiswoode (Superintendent of Lothian), and David Lyndsay (minister of Leith), "laid thair handis [on] and embraced" Douglas, in token of his admission. "Being asked, gif any simoniacall pactione was made or yit to be made with ony? Answered, that none was nor suld be made. Being requyred, gif he sould be obedient to the Kirke, and that he sould usurpe no power over the same? Answered, that he wald take no moir power nor the Counsall and Generall Assemblie of the Kirke sould prescryve." Morton left the city next day.⁴

In this way, what Bishop Keith called "a new kind of Episcopacy,"⁵ and William Scot (born 1558) called a "gallimaufrey,"⁶ was obtruded upon

¹ The form of the edict was that provided in the Leith Articles (*Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 218). In one of the writs under the signet, dated at Leith on 9th February, the see is said to be vacant "*per mortem naturalem ultimi archiepiscopi ejusdem*" (*MS. Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. xl. fol. 94). This was a mild description of hanging!

² R. Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, pp. 222, 223.

³ This Form and Order is in Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 144-50.

⁴ R. Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, pp. 223, 224. In one of the two writs under the signet, dated at Leith 9th February, instructions are given that Douglas may be consecrated by the Bishop of Caithness, and the Superintendents of Angus, Fife, and Lothian, or other lawful bishops or superintendents within the kingdom, or any two of them (*MS. Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. xl. fol. 94); but, in the other writ, it is any three of them (*Ibid.*, vol. xl. fol. 119). Robert Stewart, brother of the Regent Lennox, received the administration of the Church of Caithness from the Pope in January 1541-2, was elect and confirmed by 1544, does not appear to have ever received the priesthood, joined the Reformers, "and, though never consecrated, retained the title of Bishop of Caithness till his death in 1586" (Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 249, 250). In the *First Book of Discipline*, "the impositioun of handis" was judged unnecessary (Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. p. 193). Ritual was disdained: "It is neathir the clipping of thair crownes, the crossing [greasing] of thair fingeris, nor the blowing of the dum doggis, called the bischopis, neathir yit the laying on of thair handis, that maketh thame treu ministeris of Christ Jesus" (*Ibid.*, p. 255).

⁵ Keith's *Catalogue*, 1824, p. 261.

⁶ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 24.

the Reformed Church of Scotland. Richard Bannatyne, Knox's devoted servitor, testifies that the inauguration of John Douglas was "altogether against the mynd of Mr Knox, as he at that tyme oppinly spake in pulpet, he gritlie invyed [*i.e.* inveighed] against sic *ordour* and doingis as then was uset." John Rutherford, Provost of St Salvator's College, alleged that Knox opposed the election "becaus he gat not the bischoprike himself." Next Sabbath Knox declared, in the pulpit, that he had refused a greater bishopric which he might have had with the favour of greater men; and that he opposed this election "for discharge of his conscience; and that the Kirke of Scotland suld not be subject to that *ordore* which then was used, considdering the Lordis of Scotland had subscriyvit, and also confirmed in Parliament, the *ordore* alreadie and long agoe appointed in the Buike of Discipline."¹

There may be differences of opinion as to what is implied in the word "ordour" or "ordore" in the above quotation, whether it refers to the order (or office) of a bishop, or merely to the order (or manner) of Douglas's appointment. James Melville, then a student at St Andrews, says: "I hard Mr Knox speak against it, bot sparinglie because he lovit the man; and with regrat, saying, 'Alas! for pitie to lay upone an auld, weak man's back that quhilk twentie of the best gifts culd nocht bear. It will wrak him and disgrace him!'"² William Scot of Cupar (who may be identified as one of James Melville's fellow-students)³ affirmed that Knox, "in open audience of many, . . . denounced 'anathema' to the giver, and 'anathema' to the receiver."⁴ As already mentioned, many of the nobles and barons had subscribed the *First Book of Discipline* in January 1560-1. And in December 1567 Parliament had approved of an article to the effect that all presentations, since August 1560, to benefices having the charge of souls, otherwise than is appointed by "the *ordoure* of the Buike of Discipline," should "vaik," so that "the Kirk may be deliverit frome unprofitable pastouris."⁵

Patrick Adamson now became a zealous preacher against bishops. James Melville heard him in a sermon, a week after the inauguration of Douglas, distinguish three kinds of bishops. "'My lord bischope,' said he, 'was in the Papistrie: my lord's bischope is now, when my lord getts the benefice, and the bischope serves for na thing bot to mak his tytle sure: and the Lord's bischope is the trew minister of the Gospell.'"⁶

¹ Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, pp. 256, 257. Six months after the death of Edward the Sixth, Knox explained that he had refused the high promotions offered to him, because of his "foresight of trouble to come" (Laing's *Knox*, vol. iii. p. 122).

² Melville's *Diary*, p. 31.

³ *Early Records of St Andrews University*, Scot. Hist. Soc., p. 279.

⁴ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 25.

⁵ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iii. p. 37.

⁶ Melville's *Diary*, p. 32.

A calf's skin stuffed with straw, placed beside a cow to induce her to give milk, was known as a "tulchan," and so the new bishops were contemptuously and appropriately called "Tulchans."¹ If Bishop Keith was right in his opinion concerning the motive behind Carswell's appointment as Bishop of the Isles, then that superintendent was really the first of the Tulchan line.

On 30th March, Douglas, as archbishop, took the oath prescribed in the Articles of Leith. The pope is not mentioned, but is included in "all forayne jurisdictionis, poweris, superioriteis and authoriteis" emphatically renounced, and the archbishopric and its possessions are avowedly held, "under God, onlie of his Majestie, and Croun Royall of this his realme."²

The General Assembly, which met on 6th March (1571-2) in St Andrews, had appointed a committee to convene in Knox's house to consider the Leith Articles and to report to the Assembly.³ No report is recorded. Perhaps the conference was not held. Of this March Assembly James Melville says: "Thair amangs uther thingis was motioned the making of bischopes, to the quhilk Mr Knox opponit himself directlie and zealuslie."⁴ It allowed Douglas to retain the provostship of the New College till next Assembly. In connection with this Richard Bannatyne has the heading—"Johne Knoxis protestatioune against this proceeding, especiallie against the electione of this bischope." Unfortunately, the protestation has not been copied into the MS.⁵

The Assembly, in August 1572, appointed a committee to "oversee and consider" the Leith Articles and to report "what they find therein either to be retained or altered."⁶

Objection was taken to the names—archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, and chapter, as appearing "to sound to Papistrie." The whole Assembly, including those who had been commissioners at Leith, protested that by such names they did not intend to consent to any kind of Papistry or superstition and wished the names changed to inoffensive ones. They also unanimously protested that the Articles should only be received "as ane interim untill farder and more perfyte *ordour* be obtainit at the hands of the King's Majestie's Regent and nobilitie; for the quhilk they will prease as occasion sall serve."⁷

To this Assembly Knox sent a short letter in which he says: "I have communicated my mind with thir two dear brethren [John Wynram and Robert Pont]. Hear them and doe as ye will answer before God." These

¹ Melville's *Diary*, p. 31.

³ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 238.

⁵ R. Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, p. 228.

⁷ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 246.

² *Register of Privy Council*, vol. ii. pp. 129, 130.

⁴ Melville's *Diary*, p. 31.

⁶ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. p. 244.

words appear to imply that Knox expected Wynram and Pont to state or explain his opinion orally; but they were also the bearers of a paper of ten articles which are usually understood to have been sent by him.¹ It has been held that, in these articles, he approved of the restoration of the bishops as proposed by the Leith Convention. On the other hand, Dr M'Crie, the ablest and most painstaking of his biographers, maintained that "all that can be fairly deduced from these articles is, that he desired the conditions and limitations agreed upon by that Convention to be strictly observed in the election of bishops, in opposition to the granting of bishoprics to laymen, and to the simoniacal pactions which the ministers made with the nobles on receiving presentations."²

In preaching before the Regent and nobility at Leith, in January 1571-2, at the time of the Convention or Assembly, David Fergusson complained that that which ought to maintain the ministers and the poor was being "gevin to prophane men, flattereris in court, ruffianes and hyrelingis," while the poor were oppressed with hunger, the kirks decaying, and the schools utterly neglected.³ And in July 1572, in a letter to Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow, Knox condemns both the Queen's party and the King's. Of the latter he says: "If they can have the kirk lands to be annexed to their houses, they appeare to tak no more care of the instructioun of the ignorant, and of the feeding of the flooke of Jesus Christ than ever did the Papists."⁴ In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that he should manifest anxiety that the conditions and limitations of the Leith scheme should be rigidly observed, so that as much good as possible might be got out of it. The oral message, of which Wynram and Pont were the bearers, may have been an expression of his dislike of the scheme.

In Principal Lee's opinion—"It is obvious, indeed, that the Church had this constitution forced upon it; and its acquiescence cannot fairly be construed into a voluntary acceptance of the scheme, which the Government had determined to impose. The new bishops had little power and little honour among their brethren."⁵

It does not follow that Knox was enamoured of Episcopacy because five of the best years of his life had been spent in England under bishops, for he did not attempt in the slightest degree to introduce them into the Reformed Church of Scotland when its foundations were being laid in

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 247-9.

² M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, 1855 ed., p. 262. One of the articles desires "that all bishopricks vacand may be presented, and qualified persons nominat thereunto, within a year after the vaiking thereof, according to the order taken in Leith." By that order, be it remembered, bishops had no further jurisdiction in spiritual matters than the superintendents.

³ Fergusson's *Tracts*, p. 72.

⁴ Laing's *Knox*, vol. vi. p. 617.

⁵ Lee's *Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 7.

1560. That five years' service, despite his antipathy to the English Liturgy,¹ he might have justified on the ground that although the Church of England was not reformed up to his standard, it was tending to reformation.² And his later experience in Geneva no doubt influenced him.³

The Convention of Estates, on 5th March 1574-5, appointed a committee of sixteen (laymen and clergymen) to "confer, resson and put in forme the ecclesiasticall policie and *ordour* of the governing of the Kirk, as thay sall find maist aggreabill to the trewth of Goddis Word and maist convenient for the estate and people of this realme."⁴ The General Assembly, which met two days later, named seven of the brethren, any two of whom the Regent might accept to concur and reason with his committee. Andrew Melville, who had returned from the Continent in the preceding July, was one of the seven.⁵ Of this Assembly "James [Boyd] Bisshop of Glasgow" was moderator. No other bishop had that honour conferred upon him until 1608.

At the Assembly, in August 1575, Boyd was exhorted to be diligent in preaching—a duty which he had neglected. John Durie thereupon protested that the trial as bishop should not prejudice the reasons which he and others had for opposing the office and name of bishop.⁶ At a later session of this Assembly, a committee of six, including Andrew Melville, was appointed to reason and confer upon the question—Whether the bishops, as they now are in the Kirk of Scotland, have their functions from the Word of God, or if the chapters for creating them ought to be tolerated in this Reformed Kirk.⁷ This committee, renewed from time to time, produced the *Second Book of Discipline* which was very largely due to the zeal and pains of Andrew Melville, who acquired the title of—"the Flinger out of bisshopes."⁸

They were flung out in July 1580, when "the haill Assemblie of the Kirk in ane voyce" found and declared "the office of a bisshop, as it is now usit and commounly takin within this realme," to be "unlauffull in the selfe, as haveand neither fundament, ground nor warrant within the Word of God"; and ordained "that all sic persons as bruiks, or sall bruik

¹ Laing's *Knox*, vol. vi. p. 12.

² For this distinction, see *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 189, 255.

³ When Knox was one of the ministers of the English congregation at Geneva, Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, sat in the kirk-session as one of the four elders elected in December 1558 (*Livre des Anglois*, p. 50). After John Douglas had sat in Parliament as archbishop, he was re-elected an elder in the kirk-session (*Register of St Andrews Kirk-Session*, vol. i. p. 350).

⁴ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iii. p. 89.

⁵ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 325, 326.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 331.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 340. Dr Mc'Crie, following James Melville, attributes the appointment of this committee to the preceding Assembly in March (*Life of Andrew Melville*, 1824, vol. i. p. 110).

⁸ Melville's *Diary*, p. 52.

heirafter, the said office sal be chargeit *simpliciter* to demitt, quyt and leave of the samein, . . . and siclyke to desist and cease from all preaching, ministratioun of the sacraments, or using any way the office of pastors, quhill they receive *de novo* admission from the Generall Assemblie, under the paine of excommunicatioun."¹ "Most of the bishops complied with the order; but the minutes containing their submission were afterwards torn out of the Register by the Archbishop of St Andrews."² When five volumes of the Register were produced in the General Assembly in June 1587, it was found that "a great part" had been "mankit;"³ and Patrick Adamson, who had succeeded John Douglas as Archbishop of St Andrews, afterwards owned that, with his consent, some leaves had been torn out, and things against the estate of bishops destroyed.⁴

In May 1578 the General Assembly had presented a MS. copy of the *Second Book of Discipline* to the King, then barely twelve years old, and to the supplication accompanying it he gave "a very comfortable and good ansuer";⁵ and on 28th April 1581 the Assembly resolved that, having been agreed to before in divers Assemblies, the Book should now be recorded in the Register of the Kirk, although it had not yet been approved by the Magistrate.⁶ And so now "an attempt was made, with consent of the Crown, regularly to divide the country into presbyteries. These, however, though marked out on paper in that year, were in point of fact only gradually set up."⁷

In the *Second Book of Discipline* it is stated that there are four ordinary functions or offices in the Church, viz. (1) the pastor, minister, or bishop, (2) the doctor, who may also be called prophet, bishop, elder, catechiser, (3) the presbyter or elder, and (4) the deacon; and four sorts of Assemblies, viz. (1) those of particular kirks and congregations, one or more, (2) those of a province, (3) those of a whole nation, and (4) those of all nations. It is explained that the National Assembly may be called "the Generall Elderschip of the haill Kirk within the realme," commonly called "the Generall Assemblies." It is a rather curious fact that there is only one reference to "the Presbyteries or Elderschippis," and one to "the Presbyterie," while there are eight to the Provincial Assemblies, one to the Synodal Assemblies, five to the Particular Eldership, two to the Common Eldership, and nearly a score to the Eldership or Elderships. It is also explained that "the worde elder, in the Scriptouris, sumtyme is

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 453.

² Lee's *Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 19.

³ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 697. For gaps, see *Ibid.*, pp. 405, 417, 424, 461, 465, 474.

⁴ Row's *History*, Wodrow Society, p. 123.

⁵ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. ii. pp. 409, 414.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 487, 488.

⁷ Mitchell's *Scottish Reformation*, p. 229. For a list of the presbyteries, see *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. ii. pp. 481-7. At the close of the list they are referred to as "elderships."

the name of aige, sumtyme of office"; and when it is "the name of ane office, sumtyme it is takin learglie, comprehending alsweill the pastouris and doctouris as thame quha ar commonlie callit seniouris and eldaris." "Bischoppis, gif the name επισκοπος be propirly takin," "ar all ane with ministeris . . . for it is not the name of superioritie and lordschip, bot of office and watcheing;" and because "in the corruptioun of the Kirk this name, as utheris, hes bene abused, and zit is like to be, we cannot allow the faissoun of thais new chosin bischoppis, nather of the chapteris that are the electouris of thame." "Trew bischoppis sould addiet thameselfis to ane particulare flok (quhilk sindrie of thame refuses); nather sould thay usurp lordschip ovr thair bretherine, and ovr the inheritance of Christ as these men do." The abusers of the patrimony of the Kirk should not have a vote in Parliament nor sit in the Council "under the name of the Kirk and kirkmen." Unmeet men, who do not intend to serve in the Church, should not be admitted to benefices; and in so far as, in the Order of the Leith Convention, it appears that such may be admitted if found qualified, "ather that pretendit *Ordour* is aganis all guid ordour, or ellis it must be understandit not of thame that be qualifeit to warldlie effearis to serve in Court, bot sic as ar qualefiit to teache Goddis Woorde, haifand thair lauchfull admissioun of the Kirk."

The benefits that would be derived by all Estates, if this Book were acted upon, are set forth in its concluding chapter. These include ease and commodity to the whole of the commons, who would be relieved from the building and upholding of their kirks, building of bridges, and other similar works; to the labourers of the ground in the payment of their teinds; "and schortlie in all theis thingis, quhairunto thay have bene hitherto rigorously handlit be thame that wer falslie callit kirkmen, thair takkismen, factouris, [chamerlanes] and extortioneris."¹

By the death of James Boyd in June 1581, the see of Glasgow became vacant.² The Duke of Lennox having got the gift presented it to Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling;³ who, according to Spottiswoode, had formerly been fervently opposed to bishops, but now accepted the offer, after it had been refused by several "because of the condition required," the condition being that he should dispoise to the Duke and his heirs the lands and whatsoever else belonged to the see, for the yearly payment of £1000 Scots with some horse-corn and poultry. Spottiswoode righteously denounced this as "a vile bargain," "for which justly he ought to have been repulsed. But the Church, passing this point, made quarrel to him for accepting the bishopric, which the King would not acknowledge to

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. ii. pp. 488-512; *Dunlop's Confessions*, vol. iii. pp. 759-805; *Calderwood's History*, vol. iii. pp. 529-55.

² *Keith's Catalogue*, 1824, p. 261.

³ *Calderwood's History*, vol. iii. p. 577.

be a reason sufficient."¹ In so acting, the Church was consistently carrying out the Act of the Assembly of July 1580; and the King's refusing to agree to this action was an additional proof of his dislike of that Act of Assembly.

As Professor Hume Brown puts it: "James now took up the ground from which he never, with his own consent, receded—that the Church should be ruled by bishops, and that it belonged to him to appoint them. . . . It was evident that his preference for Episcopacy was mainly dictated by the fact that, through the agency of bishops of his own choosing, he would be materially assisted towards the attainment of that extended prerogative which was his persistent aim from the moment he began to think for himself."²

Despite the King, the Duke, and the Privy Council, the Church excommunicated Montgomery. It was during the course of this contest that John Durie, for his freedom of speech in the pulpit, was ordered to leave Edinburgh, and that James Lawson, Walter Balcanqual, and David Lindsay, for the same, were also dealt with by the Privy Council.³ Under the guidance of the King's unworthy favourites, Lennox and Arran, the Privy Council sanctioned a royal proclamation in July 1582, threatening to punish such freedom with all rigour.⁴ In the following September the Ruthven-Raid Government, as Professor Masson terms it, issued an explanation, which, under the guise of being "a mere caution against misinterpretation" of the July proclamation, allowed the ministers liberty of speech enough.⁵ It was in June of that year that Andrew Melville, in his sermon before the General Assembly, "inveighed against the bloodie guillie of absolute authoritie, whereby men intended to pull the crown off Christ's head, and to wring the scepter out of His hand."⁶

The Ruthven-Raid Government lasted only ten months. In February 1583-4, Andrew Melville appeared before the Privy Council concerning some statements he had made in a sermon. He denied having used the words attributed to him; but affirmed that, although a minister's speech in the pulpit was alleged to be treason, he ought, in the first place, to be tried by the Church. On being charged to "enter his persoun in waird" within the Castle of Blackness, he fled to England.⁷ James Lawson and Walter Balcanqual made "the pulpit" of Edinbruche to sound mightelie in the praise of Mr Andro, and to the detestation of

¹ Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. ii. pp. 281, 282.

² Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 620-3.

² *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 185, 186.

⁴ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. iii. pp. 492-4; Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 780-4.

⁵ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. iii. pp. lii, 513.

⁶ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. p. 622.

⁷ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. iii. pp. 631, 632; Calderwood's *History*, vol. iv. pp. 3-14.

the fact [*i.e.* the deed] of the Counsall that haid sa proceidit against him; also, they prayit for him in particular, at all thair ordinar sermontes, quhilk moved the peiple verie mikle, and gallit the Court.”¹

An unsuccessful attempt was made in April 1584 to hold a General Assembly in St Andrews.² Next month Parliament passed several Acts which cut very deep. One confirmed and ratified the royal power and authority “over all statis, alsweill spirituall as temporall,” and ordained that the King and his Council should be judges competent to all his subjects without exception in all matters, which competency could only be declined under pain of treason. Another discharged “all jugementis and jurisdictionis, spirituall or temporall,” not approved by the King and Parliament, until allowed by them, and ordained that none of his subjects should convocate “for halding of counsellis, conventionis, or assembleis,” to consult and determine in any “mater of estate, civill or ecclesiasticall (except in the ordinaire jugementis),” without his special command or express license. Another was directed against slanderous speeches, in private or public, “in sermonis, declamationis or familiar conferences,” to the reproach of the King, his Council and their proceedings, or to the dishonour of his Majesty or his progenitors; and it forbade all meddling “in the effairis of his Hienes and his estate.” By another, Archbishop Adamson, the bishops and the King’s commissioners in ecclesiastical causes were empowered to “direct and put ordour to all materis and caussis ecclesiasticall within their dioceissis.” And still another annulled the excommunication of Bishop Montgomery.³

When these Acts—known as the Black Acts—were proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on 25th May, Robert Pont and Walter Balcanqual, by appointment of the brethren, protested with all legal formalities against them, in so far as they prejudged the former liberties of the Church.⁴ Through dread of them, kirk-sessions were afraid to meet without special warrant;⁵ and the General Assembly did not meet again until May 1586. On 2nd November 1585—that is, two days before they were allowed to enter Stirling Castle—the Exiled Lords said in their declaration: “Of the whole ancient forme of justice and policie, receaved from our antecessors, remaineth nothing, nather in spirituall

¹ Melville’s *Diary*, p. 145.

² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iii. pp. 292, 293, 296, 303, 311, 312. Patrick Adamson was credited with being a chief deviser of these Acts. For his declaration of their intention and meaning, see Calderwood’s *History*, vol. iv. pp. 254–69; and for Andrew Melville’s answer, see *Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 274–94.

⁴ Calderwood’s *History*, vol. iv. p. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 72, 73; *Register of St Andrews Kirk-Session*, vol. ii. pp. 529, 530. The archbishop assured St Andrews kirk-session that the King and Parliament intended “onlie to inhieit the new erectit presbittreis.” He signed the minute, and promised to obtain the King’s warrant.

nor temporall estat, but the naiked shadow and counterfoote maske therof."¹

When the Assembly met in the Royal Chapel of Holyrood in May 1586, and before a moderator had been elected, the King explained that "he thought good to call that Assembly," that he might manifest his perseverance and soundness in religion, satisfy those who suspected him, and get the judgment of the ministers concerning the discipline of the Kirk, adding that "he purposed to establish that throughout his realme, which, by conference amongst them, should be found most agreeable to the Word of God." Robert Pont, who as Moderator of the previous Assembly presided, said to him: "Sir, we praise God that your Majestie, being a Christian Prince, hath decored our Assembly with your own presence, and we trust your Majestie speaketh without hypocrisy."²

It was not until June 1592 that Parliament abolished all the Acts contrary to the true religion, and established Presbytery, with its general assemblies, provincial assemblies (or synods), presbyteries, and kirk-sessions. Although the *Second Book of Discipline* is not mentioned in this Act, several of its leading propositions are ratified and embodied.³ Presbytery thus established was gradually undermined and at length overthrown by trickery, treachery, tyranny, and bribery.

In the General Assembly which met at Dundee on 7th March 1597-8, the King "declared what great care he had to adorne and benefit the Kirk, and to restore to her her patrimony: [and] that, for the effectuating of this, it was needfull that ministers have vote in Parliament, without which the Kirk could not be vindicat from poverty and contempt. 'I mind not,' said the King, 'to bring [in] Papisticall or Anglican bishops, but only to have the best and wisest of the ministry, appointed by the Generall Assembly, to have place in Counsell and Parliament, to sit upon their own matters, and not to stand always at the door like poor supplicants, despised and nothing regarded.'"⁴ The King might not have carried his point had Andrew Melville been present, but he was debarred and ordered to leave the town under pain of horning.⁵ "When the roll was called, Mr Gilbert Bodie, a drunken Orkney asse, was first called on; a number of Northland ministers followed, all for the belly and the body; yet the negative voters were overcome only by ten voices, and had overcome the affirmative, if barrons wanting

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iv. p. 383.

² *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 646.

³ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iii. pp. 541, 542. This Act also ratified all the liberties and privileges previously granted to "the trew and haly kirk presentlie establishit within this realme," and specially the Act of 1581 and all the Acts therein mentioned.

⁴ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 102.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100. Horning is outlawry.

commission had not voted with them."¹ And so "the said questioun. being at verie great lenth reasonit and debaittit *in utramque partem*, . . . the Generall Assemblie . . . concludis that it is necessar and expedient for the weill of the Kirk, that the ministrie, as the thrid Estate of this realme, in name of the Kirk, have vote in Parliament."²

On the 16th of the preceding December, Parliament had statute and declared that such pastors and ministers as at any time his Majesty "sall pleis to provyid to the office, place, title and dignitie of ane bischoip, abbott or uther prelat, sall at all tyme heirefter haif voitt in Parliament, siclyk and als frelie as ony uther ecclesiasticall prelat had at ony tyme bigane."³ One of the many cautions or regulations, adopted by the General Assembly in March 1600, for controlling the ministers appointed to vote in Parliament was that they were to be called commissioners.⁴ "Thus," says Calderwood, "the Trojan hors, the Episcopacie, was brought in busked and covered with caveats, that the danger and deformitie might not be seene."⁵ Archbishop Spottiswoode avows that "it was neither the King's intention nor the minds of the wiser sort to have these cautions stand in force; . . . but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the policy made without any noise, the King gave way to these conceits."⁶ At a conference or convention in Holyrood Palace, in October 1600, three ministers, David Lindsay of Leith, Peter Blackburn of Aberdeen, and George Gladstones of St Andrews were nominated to vote in Parliament.⁷ Soon afterwards they were appointed bishops respectively of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness.

The King's desire to have Prelacy established in Scotland was whetted by the obsequious reverence paid to him by the English bishops. He had not been King of England ten months when he declared at the Hampton-Court Conference: "It is my aphorism, 'No bishop, no king,'"⁸ and alleged that Scottish Presbytery "agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil."⁹ Taking off his hat, he said: "Blessed be God's gracious goodness, who hath brought me into the promised land, where religion is purely professed, where I sit amongst grave, learned, and

¹ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 103. James Melville (*Diary*, p. 440) and Calderwood (*History*, vol. v. p. 695) also apply that opprobrious designation to Bodie. He was minister of Homle from 1590 until he was drowned in 1606 (Scot's *Fasts*, vol. iii. p. 383).

² *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 945.

³ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iv. p. 130.

⁴ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 956.

⁵ Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. p. 20. The caveats are in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 955-6, 959; Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. pp. 18-21; Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 74-5; Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, pp. 108-10.

⁶ Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. iii. p. 75.

⁷ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, pp. 116, 117.

⁸ Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, 1845, vol. v. p. 280.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 296.

reverend men; not as before, elsewhere, a king without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave us to the face."¹

As Dr Mc'Crie has pointed out, a careful comparison of King James' *Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598) and his *Basilicon Doron* (1599) not only throws much light on the history of the time, but reveals the real ground of his strong antipathies to the Presbyterian ministers, and explains the meaning of his favourite aphorism, "no bishop, no king."² His own idea of the power he was entitled to wield is summed up in his phrase "a free and absolute monarche"; and the duties of his people, in "fearing him as their judge; loving him as their father; praying for him as their protectour, for his continuance if he be good, for his amendment if he be wicked; following and obeying his lawfull commaunds, eschewing and flying his fury in his unlawfull, without resistance but by sobbes and teares to God."³ If, he reasoned, parity were "once established in the ecclesiasticall government, the politicke and civill estate should be drawn to the like"; and therefore he instructed Prince Henry (then a mere child), as his successor, that he should not allow the principal Puritans to remain in the land if he wished to be at rest; but, as a "preservative against their poison," should "entertaine and advance the godly, learned and modest men of the ministerie, whom of (God be praised) there lacketh not a sufficient number; and by their provision to bishoprickes and benefices . . . yee shall not onely banish their conceited paritie, . . . but ye shall also re-establish the olde institution of three Estates in Parliament, which can no otherwise be done. But in this I hope (if God spare me dayes) to make you a faire entrie, alwayes where I leave, follow ye my steps."⁴

Before the second edition of *Basilicon Doron* was published in 1603, James had begun to make his "faire entrie." The conscientious refusal of the five Edinburgh ministers to entirely endorse his version of the Gowrie conspiracy furnished an excuse for banishing Robert Bruce for a time and harassing the other four.⁵ At the Assembly held at Montrose, in March 1600, Andrew Melville, although he had been sent as a representative of his presbytery, "was commanded to keep his lodging."⁶ For a letter which he wrote to the General Assembly at Burntisland in May 1601, John Davidson of Prestonpans was confined to his house

¹ Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, vol. v. pp. 267, 268.

² Mc'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, 1824, vol. ii. p. 79.

³ *The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince, James, by the Grace of God, Kinge of Great Brittain, France and Ireland*, 1616, pp. 194, 200, 201.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-1.

⁵ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vi. pp. xxiii-xxviii, xxxvii. On 12th August, 1600, all the five were forbidden to preach or speak publicly in any part of the realm under pain of death, and were ordered, under the like penalty, to quit Edinburgh and its neighbourhood (*Ibid.*, p. 149).

⁶ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 113.

and "his owne yaird adjacent thereto."¹ In July 1602 Andrew Melville, for speaking of the corruptions of the Church, was confined to the precincts of the New College, until, on the Queen's intercession, the limit was extended to a radius of 6 miles from St Andrews. Thus, in November 1602, neither could attend the Assembly at Holyrood.² When in April 1603 the King left for England, he refused to relax the confinement of Davidson and Melville, or to allow Bruce to re-enter Edinburgh.³

The Act of Parliament of 1592 declared that it should be lawful for the General Assembly to meet at least once a year, and oftener when required, providing that the King or his Commissioner, when present, should, before the dissolving, nominate the time when and appoint the place where the next should be held; and, if neither the King nor his Commissioner was in that town when it was held, then the Assembly itself should nominate the time and appoint the place for the next.⁴ The King did not allow this Act to stand in his way when he realised that, in order to carry out his schemes, he must be able to control the Assemblies.⁵ The Assembly which was to have been held at Aberdeen in July 1599, he altered, by proclamation, to Montrose in March 1600; the next he altered from St Andrews in July 1601, to Burntisland in May 1601; the next from St Andrews in July 1602, to Holyrood House in November 1602; and the next, which was to have been in Aberdeen on 31st July 1604, he postponed, apparently *sine die*. The three representatives from St Andrews duly appeared in St Nicholas' Parish Church, Aberdeen, on 31st July, presented their commission from the presbytery, and formally protested.⁶

This action of the St Andrews representatives incited ministers in other parts to move in the matter. To put a stop to this agitation, the King by proclamation, in September 1604, forbade all extraordinary meetings, "speciallie of the ministrie," under pains to be inflicted "with all rigour and extremetie."⁷ Acting on alleged instructions from the King's Commissioner and from the Moderator of the Holyroodhouse Assembly of 1602, presbyteries sent representatives to an Assembly at Aberdeen in July 1605. The missives directed to the North gave the 2nd

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi, pp. 125, 126; *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vi, pp. xxxiii, 243.

² James Melville's *Diary*, p. 545; Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi, pp. 157, 186, 222.

³ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 124; Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi, p. 223. Bruce lived until 1631, but was never allowed to reside near Edinburgh or to preach in it again.

⁴ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iii, p. 541.

⁵ For this action, Scot blames "the plotters for Episcopacie," because they were accountable to the Assemblies (*Apologetical Narration*, pp. 126, 127).

⁶ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii, pp. 948, 962, 973, 1008-12; Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi, pp. 264-8; James Melville's *Diary*, pp. 560-5.

⁷ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii, pp. 13, 14.

July as the day of meeting, while those directed to the South gave the 5th. Only nineteen ministers were present when the Assembly opened on the 2nd; but John Forbes of Alford was elected moderator and a clerk was appointed. Sir Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, the King's Commissioner, produced a letter from the Privy Council urging those present to "suffer this meeting to desert" and to appoint no new meeting of Assembly without first acquainting the King. In deference to his Majesty the Assembly agreed "to dissolve for the present," but ordained presbyteries to be warned to send commissioners to an Assembly at Aberdeen on 24th September. Straiton thereupon protested that the present meeting was not a lawful assembly; and on Forbes protesting, in name of the brethren, that it was a lawful assembly, Straiton charged those present to suffer it "to desert under the paine of horning." Nine ministers from the South, who, in spite of spates of water, arrived by the 5th, approved of what their brethren had done.¹

Before the end of July, John Forbes and John Welsh of Ayr (Knox's son-in-law) were in Blackness dungeon, and in a few days other four ministers were with them.² These six and other eight gave in a joint declinator to the Privy Council, on the 24th of October, denying the competency of any civil court to try them in such a purely ecclesiastical matter as the holding of a general assembly.³ The King held that this was high treason;⁴ and so the six from Blackness were tried on that charge at Linlithgow⁵ on 10th January 1606. Twenty of the Lords of Privy Council assisted the Justice as assessors.⁶ Before the jury retired to consider their verdict, Forbes, addressing the Earl of Dunbar, who had come from England to superintend the trial, adjured him, by the living God, to remind the King of the punishment which fell upon Saul and his house for violating the oath which the Gibeonites had deceitfully obtained,⁷ and to warn him of the heavy wrath and judgment of God which would assuredly fall upon him and his posterity and the whole land, if he were induced, and their lordships and the land consented, to the violation of the great oath they had all made to stand by the truth and to maintain the discipline of the Kirk. James Melville, who was

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 1013-7; Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. pp. 279-85, 437-44; Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, pp. 131-6; Forbes' *Certaine Records*, pp. 380-97.

² Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. pp. 286-8. Bishop Lindsay declared that Forbes and Welsh were being more straitly used than Jesuits or murderers (*Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 105). They were kept in separate rooms (*Certaine Records*, p. 406).

³ Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. p. 347; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 615, 616.

⁴ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 164 n.

⁵ When brought to the Palace, the Countess of Linlithgow, although then "an obstinat Papist, . . . receaved them verie courteouslie, and, after good interteanement, caused convoy them to a chamber" (Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. p. 375).

⁶ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 496.

⁷ Joshua ix. 3-27; 2 Samuel xxi. 1-9.

present, said that the way in which Forbes applied this to the King, and the terrible threatening, astonished the hearers and made their hair stand on end.¹

By a majority of three the jury found them guilty. In Professor Masson's opinion this "was one of the greatest constitutional trials in Scottish history."² Lord Balmerino, the Secretary of the Privy Council, in reporting the result to the King, said: "Yf the Erll of Dunbar had not bene with us, and pairtlie by his dextertie in advyseing what wes fittest to be done in everie thing, and pairtlie by the autoritie he had over his freindis, of whome a greate many past upoun the assise [*i.e.* the jury], and pairtlie for that some stood [in] aw of his presence, knowing that he wald mak fidell relation to your Majestie of every manis parte, the turne had not framed so wele as, blissit be God, it hes."³ Sir Thomas Hamilton, the King's Advocate, in writing to his Majesty the day after the trial, also praised Dunbar for his management of this most difficult case, and expressed the earnest hope that there might be as few more cases of that kind as might possibly stand with the King's service.⁴ Despite these warnings the King, in his letter to the Privy Council, thus refers to the other eight ministers, "it is absolutelie oure will that, with all convenient speede, thay be putt to the lyke tryale."⁵ The Privy Council did not positively refuse to do this, but they urged the difficulties that would have to be overcome and the dangers that might arise if they tried to do so. Some members of Privy Council would not have been present at the trial had they known the errand; and the jury had incurred so much odium that they would not willingly serve again. This fire, "kendlit amangs a few," was overspreading the whole country, and subjects of all degrees were discontented with the result of the trial. The Council practically advised the King to be satisfied with their having proved by the verdict that the Act of Parliament of 1584 had not been limited by the Act of 1592 as had been supposed.⁶

Next month, by proclamation, all the lieges were forbidden, under pain of death, to utter, either publicly or privately, "ony sclanderous speiches" against the Privy Council or Justice for the trial of these

¹ Forbes' *Certaine Records*, pp. 490-2; Melville's *Diary*, p. 625; Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. pp. 386, 387; Row's *History*, Wodrow Society, p. 239.

² *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 164 n. ³ *Ibid.*, vol. vii. p. 480.

⁴ Hailes' *Memorials and Letters, Reign of James*, 1766, pp. 1-4. Of this letter Lord Hailes says: "We see here the prime minister, in order to obtain a sentence agreeable to the King, address the judges with promises and threats, pack the jury, and then deal with them without scruple or ceremony." The letter is also printed in *The Melros Papers*, Abbotsford Club, vol. i. pp. 10-12; and in *Original Letters relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, vol. i. pp. 31-3.

⁵ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 483.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. vii. pp. 483-6.

ministers.¹ And in September the King authorised another proclamation, forbidding all ministers, under pain of death, to refer, either in their sermons or prayers, to the Aberdeen-Assembly imprisoned ministers "except it be in disallowing of thair proceedings."² On 23rd October the six, in accordance with explicit instructions from the King, were condemned to banishment from his dominions; and if they did not depart within a month, wind and weather serving, they were to suffer death as traitors; and if they returned without the King's licence, they were "to incur the pane of death, and all uther panes usuallie inflictit upone persones convict of tressone."³ Before they embarked at Leith, Welsh prayed on the pier. His prayer "bred great motioune in the heartis of all the heareres"; and as the ship receded from the shore, friends were cheered by the comforting strains of the 23rd Psalm.⁴ The punishment of the other eight had, on 24th October 1605, been specially reserved to the King;⁵ and on the 26th of the following September he ordered them to be confined in certain remote islands and districts of Scotland and not to depart therefrom under pain of death. There they were "to keip waird and exerce the functioun of thair ministerie."⁶

In March 1586-7 the King, with consent of the Privy Council, had rehabilitated James Betoun,⁷ and at a Convention of the nobility and estates in June 1598 he was restored "to his heritagis, honoris, digniteis, benefices, offices, lands," etc., which "at ony tyme evir perteinit to him of befoir within the realm of Scotland."⁸ When the King was on his way to London to be crowned he heard of Betoun's death, and to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, thus rendered vacant, he nominated John Spottiswoode, then minister of Calder-Comitis.⁹ At a meeting of the Synod of Lothian in August 1604, Spottiswoode and James Law, then minister of Kirkliston, were "charged for their indirect dealing to overthrow the discipline of the Kirk. They purged themselves in oppin assembleie, protesting they had no suche intentioun, but onlie to recover the kirk-rents, and therafter they sould submitt the same unto the Assembleie." They again subscribed with the brethren the *Confession of Faith* of 1580-1, printed by Henry Charteris in 1596.¹⁰ Law was afterwards Bishop of Orkney, and succeeded Spottiswoode in Glasgow.

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 181.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vii. pp. 257, 258.

³ *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. pp. 503, 504.

⁴ *Melville's Diary*, pp. 669-70; *Calderwood's History*, vol. vi. pp. 590, 591.

⁵ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 137.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. vii. pp. 261, 262.

⁷ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. v. No. 1168.

⁸ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iv. p. 170. It was provided that "the said archibishop sal nawyis be subject to the making of the confessioun of his faith."

⁹ *Keith's Catalogue*, 1824, p. 263; *Scott's Fasti*, vol. i. p. 174.

¹⁰ *Calderwood's History*, vol. vi. pp. 268, 269; *Scot's Apologetical Narration*, p. 126.

As the stipends of these titular bishops were insufficient to maintain their families, far less to bear the charges of their rank in Parliament and General Councils. Parliament in July 1606 repealed the Act of 1587 by which the temporalities of their benefices had been annexed to the Crown.¹ A protest against this "restitution of the estate of bischoppis" was signed by Andrew Melville and other forty-one ministers. Andrew Melville with difficulty got access; but when he rose to protest he was commanded to depart, which "he did not till he made all that saw and heard him understand his purpose." It was earnestly hoped that the caveats of March 1600 would be inserted in the obnoxious Act, but this was not obtained.²

In a long list of reasons drawn up in 1606 against this restitution of the bishops, one was that they would be more easily misled by "an evill prince" than the other Estates—"Becauss they have their lordship and living, their honour and estimatioun, profite and commoditie of the King by [*i.e.* more than] others. The King may sett them up and cast them doun, give them and take from them, putt them in and out at his pleasure. And therefore they must be at his directioun, to doe what liketh him; and, in a word, he may doe with them by [*i.e.* without] law, becauss they are sett up against law."³ Six years afterwards Archbishop Gladstones provided a striking confirmation of this. In a letter to the King he declared that "no Estate can say that they ar your Majestie's creatures as we may say, so there is none whose standing is so slipperie, when your Majestie shall frowne, as we, for at your Majestie's nodd we either must stand or fall."⁴

Towards the end of May 1606 the King had sent missives to eight of the staunchest Presbyterian ministers (including both the Melvilles and Scot of Cupar), to repair to him by 15th September, to treat with others of their brethren concerning the peace of the Church of Scotland. By the end of August they were in London. The brethren they met there included both archbishops (Gladstones and Spottiswoode), James Law (Bishop of Orkney), Andrew Lamb (afterwards Bishop of Galloway), and Straiton of Lauriston. After being kept there for eight months, Andrew Melville, for daring to write a Latin epigram on the ornaments of the altar in the King's chapel, was, as Dr Hume Brown modestly expressed it, by "a monstrous stretch of the prerogative," thrown into

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iv. p. 281-5.

² Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. pp. 485-94. Three of those who signed the protest became bishops afterwards (Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 159).

³ Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. pp. 530, 531; *The Course of Conformitie*, 1622, p. 45.

⁴ *Original Letters*, Ban. Club, vol. i. p. 295. In an earlier letter he calls the King his "earthly creator" (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 206); and he thought that a man should be hanged for speaking "undewtifullie and irreverendlie" of his Majesty (*Register of Privy Council*, vol. ix. p. 302).

the Tower; and he was kept therein for four years before he was allowed to go into exile! In May James Melville was ordered to New-castle-on-Tyne to stay there and not to go more than 2 (? 10) miles from it under pain of rebellion. The other six were permitted to return to Scotland, four of them to be confined to their own parishes, one to be confined at Cockburn's Path, and another at Lauder.¹

Having so many of the leading Presbyterians under restraint, the King summoned a conference or assembly to meet at Linlithgow in December 1606. In his missives to the presbyteries he named the ministers who should be sent.² At this Assembly it was explained that it was his Majesty's desire that, until "Papists were repressed and jarres removed out of the Kirk, a constant moderatour might be appointed for everie presbitrie," and that "the moderation of the provinciall assemblie . . . be committed unto the bishop." Even with such an Assembly as this, it was found necessary, as a contemporary said, "to gull the simple." It was declared that "it was not in any wayes his Majesties purpose and intention to subvert and overthrow the present discipline of the Kirk of Scotland"; and the bishops "declarit that it was not their intention to usurpe and exerce any *tyrannous and unlawfull* jurisdiction and power over the brethren, nor to ingyre themselves any wayes unlawfullie in the Kirk's government." Thirteen cautions or caveats were introduced into the Act before it was adopted by this convention.³ The King's commissioners attributed the unlooked-for success to their declaration of his "constant favour to the Kirk and all godlie and dewtifull ministers"; "the unexpected weill offered to thame in your Majesties name"; and his "most gracious letter directed to the Assemblie."⁴

"Many blinded before did see, immediately after that convention, that the constant moderators were (as was sayd at that time) the little theeves entring at the narrow windowes, to make open the doores to the great theeves."⁵ On 3rd January 1607 the King instructed the Privy Council

¹ Two of these confessors wrote accounts of their experiences. James Melville's is in his *Diary*, pp. 634-7, 644-6, 653-68, 672-83, 688-700, 705-11. William Scot's is in his *Apologetical Narration*, pp. 165-78, 194. Calderwood gives many details. And Dr M'Crie, in his *Life of Andrew Melville*, does ample justice to the sufferers. The missive which Scot received is in *Original Letters*, Ban. Club, vol. i. pp. 48-50. Dr Hume Brown says that Andrew Melville was kept in the Tower for three years (*History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 246). It was four years. Not only does Scot say four years (*op. cit.*, p. 194), but his imprisonment began on 26th April 1607 (Melville's *Diary*, p. 708) and terminated on 19th April 1611 (M'Crie's *Melville*, 1824, vol. ii. p. 276).

² *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 1020, 1021.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 1027-35; *The Course of Conformitie*, pp. 49, 50.

⁴ *Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 72. It was alleged that 40,000 merks were distributed by the Earl of Dunbar amongst the most needy and clamorous of the clergy, and that his accounts proving this were shown to Charles the First in 1639 (Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 18, 19). Unfortunately, there is a gap in the Treasurer's Accounts between July 1606 and May 1610. I have found nothing in the surviving Treasury Papers relating to this alleged payment.

⁵ *The Course of Conformitie*, p. 50.

to charge the presbyteries to accept these constant moderators under pain of horning, and those nominated to accept under the same penalty.¹ Sturdy opposition was evoked; and although strenuous efforts were made to enforce the Act, its precise terms were kept secret until the following August. When it did appear, its accuracy was challenged. It was alleged that the words *tyrannous and unlawfull* had been afterwards inserted, as also the provisions, that bishops should be moderators of the provincial assemblies (or synods), and that the moderators of presbyteries should be members of the General Assemblies.²

Early in 1610 the King, by his royal prerogative, erected two Courts of High Commission, one for the province of St Andrews, the other for that of Glasgow. Spottiswoode and his fellow-prelates had been pressing him for some time for the establishment of machinery of this kind. In the words of Professor Masson: "It was the most extensive advance that the new Episcopal system had yet made in Scotland, empowering as it did either of the two archbishops, with any four of those clergymen or laymen associated with him in the Act, to be a court for the trial of all kinds of ecclesiastical offences, whether among the clergy or the laity, superseding all other courts hitherto concerned with such offences, and to punish such offences not only with the spiritual censures of suspension, deprivation, excommunication, etc., but also with fine and imprisonment, the Privy Council itself to aid and serve in carrying out the sentences."³

According to Archbishop Spottiswoode it was because "the King by his letters was now daily urging the bishops to take upon them the administration of all Church affairs, and they, unwilling to make any change without the knowledge and approbation of the ministers, an Assembly to this effect was appointed to hold at Glasgow,"⁴ in June 1610. The King's missive and a letter of Archbishop Gladstones prove that presbyteries were instructed whom to appoint as members.⁵ In his letter to the Assembly, the King stated that he had imparted his pleasure and mind to the Earl of Dunbar and the Archbishop of St Andrews, to whom credit should be given; and that he intended, on the reports which these two gave him, "to take special notice of every one's affection, and forwardness in this service, and thereupon to acknowledge and

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii. pp. 299-302.

² Calderwood's *History*, vol. vi. p. 621; Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 193; *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii. pp. lxi-lxviii.

³ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. viii. pp. 417-22. After Spottiswoode became Archbishop of St Andrews, the King (December 1615) united the two Courts (*Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 1108-13). "So the Acts of unlawfull Assemblies are violentlie obtruded upon the Kirk by a judicatorie which is not a Kirk judicatorie; and the bishops overrule the Kirk by a power never given them by the Kirk" (Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. p. 210).

⁴ Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. iii. p. 205.

⁵ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 1083, 1084.

remember them hereafter, as any fit occasion for their good shall occurre.”¹ Besides these promises of future preferment there was downright bribery. Scot says: “Money was given largely to such as served the King and the bishops, under pretence of bearing their charges. The constant moderators got their 100 pounds which was promised at the pretended Assembly holden at Linlithgow, *anno* 1606. To some was promised the augmentation of their stipends. He that voted *non liquet* got nothing, because he had done no service. Mr John Hall, for his service, got a pension.”²

Spottiswoode, who, as moderator and otherwise, really knew what was done, puts it thus: “These conclusions taken [*i.e.* After the Acts had been carried], it was complained in behalf of the moderators of presbyteries, who had served since the year 1606, ‘that notwithstanding of the promise made at their accepting the charge, they had received no payment at all of the stipend allowed.’ Which the Earl of Dunbar excused by his absence forth of the country, affirming, ‘that unto that time there was never any motion made thereof to him, and that before the dissolving of that Assembly he should cause satisfaction to be given to them for the time past.’ . . . Which he did also see performed, some five thousand pounds Scots being distributed by the treasurer’s servants among those that had borne the charge. Certain of the discontented did interpret it to be a sort of corruption, giving out ‘that this was done for obtaining the ministers’ voices’; howbeit the debt was known to be just, and that no motion was made of that business before the foresaid conclusions were enacted.”³

This statement of the Archbishop’s is worse than disingenuous. It implies that the money which was distributed was given only to the constant moderators of presbyteries, and to them in payment of the stipends which had been promised, and that the matter was only brought before Dunbar after the Acts of that Assembly had been enacted. Now, the last of these Conclusions or Acts recorded by Spottiswoode was not enacted until the afternoon of 11th June; and the very next day he signed an acquittance, attested by two witnesses, acknowledging that he had “ressavit fra Mr William Broun, servitour to the richt nobill and potent Lord, George Erll of Dunbar, Heigh Thesaurer of Scotland, in his lordship’s name and be his command, the sowme of sevin thousand fyve hundrieth thrie score and ten merkis, Scottis

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 1094, 1095.

² Scot’s *Apologetical Narration*, p. 224. The charge is corroborated by Calderwood (*History*, vol. vii. pp. 97, 98) and by Row (*History*, pp. 274, 276, 281), who give other details. The King disposed on 20th November 1611 a yearly pension of 1000 merks Scots to Mr John Hall, minister at Edinburgh (*Treasury Papers, Precepts and Receipts*, in the Register House).

³ Spottiswoode’s *History*, vol. iii. p. 207.

money, quhilk his Majestie ordanit to be distributit for the moderatouris bipast feis, and for the support of the chairgeis of *certane utheris of the ministrie* that convenit at the Generall Assemblie of Glasgw."¹ Of course, in those days (when there were no telegraphs, telephones, or wireless), to send word from Glasgow to his Majesty on 11th June and have his reply on the 12th was utterly impossible. But there was no need to send word to his Majesty, for on the 8th of the preceding May, in a letter to Dunbar, he had given "expres command, that aganis this ensewing Assemblie, to be kept at oure citey of Glasgow, you sall haif in reddyne the sowme of ten thousand markes, Scottis money, *to be devydeit and dealt amonge such personis as you sall holde fitting by the advyise of the Archbishoppis of St Androis and Glasgowe.*"² The words that I have italicised are very suggestive.

In the King's letter (or warrant) there is not the slightest reference to the stipends of the constant moderators, which the Archbishop would fain make it appear was the destination of the five thousand pounds Scots "distributed by the treasurer's servants." It is quite likely that Dunbar agreed to allow part of the 10,000 merks to go to the constant moderators, whose services in the Assembly doubtless deserved to be rewarded; but Spottiswoode's acquittance shows that the £5046, 13s. 4d. which was distributed by him (not by Dunbar's servants) did not all go for that. In the unprinted *Treasurer's Accounts*, 1610-1, this payment to him is on a page (35 *verso*) headed—"The expensis debursit in his Majestie's effairis, and directionis of his Hienes Counsell, in the moneth of Junii 1610." On another page (42 *recto*) under a similar heading for October 1610 there is this entry: "Item be his Majesties warrand to James, Bischop of Orknay, moderator of the Generall Assemblie at Linlithgow, in the moneth of [*blank*] 1608, to be distributit be the said reverend father to certane constant moderatouris of presbiteris and uthers ministers, according to his Majestie's direction gevin theranent, as the samyn warrand producit beiris, iii^m x lib." And so, this £3010 was distributed by Bishop Law, not by Dunbar's servants. These two sums, distributed by Spottiswoode and Law, amount to 12,085 merks—that is, 2085 more than the King's warrant of 8th May authorised. Perhaps it was the extra amount that was given to the constant moderators. A letter, dated Whitehall, 24th October 1610, addressed to the "Auditouris of our Exchequer of our Kingdome of Scotland," intimates that the Earl of Dunbar has, "by speciall warrand and direction frome us, deliverit unto the reverend father in God, James, Bischop of Orknay, moderatour of the Generall Assemblie of

¹ *Treasury Papers, Precepts and Receipts*, in the Register House.

² *Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 425; *Register of Privy Council*, vol. viii. pp. xxvii, 844.

the Church, convenit at Linlithgow," in 1608, "the sowme of three thousand ten pundis, money of that our kingdome, to be distributit by the said reverend father to certane constant moderatouris of presbyteries, and *otheris ministeris*, according to our directioun geven theranent," and directs the auditors to "defease and allow" the said sum to the treasurer in his next accounts.¹

It was for an obvious reason that in his *History* Spottiswoode ignored the other ministers mentioned in his own acquittance, in the *Treasurer's Accounts*, and in the King's letter of 24th October.

Dunbar managed this Assembly with great dexterity. By an overwhelming majority it acknowledged that the calling of General Assemblies pertained "to his Majestie be the prerogative of his royall crowne." It resolved that no sentence of excommunication or absolution therefrom should be pronounced without the approval of the bishop of the diocese; that all presentations should in future be directed to the bishop; that every minister at his admission should "swear obedience to his Majestie and his Ordinar"; that any minister who absented himself from the visitation of the Diocesan Assembly, without just cause and lawful excuse, should be suspended, and, if he amended not, deprived; that the bishop, if present, should preside at the weekly exercise of the ministers; and that no minister, in preaching or in the public exercise, speak or reason against the Acts of this Assembly or disobey the same, or treat in the pulpit "the questioun of equalitie and inequality in the Kirk," under pain of deprivation.² Dr Cook pointed out that, in his *History*, Spottiswoode, though moderator of this Assembly and with full access to the official record, not only misrepresented some of the articles and suppressed some clauses, but entirely omitted two of the articles, and that "this was not the effect of accident or of negligence is evident from the nature of the alterations and omissions." The two articles omitted are:

"Item, The bishops sal be subject, in all things concerning thair lyfe, conversatioun, office, and benefice, to the censures of the Generall Assemblie; and being found culpable, with his Majestie's advyce and consent, to be deprivit.

"Item, That no bischop be electit but quho hes past the age of fourtie zeirs compleit, and quho at the leist hes bein ane actuall teaching minister for the space of ten zeirs."³

Dr Cook proceeded to say: "If we suppose that the *History* was printed exactly as it was written by the author, the conduct of Spottiswoode cannot be too severely reprobated; for he was attempting to

¹ *Royal Letters, 1579-1624, Exchequer*, in the Register House.

² *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 1095-8, 1101.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 1097, 1098.

mislead posterity, and to support, by an unfair or false representation, the authority and the powers of the Scottish prelates."¹ Fully thirty years after Dr Cook wrote, Spottiswoode's *History* was printed for the Spottiswoode Society from the manuscript "which the Archbishop himself prepared for the press." On this matter the authentic text does not help the Archbishop's reputation in the slightest degree; and of course Dr Grub knew this when he candidly said: "The suppression of those portions which limited the powers of the episcopate deserves the severe censure which Dr Cook has bestowed upon it."²

Eight days after the Assembly rose a royal proclamation was issued, inhibiting all his Majesty's subjects, but "specialle all teicheing or preicheing ministeris and lecturing reidaris, within this kingdome, that none of thame presome or tak upoun hand, ather in thair sermonis publictlie, or in privat conferenceis, to impugne, deprave, contradict, condemne, or utter thair disallowance and dislyke of ony point or article of those most grave and wyse conclusionis of that Assembly, endit with suche harmonie, as thay will answer to the contrary at thair heichest perrell and charge."³

"Thus," says Dr Grub, "after an interval of forty years, a polity similar to that which had been agreed to at Leith during the regency of Mar was again established. . . . But there was yet wanting that without which, so far as the Church was concerned, all the rest was comparatively unimportant." And so Archbishop Spottiswoode, Bishop Lamb of Brechin, and Bishop Hamilton of Galloway "were consecrated, according to the form in the English *Ordinal*, in the chapel of London House, on Sunday the twenty-first day of October, 1610, by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester." Soon after their return to Scotland the three Scotch prelates imparted the consecration to their fellow-bishops.⁴

On 23rd October 1612 Parliament ratified "the Acts and Conclusionis set downe and agreed upoun in the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk, kepit in Glasgow in the moneth of June 1610; togither with ane explanatioun [made] by the Estates of some of the articles of the same." In this ratification the Acts and Conclusions of the Assembly are professedly only given in "substance and effect"; and the two articles

¹ Cook's *History of the Church of Scotland*, 1815, vol. ii. pp. 235-7.

² Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, 1861, vol. ii. p. 294.

³ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. viii. pp. 472-3. A goodly number of the proclamation must have been issued, for Robert Charteris received £5 for printing it in June 1610 (Unprinted *Treasurer's Accounts*, 1610-1, fol. 35 verso).

⁴ Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. pp. 294-8. For Principal Lee's views on this, see his *Lectures*, vol. ii. pp. 185-7. Cf. Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. p. 152; *Original Letters*, Ban. Club, vol. i. p. xxvii.

omitted by Spottiswoode are ignored. Some of the explanations are lengthy. Everything ratified is to be obeyed and observed by all the subjects "as inviolable lawis in all tyme cuming." The Act of 1592 is expressly annulled and rescinded, and also all other Acts of Parliament, laws, sentences, and customs, in so far as they are contrary to or derogatory of any of the articles hereby ratified. On the day that this ratification was passed, two archbishops and eight bishops sat in Parliament.¹ Scot says that by this ratification the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly were perverted rather than ratified.² Calderwood, who quotes the ratification, gives a collation of it with the Acts of that Assembly.³

Six years after that Glasgow Assembly the bishops petitioned the King for leave to hold another, as they "found that nothing is more expedient" for "preventing and suppressing" the "grouth of Popery, and for reforming of the disorders and abuses flowing therefra"; and therefore he ordered one to meet on 13th August 1616 at Aberdeen.⁴ In accordance with the instructions that he gave to his Commissioner, the Earl of Montrose, this Assembly ordained that hereafter, throughout the whole kingdom, all shall be bound to swear and subscribe the new *Confession of Faith*, especially the clergy on accepting office, and students at colleges; that "ane uniforme ordour of Liturgie or Divyne Service be sett down, to be red in all kirks on the ordinarie dayes of prayer, and every Sabbath day befor the sermoun"; and that "a Booke of Canons be made, published in wryte, drawin foorth of the bookis of former Assemblies, and, quher the same is defective, that it be supplied be the Canons of Counsellis and Ecclesiasticall Conventiouns in former tyme."⁵ When the Acts were "put in form" and presented to his Majesty, he directed five articles to be inserted among the Canons of the Church. In a "humble letter" Spottiswoode let him know that that could not be done, as the articles had "at no time been motioned in the Church, nor proponed in any of their meetings." The King forbore to press their adoption for a time, but only for a time.⁶

In the address to the reader prefixed to *Basilicon Doron*, the King had said: "I exhort my sonne to be beneficiall unto the good men of the ministrie; praising God there, that there is presently a sufficient number of good men of them in this kingdome; and yet are they all knowne to be against the forme of the English Church."⁷ Now it was very different.

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iv. pp. 467, 469, 470.

² Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 237.

³ Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. pp. 166-73.

⁴ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 1115.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 1123, 1124, 1127, 1128. This new *Confession of Faith* is engrossed in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 1132-9.

⁶ Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 236-8.

⁷ *The Workes of King James*, p. 144.

Professor Masson says: "The battle had been sharp and vehement; but the King, by adhering to his system of always marking out his individual opponents, striking them down with a strong hand, and inflicting punishment on them till they yielded or the sight of their sufferings made others yield, had been conspicuously victorious."¹ His Majesty, however, had not entirely relied on force and tyranny. He had worked upon the nobles by lavish gifts of Church-lands,² and, as shown above, had bribed the baser section of the clergy.

Not content with having entirely changed the government of the Church, he was now determined to assimilate its worship to that of the Church of England. In the General Assembly, in 1590, "his Majesty praiseth God that he was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the Gospell, to such a place as to be King, in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Kirk of Geneva, said he, keepeth Pasche and Yuile [*i.e.* Easter and Christmas]. What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is ane evill said messe in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you . . . to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I forsooth, so long as I brooke my life and croun, shall maintain the same against all deadly."³ By a proclamation, of 26th September 1605, he had denounced the "malicious spiriteis," who had affirmed that he intended to suddenly lay upon his native country "the rittes, cerimoneis, and [hail ecclesiasti]call ordour" of the Church of England.⁴ These exhalations may have conveniently escaped his memory before his "salmonlyke instinct" brought him back to Scotland in the summer of 1617; but in his letter of 15th December 1616 to the Privy Council, he assured them that he would be loath to trouble himself and his good subjects with alterations in the civil or ecclesiastical government which were not to "the generall lyking and applause" of his people.⁵

The arrival of the organs for the Chapel-Royal roused suspicion, and the carved images of the apostles and evangelists caused consternation. "The people murmured, fearing great alterations in religion."⁶ It was a current saying—"The organs came first, now the images, and ere long they should have the mass." The Bishop of Galloway, who was dean of the chapel, entreated his Majesty, "for the offence that was taken," to stop the erection of the statues. The King gave way, but in anger.⁷ On Friday, 16th May 1617, he arrived in Edinburgh with Laud in his train, and next day "the English service was begunne in the

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. viii. p. xviii.

² *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 771.

³ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. x. pp. 685, 686.

⁴ Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. pp. 242, 244.

⁵ Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. iii. p. 239; *Original Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 497-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i. 2nd series, pp. cxliv-cxlvii.

⁷ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 126.

Chappell-Royall, with singing of quiristours, surplices, and playing on organes." Ten days later Parliament met, and the nobles, counsellors, and bishops in town were commanded to repair to the Palace on Whitsunday, "where the communion was to be celebrate after the English forme." Some communicated kneeling. Three nobles who were present and did not communicate were warned to do so next Lord's day. Of the nobles in town barely one-half complied.¹

One of the Acts of this Parliament, "to be keipit in all tyme to cum," gave permission to the dean and chapter of a cathedral kirk, when the see became vacant, to convene "for chusing of ane bischope to the same"; but they were to "chuse the persoun quhome his Majestie pleased to nominat and recommend."²

It was proposed to the Lords of the Articles that Parliament should enact "that whatsoever conclusion was taken by his Majesty, with advice of the archbishops and bishops, in matters of external policy, the same should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law." Fifty-five ministers agreed to a protestation against this. Two of them were deprived, and one (David Calderwood) was both deprived and exiled. The article was modified, but the King caused it to be passed by "as a thing no way necessary, the prerogative of his crown bearing him to more than was declared by it."³ The motive of this article soon became apparent. At the King's desire the bishops and some six-and-thirty ministers met him in St Andrews on 13th July, when he reverted to the five articles which he had in the previous year arrogantly ordered to be inserted among the canons of the Church, and now desired to know what their scruples were, and their reasons, if they had any, why these articles should not be admitted. He told them plainly that unless they gave him a reason which he could not answer, he would not regard their opinion. The ministers most meekly besought him to let them have a General Assembly, where the articles might be discussed and received by common consent. He reluctantly consented to an Assembly being held on the 25th of the following November.⁴ The articles briefly were (1) kneeling at the receiving of the sacramental elements at the communion, (2) private communion, (3) private baptism, (4) confirmation, (5) commemoration of Christ's birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and the sending down of the Holy Ghost.

This Assembly met at St Andrews. "After the reading of the King's letter, wherein he willed them to conform to his desire, otherways

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. pp. 246, 247, 249.

² *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iv. p. 529.

³ Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 241-7; Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. pp. 251-82.

⁴ Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 246, 247; Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. pp. 271, 272.

declared he would use his own authority, the brethren of the conference were chosen. There was some reasoning, but the King and bishops' purpose was withstood, both in the privy conference and in the publick assembly."¹ According to Spottiswoode there was much calmness and formal reasoning; but on a motion to delay the decision to another Assembly, "that the ministers might have time to inform the people of the equity of the articles, the greater part went that way, and almost all cried for a delay."² Two reports of the proceedings were promptly sent to the King, one by Lord Binning, the other by the two archbishops and three bishops. The latter confessed that, owing to the absence of the Bishops of Moray and Orkney, and of ministers and commissioners from the far North and West, they were afraid to put much to the vote. Lord Binning explained that a great part of the ministers wished the matter deferred, so that they might have leisure, by reading the Fathers and Councils, to decide whether, "with gude conscience and without scandall of inconstancie to the Kirk and thameselfis, thay might yeild to the alterations and novelties which they imagined the articles to imply." He also stated that Spottiswoode's fear of the King's displeasure by delay made him "so passionatlie instant, as he could scaircelie be induced be any persuasion to accept any dowtfull or dilatorie ansuer, and moved him to threaten thame with your Majestie's resolution to ordane, be actis and penall proclamations aganis the contravenars, to have all these articles undelayedlie obeyed."³

His sacred Majesty was furious. To the archbishops he wrote: "We will have you know that we are come to that age as we will not be content to be fed with broath, . . . and think this your doing a disgrace no less than the protestation." Under pain of his highest displeasure, he commanded them to "keep Christmas day precisely, yourselves preaching and chuseing your texts according to the time." They were also to discharge the modification of stipends to ministers,⁴ save to those who had tried to further the acceptance of the five articles. In his own handwriting he added the words: "Since your Scottish Church hath so far contemned my clemency, they shall now find what it is to draw the anger

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 1140.

² Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. iii. p. 248.

³ *Original Letters relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland*, Ban. Club, vol. ii. pp. 520-3.

⁴ Spottiswoode says that, at the same time, the King wrote to the Privy Council, "inhibiting the payment of stipends to any of the rebellious ministers refusers of the said articles, either in burgh or landward, till they did show their conformity, and that the same was testified by the subscriptions of the primate or ordinary bishop" (Spottiswoode's *History*, vol. iii. p. 250). This letter is not in the *Register of Privy Council*. His Majesty thus beat them "by the belly" is Heylyn's way of putting it (*Life and Death of Laud*, 1719, part i. p. 47). James had tried this plan with some success in 1584 (*Register of Privy Council*, vol. iii. pp. 701-704).

of a king upon them." His wrath was increased rather than appeased, when he received from the clerk of the Assembly an extract of its resolutions concerning private communion and the form to be used at receiving the sacrament. These two Acts, he intimated on 11th December, were to be "altogether suppressed."¹ And on 14th January he enjoined the Privy Council to issue a proclamation "commanding all people, . . . in all tyme comeing, to absteene frome all kynd of husbandrie and handie labour on the holie dayis of Christmas, Goode Fryday, Easter, Whitsonday, and Ascensioun-day, to the end thay may the better attend the holie exercises quhilkis we, by advise of the bishopps, will appoint to be kept at those tymes in the Church; with certificatioun to the contraveneris, that thay sal be punished with all rigour as disobedient and rebellious personis."² Shortly before Good Friday the Edinburgh magistrates were commanded by the King to see that the inhabitants observed that day in conformity with the proclamation.³

The bishops prevailed upon the King to call another General Assembly to adopt the five articles. It met at Perth on 25th August 1618. Means were taken to pack the Assembly. At the synod held at St Andrews on 14th April "it was thocht expedient that such men sal be nominat furthe of evrie presbyterie as ar wyse and discreit, and wil give his Majestie satisfaction anent theis articles proponed be his Highnes' commissioners in the laitt Generall Assemblie haldin at St Androis."⁴ Writing to John Murray of Lochmaben, of his Majesty's bed-chamber, five days after the close of this Perth Assembly, Archbishop Spottiswoode says: "Many of the noblemen and barons his Majestie sent letters to, for assisting the service, cam not, excusing tham selfis by sicknes and il dispositioun; but I think thair myndes wer moir seik than thair bodyis, and ar so stil. . . . But if his Majestie be not plesit to set sum note upon thame and remember it, he provydis il for the service of tymes followinge. At the least I wil pray yow that I may haif letters of thankis to suche as cam and attendit, qhair of I haif gifen the Dean of Winchester a memorandum."⁵ The Dean was the bearer of the King's letter to the Assembly. In that letter his Majesty was pleased to say: "Wee will not have you to thinke, that matters proponed by us, of that nature whereof these articles are, may not without such a generall consent be enjoined by our autoritie; this were a misknowing of your

¹ *Original Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 524-6. In Professor Masson's words, "The Assembly had evaded the first article, nibbled cautiously at the second, and postponed the rest" (*Register of Privy Council*, vol. xi. p. 271 n.).

² *Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 542. The proclamation was duly made (*Register of Privy Council*, vol. xi. pp. 296, 297).

³ Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. p. 297.

⁴ *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, Abbotsford Club, p. 88.

⁵ *Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 580.

places, and withall a disclayming of that innate power which we have by our calling from God. . . . Wee will content ourselves with nothing, but with a simple and direct acceptation of these articles in the forme by us sent unto you now a long time past."¹ After the royal letter had been twice read, Spottiswoode, who had taken the chair without being elected, "resumed the heads of the same, shewing how acceptable their acceptance would bee, and, on the other side, what inconvenients their refuse might bring upon the Church: hee declared also unto them how they should bee well advised before they thrust themselves wilfully in danger, because . . . after they had tasted of the troubles of banishment a little. [they] would, as others had done, seeke home againe, and acknowledge their oversights."²

Lord Binning begins his report thus: "At oure cumming to this towne, finding that the most precise and wilfull Puritanes wer chosin commissionars be manie of the presbiteries, speciallie of Lowthain and Fyfe, I wes extreamlie doubtfull of the succes of your Majestie's religious and just desires." For the result he gives great credit to Spottiswoode, who, in every way, "expressed great wisdom, learning and autoritie, well beseiming his place; delayed the voting the second day, that he and his brethren might have sum tyme to dispose thingis to ane wished end"; and "ordaned this proposition onlie to be voted, Whether the Assemblie wald obey your Majestie, in admitting the articles proponed be your Majestie, or refuse thame. Sum insisted to have thame severallie voted, bot both he and the Deane of Winchester . . . declaired that your Majestie wald ressave none, if all wer not granted; and so, being put to voting in these termes, fourescoir and sex allowed the articles, fourtie and one refused thame, and three wer *non liquet*."³

William Scot of Cupar, who was one of the minority, says of the five articles: "Their best defence was taken from the authority of the King's sword, which was of greater weight than his Majestie's judgment." And he records that Spottiswoode "certified those that were present, that whosoever voted against the articles, his name should be marked and sent up to his Majesty." Further, he alleges that some voted who lacked commissions; that, through the way in which the roll was called, some voted twice, and some were pretermitted; and expresses the opinion that, if none had been allowed to vote except those who were entitled, "the sincerer sort had prevailed."⁴

¹ *Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 569.

² Bishop Lyndesay's *True Narration*, 1621, part i. p. 54.

³ *Original Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 573-6; Hailes' *Memorials, Reign of James*, 1766, pp. 87-92. As the Assembly which passed the obnoxious articles met at Perth they have been called The Five Articles of Perth.

⁴ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, pp. 261-4. There is no official record of the proceedings of this Assembly. That given in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk* (vol. iii. pp. 1143-67) is compiled from Bishop Lyndesay's *True Narration*, and from Calderwood's *Perth Assembly* and his histories. Principal Lee gives a trenchant account of it in his *Lectures*, vol. ii. pp. 198-213.

On 21st October, by the King's instructions, the Privy Council issued a proclamation ratifying and confirming the five articles agreed upon at Perth Assembly, and ordaining "the same to have the force and strenth of lawis in all tyme comeing, and to have effect and execution in all placeis of this kingdome; and in speciall that thair sal be a cessatioun and abstinence frome all kynd of labour and handiworke upoun the fyve dayis abone writtin, quhilkis are appointit to be dedicat to Godis service"; and that contraveners shall be punished "in thair personis and guidis with all rigour and extremitie to the terrour of utheris."¹

"In spite of the royal proclamations and the episcopal admonitions, the people in general refused to conform. . . . The citizens of Edinburgh at Christmas would not desist from their common employments. . . . The churches of those who adhered to the ancient mode of worship were crowded, while those of the conformists all over the country were almost completely deserted. In some places . . . the people after being seated at the communion-table, and being required to kneel, remonstrated with the minister, and, when he would not satisfy them, rose from the table and went home. . . . Some of the recusants were summoned before the High Commission, and a few were removed from their ministry and put in close confinement."²

On 4th August 1621 Parliament ratified the five articles.³ There were seventy-eight votes for and fifty-one against.⁴

Eight days afterwards the triumphant King wrote to the archbishops and bishops: "The greatest matter the Puritanes had to objecte against the church-government there was that your proceeding with them was warranted by no law, which now by this Parliament is cutte shorte. . . . It resteth therefor in yow to be encouraged and comforted by this happie occasion, and to lose no more time in procuring a setled obedience to God and us. . . . The sword is now putte in your handes; go on therefor to use it, and lett it ruste no longer til yow have perfited the service trusted unto yow; for otherwise we muste use it both against you and them. If anie or all of you be false or fainte hearted, wee are hable aneugh (thankes be to God) to putte others in your places."⁵

As Principal Lee has said, the Church of Scotland has little cause to

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. xi. pp. 454-6.

² Lee's *Lectures*, vol. ii. pp. 213-4. For the measures adopted to enforce conformity, see *Register of Privy Council*, vol. xi. pp. lxviii-lxxiv; vol. xii. pp. lx-lxviii.

³ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. iv. pp. 596, 597.

⁴ *Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 661. Professor Masson makes the numbers 85 to 59 (*Register of Privy Council*, vol. xii. pp. 558-9).

⁵ *Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 663. For the continued pressing of the five articles, see Lee's *Lectures*, vol. ii. pp. 217, 218; *Register of Privy Council*, vol. xii. pp. lxxxix-xcii; vol. xiii. pp. lxix-lxxx.

revere the memory of James the Sixth.¹ After his death (27th March 1625) it was rumoured that his successor intended to make some alteration on the form of church-government established by his father, and was not inclined to urge the observance of the five articles. To dispel these "foolishe rumouris," as he called them, Charles, on 3rd July, instructed the Privy Council to have it proclaimed at the market-crosses of all the chief burghs, that he was resolved to maintain that government and policy, and, so far as the laws allow, he would "punish ony persone that dar seik to disturbe the peace ather of relligioun or præsent church-governament."²

When "the communion was given in the Great Kirk" of Edinburgh at Easter (25th March) 1627 "there were not above six or seven persons in all the toun that kneeled, also some of the ministers kneeled not." At Easter (13th April) 1628 "the communion was not given in Edinburgh at all." The ministers' letter to the King, beseeching him "to give them leave to celebrat the communion without kneeling," greatly displeased him.³ On 21st April he wrote to Spottiswoode, bidding him convene these persons before him, and to inflict such condign punishment upon the chief authors as would "mak all others forebeare to doe the like heirefter."⁴

On Saturday 15th June 1633 the King arrived in Edinburgh, and Laud, one of the two bishops in his "goodlie traine of attendents," was that day "sworn counsellor of Scotland." Charles was crowned at Holyrood on the 18th, and Laud enters in his *Diary*: "I never saw more expressions of joy than were after it."⁵ At his coronation the King swore, with "a willing harte," that he would "defend his bischopes" and maintain the clergy and the churches committed to their charge, in their "haill rights and previlidges according to law and justice."⁶

In reconstituting the Privy Council in March 1626, his Majesty had included both Archbishops and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Ross, Dunblane, and Winchester; and in the list of forty-seven members "Johnne Archibishop of St Androis" stands first.⁷ Sir James Balfour states that the King, in his letter of 12th July 1626 to the Privy Council,

¹ James manifested his zeal for Prelacy in another way. In November 1612 he granted five thousand merks "to be payit oute of his Majestie's cofferis, for help of reparatioun of the Cathedrall Kirk of Glasgw." Payment was to be made to the archbishop, "to be employed be him to the necessair use foirsaid." And on 4th May 1616 Spottiswoode, who was then Archbishop of St Andrews, signed an acquittance for five thousand merks Scots, which he had received "for reparatioun of the Castell of Sanctandrois," which was his official residence (*Treasury Papers* in the Register House).

² *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 92.

³ Row's *History*, Wodrow Society, pp. 343, 345, 346.

⁴ Earl of Stirling's *Register of Royal Letters*, vol. i. pp. 271, 272.

⁵ Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 193-95; *History of Laud's Troubles*, 1695, p. 48.

⁶ Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. iv. p. 393.

⁷ *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 249.

commanded that Spottiswoode should have precedence "befor the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and so consequently befor all others."¹ Of this, Professor Masson says: "That such a letter must have been sent to the Privy Council seems indubitable on Lord Lyon King Balfour's authority; but it is remarkable that no record of it is extant in the Council's own Register."² A copy of the letter, however, has been preserved.³ Notwithstanding the King's order, "the Lord Chancellor Hay, a gallant, stout man," would never condescend to or give place to Spottiswoode. On the coronation morning, his Majesty sent the Lord Lyon to the Chancellor (who barely a month before had been created Earl of Kinnoul) to ask him to cede his place to the Archbishop for that one day. He gave the "verey bruske anssuer," that, as "his Majesty had beine pleased to continew him in that office of Chancellor, . . . he was redey in all humility to lay it doune at his Majestie's feete; bot since it was his royall will he should enjoy it with the knowen prævilidges of the same, never a ston'd preist in Scotland should sett a foote befor him so long as his blood wes hotte."⁴ In the same month that he reconstituted the Privy Council, the King appointed Spottiswoode to be President of the Exchequer—"the first and last president," says Balfour, "that ever the Exchequer of Scotland had."⁵

The day after his coronation the King rode in state, with his nobility and estates, from Holyrood to Parliament.⁶ The way in which the Lords of the Articles were chosen gave a preponderance of influence to the prelates.⁷ The ministers of the old school prepared a paper of grievances; but it never got beyond the Lords of the Articles, if it got that length.⁸ When it came to the voting on the Acts in Parliament, the King "taketh a pen and with his awin hand (an uncouth practise) noted the votes, whereby (no doubt) many were afraid to vote as otherwise they intended to doe."⁹ Not only so, but "he expressed now and then a grate deall of spleene; this unseimly acte of his Majestie's bred a grate hearte burning in maney against his Majestie's proceidinges and government."¹⁰ "Fifteen earls and lords, and forty-four commissioners for burroughs, with some barons, have voted for our Kirk, in face of a King

¹ Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. p. 141.

² *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 345 n.

³ The Earl of Stirling's *Register of Royal Letters*, vol. i. p. 62.

⁴ Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 141, 142.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 134.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 199.

⁷ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, pp. 337, 338; Stevenson's *History*, 1753, vol. i. pp. 85, 86; Hill Burton's *History*, revised edition, vol. vi. pp. 86-8.

⁸ Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 206-16; Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, pp. 330-6.

⁹ Row's *History*, p. 366.

¹⁰ Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. p. 200.

who, with much awe and terror, with his own hand, wrote up the voters for or against himself."¹

In the opinion of the Lyon King, this Parliament was led on by "the Episcopall and courte faction," which "proved to be that stone that afterwarde crusht them in pieces, and the fewell of that flame wich sett all Brittane a-fyre not longe thereafter." Nearly all its Acts, he thought, "wer most hurtefull to the liberty of the subjecte." Two he specially mentions as causing most displeasure—Act III., "Anent his Majesties royall prerogative and apparrell of kirkemen"; and Act IV., "Ratificatione of all Actes made in former Parliaments touching religion"; and he believed that it was "to bind the subjects the more to observe thesse" that "his Majestie's General Revocation was ratified."²

William Haig, a brother of the Laird of Bemerside, penned a petition to the King entitled—"The Humble Supplication of a great number of the nobility and others, commissioners in the late Parliament." It expressed dislike of Acts III. and IV., and informed him that if he made use of these Acts to introduce any novelties in matters of religion, he might lose the hearts of many of his subjects; and that his taking note of the names of those who opposed the Acts, and refusing to hear the reasons of those who dissented, made them very apprehensive of innovations being introduced into the Church. Lord Balmerino gave this petition to the Earl of Rothes, that he might present it to the King, who, however, declined to accept it. Balmerino afterwards gave a copy to a Dundee notary, who made another copy and lent it to Peter Hay of Naughton, which he "furthwith caried" to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who "imediately sent ane expresse with it to the Courte, exaggeratting to his Majesty that if he suffred suche ane affront and indignity, he might not only become ridiculous to his subjects, bot his government wold assuredly be vilipendit." Haig escaped to Holland. Balmerino was thrown into Edinburgh Castle, and after a long confinement was tried, and by a majority of one found "guilty of the hearing of the said infamous libel, and the concealing and not revealing of the said Mr William Haig." He was sentenced to death; but the execution was delayed until the King's pleasure was known. Balfour says that the

¹ Samuel Rutherford's *Letters*, 1863, vol. ii. pp. 142, 143. The King's noting the votes is also referred to by Scot in his *Apologetical Narration*, p. 339; by Bishop Burnet in his *History of his Own Time*, 1823, vol. i. p. 37; and in the supplication to the King penned by William Haig.

² Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 199, 200. See *Acts of Parliament*, vol. v. pp. 20, 21, 23-7. The King's General Revocation of grants, made by himself in his minority or by his predecessors, has been very fully discussed by Professor Masson (*Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. xx, xxi, xli, xlii, xlvii, civ-cciii). In his Majesty's name it was emphatically denied that the Revocation was procured by "the present prelates, who in this were as innocent as the thing itselfe" (The King's *Large Declaration*, 1639, p. 7).

delay was carried sore against the bishops' will, who "raged lyke a tempestuous sea therat," and that the King, by the mediation of the Earl of Traquair and others, granted a pardon.¹ Bishop Burnet alleges that Traquair's mediation was due to the knowledge that the populace were determined to force the prison, and, failing that, to revenge Balmerino's death on the judges and convicting jurymen. "The ruin of the King's affairs in Scotland was in a great measure owing to that prosecution."² "The people had long felt that the administration of justice was partial and corrupt; but the nobility now discovered that there was no protection for themselves from the resentment of the prelates and the power of the Crown."³

In 1610 James the Sixth had appointed Archbishop Spottiswoode an extraordinary Lord of Session; and the Lord Chancellorship having become vacant, by the death of the Earl of Kinnoul, Charles bestowed it upon him, on 14th January 1635. This, the greatest office, had been held by no churchman since the Reformation;⁴ and Spottiswoode's exaltation did not make him more popular with the nobles.

So little was heard of the doings of the committee appointed by the General Assembly, in 1616, to revise and supplement the *Book of Common Order*, that Scot of Cupar was under the impression that it never completed its work.⁵ On the other hand, it is emphatically affirmed that it was framed, and sent to King James, who, with the advice and help of some persons in England, made "additions, expunctions, mutations, accomodations," before returning it to Archbishop Spottiswoode, and that it would undoubtedly have been accepted by the Scottish Church had the King lived longer.⁶ It was probably well advanced by the end of June 1619, when a license to print it for nineteen years was granted

¹ *Tryals for High Treason*, 1720, vol. i. pp. 184-93; Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 216-20; cf. Row's *History*, pp. 375-90. According to Row, although the bishops had in this prosecution the help of Laud, he became a chief instrument in procuring Balmerino's liberty. In the memoir of matters to be "proponed" to the King and Laud, written and subscribed by Spottiswoode, one was "anent Balmerinoch and his lybell" (Laing's Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 429).

² Burnet's *History of his Own Time*, vol. i. p. 43.

³ Malcolm Laing's *History of Scotland*, 1804, vol. iii. p. 113. The risk that Balmerino had run sank deep into the hearts of his party, "and exasperated them against the bishops more than before" (Bishop Guthrie's *Memoirs*, 1702, p. 11).

⁴ Crawford's *Officers of the Crown*, 1726, pp. 167, 177. In recording Spottiswoode's appointment as a Lord of Session in 1610, Calderwood says that it was directly contrary to an article given in by his father to the Assembly—"that the preaching of the Word, and administration of civill justice, were not compatible in one man's person" (Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. p. 54). But sons do not always walk in their fathers' footsteps.

⁵ Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 245.

⁶ The King's *Large Declaration*, pp. 16, 17. Dr Sprott edited two previously unprinted liturgies as "Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI." The larger of the two was, he thought, "the draft completed in the reign of James." If so, it must have been altered subsequently, as one of the prayers is for "King Charles," and one for the Queen, that she may be made "a happie mother of successfull children."

to Gilbert Dick, an Edinburgh bookseller.¹ Laud also appears to have drafted a liturgy for the Church of Scotland, for, in speaking of him to Archbishop Williams, King James said: "He hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well. . . . I speak not at random . . . for when, three years since, I had obtained of the Assembly of Perth to consent to five articles of order and decency in correspondence with this Church of England, I gave them promise, by attestation of faith made, that I would try their obedience no further anent ecclesiastic affairs nor put them out of their own way . . . with any new encroachments. . . . Yet this man hath pressed me to invite them to a nearer conjunction with the liturgy and canons of this nation; but I sent him back again with the frivolous draught he had drawn. . . . For all this he feared not mine anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform, to make that stubborn Kirk stoop more to the English pattern."²

According to Clarendon, although James returned from Scotland in 1617 "without making any visible attempt" to introduce the English Liturgy there, he retained that intention till his death.³ Bishop Guthrie alleges that it was in deference to the bishops that it was not pressed in King James' time; because the Articles of Perth "proved so unwelcome to the people, that they thought it not fit nor safe at that time to venture upon any farther innovations."⁴ Unfortunately, Charles was much more under the influence of Laud than his father had been.

Clarendon testifies that he "proposed nothing more to himself than to unite his three kingdoms in one form of God's worship and public devotions"; and that there is "great reason to believe" that, in his journey into Scotland to be crowned, "he carried with him the resolution to finish that important business in the Church at the same time." Laud, who was then Bishop of London, went with him for that purpose. The bishops, however, "applied all their counsels secretly to have the matter more maturely considered; and the whole design was never consulted but privately, and only some few of the great men of that nation, and some of the bishops, advised with by the King and the Bishop of London." Even those who heartily wished to have a liturgy, and who approved of the English ceremonies, "had no mind that the very liturgy of the Church of England should be proposed to or accepted by them." Laud, "who was always present with the King at these debates, was

¹ Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Societies*, App. No. xx. Cf. *Register of Privy Council*, vol. xi. p. 455.

² Bishop Hacket's *Scrinia Reserata*, 1693, p. 64. The promise made by the Marquis of Hamilton, in the King's name, when Parliament ratified the five Articles of Perth, in 1621, may be seen in the *Melros Papers*, vol. ii. p. 415, and more fully in Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii. p. 496. Dr Grub doubts the Williams story (*Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 376).

³ Clarendon's *History*, 1826. vol. i. p. 145.

⁴ Guthrie's *Memoirs*, 1702, p. 16.

exceedingly troubled at this delay." To obviate the objection that to press the liturgy without any alteration "would look like an imposition from England," the King "committed the framing and composing such a liturgy as would most probably be acceptable to that people, to a select number of the bishops." Before leaving he "erected Edinburgh into a bishopric," but "the people generally thought that they had too many bishops before, and so the increasing the number was not like to be very grateful to them. The bishops had indeed very little interest in the affections of that nation."¹

The *Book of Canons*, also projected by the General Assembly in 1616, was ready before the Liturgy, and was printed by Raban of Aberdeen in 1636. It is a quarto pamphlet of 43 pages, entitled: "Canons and Constitvtions Ecclesiasticall gathered and put in forme, for the Governament of the Church of Scotland. Ratified and approved by his Majestie's Royall Warrant, and ordained to be observed by the Clergie, and all others whom they concerne. Published by Authoritie." The royal warrant bears that the canons, orders, and constitutions are ratified and confirmed "by our prerogative royall, and supreme authoritie, in causes ecclesiasticall"; and that "wee command by our authoritie royall . . . the same to bee diligentlie observed and executed." And the clergy are straitly charged to see to this, "not sparing to execute the penalties."

In this little manual it is decreed and ordained that: Whosoever shall impeach in any part the "royall supremacie in causes ecclesiasticall" is to be excommunicated. Whosoever shall affirm that the form of worship in the *Book of Common Prayer*; the rites and ceremonies of the Church; its government, "under his Majestie," by archbishops, etc.; the form of making and consecrating archbishops, etc., as now established; "doe contayne in them anie thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or are corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful in the service and worship of God," is to be excommunicated. "No person shall hereafter bee receaved into holie orders, nor suffered to preach, catechise, reade divinitie, minister the sacramentes, or execute anie other ecclesiasticall function, unlesse hee first subscribe to bee obedient to the canons of the Church." Every presbyter, either by himself or by another person lawfully called, shall "reade or cause divine service to be done, according to the forme of the *Book of Common Prayer*, before all sermons."² The

¹ Clarendon's *History*, vol. i. pp. 146-54. Sir Walter Scott puts it more strongly: "James had, with infinite difficulty, after long intriguing, and by never letting slip a favourable opportunity, established in Scotland the order of bishops, who, conscious that they were detested by the inferior clergy and the common people, clung for support to the King, who had raised them to their tottering dignity" (*Secret History of the Court of James the First*, 1811, vol. ii. p. 83).

² Chapter III. provides that all presbyters and preachers shall move the people to join with them in prayer, "using some fewe and convenient wordes: and shall alwayes conclude with the Lord's Prayer." And, by Chapter XI., none were to be permitted "to reade or conceave publicke

Lord's Supper shall "bee receaved with the bowing of the knee."¹ No secret meetings shall "bee kept by presbyters, or anie other persons whatsoever, for consulting upon matters ecclesiasticall";² ecclesiastical contraveners to be suspended for the first offence, excommunicated for the second, deprived for the third; lay offenders for the first fault to be admonished, for the second excommunicated, for the third to be proceeded against by the laws of the kingdom. Any person affirming that a National Synod, called by his Majesty's authority, "ought not to bee obeyed," shall be excommunicated. Canon 4 of Chapter VIII. merits special attention. Whosoever shall affirm that it is lawful for any presbyter or layman, jointly or severally, to make rules, orders, or constitutions in causes ecclesiastical, or to add or detract from things now established, without the royal authority, shall be excommunicated. "But forasmuch as no reformation in doctrine or discipline can bee made perfect at once in anie Church, therefore it shall and may be lawfull for the Church of Scotland, at anie tyme, to make remonstrance to his Majestie or his successours, what they conceive fit to bee taken in farther consideration, in and concerning the premisses. And if the King shall thereupon declare his lyking and approbation, then both clergie and lay shall yeeld their obedience. . . . But it shall not bee lawfull for the bishops themselves, in a National Synod, or otherwyse, to alter any rubricke, article, canon doctrinall or disciplinarie, whatsoever; under the payne above mentioned, and his Majestie's farther displeasure."

"Lastlie: In all this *Booke of Canons*, wheresoever there is no penaltie expresslie set downe, it is to bee understood that (so the cryme or offence bee proved) the punishment shall bee arbitrarie, as the ordinarie shall thinke fittest."

Among the documents which afterwards fell into the hands of the Covenanters were fourteen of Laud's letters to Adam Bannatyne (or Bellenden), Bishop of Dunblane;³ letters of Laud, of Juxon, Bishop of London, and of the Earl of Stirling, to Maxwell, Bishop of Ross; two memoirs by Archbishop Spottiswoode; and two manuscript copies of the *Book of Canons*. Effective use of these was made in "The Charge of the

prayers in the Church, unlesse hee bee in holie orders and lawfullie authorised by the bishop." Chapter IX. provides "that in all meetings for divine worship before sermon the whole prayers according to the Liturgie bee deliberatlie and distinctlie read." And that neither "any presbyter or reader bee permitted to conceive prayers *ex tempore*, or use anie other forme in the publicke Liturgie or service than is prescrybed; under the payne of deprivation from his benefice or cure."

¹ Few of the Lords of Session appear to have obeyed the King's order by communicating in the Royal Chapel; and so, on 13th May 1634, he instructed them to prepare themselves, their advocates, clerks, and writers, to participate there twice a year, "for we will not suffer you, who should precede others by your good example, to be leaders of our other subjects to contemn and disobey the orders of the Church" (Hailes' *Memorials, Reign of Charles*, pp. 1, 2).

² This included meetings "for the expounding of Scripture."

³ Of the letters to Bannatyne, one at least was written after he became Bishop of Aberdeen.

Scottish Commissioners against Canterburie," presented to the English Parliament, in which they said that they were ready to exhibit all these documents, and so "put the matter out of all debate."¹ One of the MS. copies of the *Book of Canons* was "written upon the one side onely, with the other side blanke, for corrections, additions, and putting all in better order." Laud's alterations were "by interlinings, marginalls, and filling up of the blanke page with directions sent to our prelates." The other copy was a clean one in Spottiswoode's handwriting, carefully embodying all Laud's alterations and additions; and had been sent to England to procure the King's warrant, which was obtained, but with some canons added, and a paper of other corrections.² The spirit of Laud's alterations is pointed out under eight heads. "4. Our prelates in divers places witnesse their dislike of Papists. . . . But, in Canterburie's edition, the name of Papists and Popery is not so much as mentioned. 5. Our prelates have not the boldnesse to trouble us in their canons with altars, fonts, chancels, reading of a long leiturgie before sermon, etc. But Canterbury is punctuall and peremptory in all these." He seems to have been specially well pleased with Canon 4 of Chapter VIII., the true meaning of which, he said, "remaines still under the curtaine." It kept the door open for further innovations. The original title of the Book was—"Canons agreed upon to be proponed to the severall synods of the Kirk of Scotland." But that did not please Laud. He it was, too, who introduced the arbitrary penalty. And he was blamed for the taking down of "galleries and stone-walls in the kirks of Edinburgh and Saint Androis, for no other end but to make way for altars and adoration towards the east, which, besides other evils, made no small noise and disturbance amongst the people, deprived hereby of their ordinary accomodation for publique worship." He denied that he commanded the galleries to be taken down in St Andrews; and, as for Edinburgh, what was done there was done by the King's command.³

¹ This charge was drafted by Robert Baillie, and abridged and polished by Alexander Henderson (Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 280). It was printed, with the charge against Strafford, etc., as a quarto pamphlet, in London, in 1641; and reprinted by Prynne, in that year, in the *Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie*, part ii. chap. vii. pp. 34-55. Laud had been translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury on 19th September 1633. When he was impeached of high treason in the House of Lords in December 1640, the Scots charge against him (which had been completed a few days before) was read, and he was "committed to the Black Rod" (White-locke's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 39; Laud's *Diary*): and on the 1st of next March he was lodged in the Tower.

² Nine of the letters which survive, and a memorandum, are printed in the Appendix to Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. pp. 428-40. For an inventory of them, see *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 474. They were partly printed by Lord Hailes in his *Memorials and Letters, Reign of Charles*, pp. 3-19. The statement about Bellenden's preaching, to which Hailes drew attention (p. 6), was doubtless based on one of the missing letters. See also Rushworth's *Collections*, part ii. p. 206.

³ The alterations in St Giles were by the King's orders of 6th October 1633 (Earl of Stirling's *Register of Royal Letters*, vol. ii. p. 684); but Laud, no doubt, was the instigator. In the course

Laud was able to deliver a printed copy of the *Book of Canons* to the King on 16th February 1636;¹ but the *Book of Common Prayer*, which it enjoined, was not published until fully a year later.² On 20th December 1636, acting on the King's instructions of 18th October, the Privy Council ordained that by public proclamation all the lieges should be commanded "to conforme thameselffes to the said publict forme, quhilk is the onelie forme quhilk his Majestie, having taken the counsell of his clergie, thinkes fitt to be used in God's publict worship heir"; and that the clergy should take special care that it was duly observed and contraveners condignly censured and punished; and that every parish should procure at least two copies before next Easter. His Majesty, who doubted not that all his subjects, "both clergie and others, will receave the same with such reverence as apperteanneth,"³ was doomed to be deeply disappointed. On the 13th June 1637, the Privy Council deemed it necessary to ordain letters to be issued, "charging the whole presbyters and ministers within this kingdome, that they and everie ane of thame provide and furnishe thameselffes for the use of their parishes with twa of the saidis bookes of publict service or commoun prayer, within fyftene dayes nixt after the charge, under the pane of rebellion," etc.⁴

When King James wished to introduce innovations, he tried to make it appear that he was carrying the Church with him. There was

of his long and elaborate defence against the Charge of the Scottish Commissioners, he says: "His Majesty having, in a Christian and princely way, erected and indowed a bishoprick in Edinburgh; he resolved to make the great church of St Giles in that city a cathedral; and to this end gave order to have the galleries in the lesser church, and the stone-wall which divided them, taken down. For of old, they were both one church, and made two by a wall built up at the west end of the chancel; so that that which was called the lesser church was but the chancel of St Giles with galleries round about it; and was for all the world like a square theater, without any shew of a church" (*History of Laud's Troubles and Tryal*, 1695, pp. 96, 97). By the King's orders referred to above, "the east wall in the said church" was to be razed to the ground, and also "the west wall therein," before Lammas 1634. "In the beginning of the yeare 1634, the magistrates of Edinburgh, as they were commanded, did cause demolish the partition wall betuix the Great and Little Kirk" (Row's *History*, p. 370). In a letter of 13th May 1634, the King says that he had given orders for "decoring St Geill's, by dimolisching of the wester wall and the walls of the yles therof, the goldsmyth chopos and song schooll, with the walls of the vesterie, wher it is disjoyned from the church, and restoreing the vesterie therunto" (Earl of Stirling's *Register of Royal Letters*, vol. ii. p. 751). These extracts completely upset the idea that merely the choir was fitted up as a cathedral (cf. *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii*, p. lv).

¹ Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 439.

² Baillie says that "the books were not printed till Aprile [1637] was past, and a while thereafter" (Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 16); and, again, "it was well near May thereafter ere the books were printed: for, as it is now perceaved by the leaves and sheets of that booke, which was given out athort the shoppes of Edinburgh, to cover spyce and tobacco, one edition at least was destroyed: bot for what cause we cannot learne" (*Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 31, 32).

³ *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 352, 353.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 448, 449.

no pretence of that now. The General Assembly had not met for nineteen years; and there is not the slightest reason to believe that the synods were consulted concerning either the *Book of Canons* or the *Book of Common Prayer*. Clarendon thought that "it was a fatal inadvertency that these canons, neither before nor after they were sent to the King, had ever been seen by the Assembly or any convocation of the clergy, which was so strictly obliged to the observation of them." Moreover, "there was the same affected and premeditated omission" concerning the Liturgy, "the clergy not at all consulted in it, and which was more strange, not all the bishops acquainted with it."¹ Bishop Guthrie alleges that this provoked even most of those ministers who favoured Episcopacy.² What the people thought of it soon became apparent.

It was resolved to introduce it in Edinburgh on 23rd July. The result was the tumult which, for more than two centuries, has been associated with the immortal name of Jenny Geddes.³ Five weeks later, William Annand, for defending the Liturgy in a synod sermon at Glasgow, was assailed with railing and cursing by thirty or forty of "our honestest women," in presence of the archbishop and magistrates, as he left the church; and in the evening "some hundredths of inraged women, of all qualities," attacked him "with neaves, and staves and peats," beat him sore, and rent his cloak, ruff, and hat. "This tumult was so great that it was not thought meet to search, either in plotters or actors of it, for numbers of the best qualitie would have been found guiltie."⁴ In November, when Bishop Whitfurd was using the Service-Book in his own church of Brechin, "the people gat up in ane mad humour detesting this sort of worschip, and perseuit him so scharplie that hardlie he escaipit out of there handis onslayne, and forsit for saiftie of his lyff to leave his bishoprik and flie the kingdome."⁵

The path of the prayer-book was not smoothed by the Act of the Privy Council of 14th March 1637, forbidding the printing and importing of "the old psalmes," to make way for the revised version,⁶ attached to the new prayer-book, and bearing the misleading title—"The Psalmes

¹ Clarendon's *History*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186, 191. That some of the Scotch bishops had not seen the Liturgy before it was published is mentioned by Laud with disapproval (Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, part ii. p. 398).

² Guthrie's *Memoirs*, pp. 18, 19.

³ For this tumult, see Rothes' *Relation*, pp. 198-200; Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs*, vol. i. pp. 7-11; Bishop Guthrie's *Memoirs*, pp. 19, 20; Wariston's *Diary*, p. 265.

⁴ Laing's Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 21.

⁵ Spalding's *Memorialls*, Spald. Club, vol. i. p. 82.

⁶ *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 409, 410. The Act was in accordance with a warrant from the King; but the marginal note in the printed Register wrongly summarises it as "forbidding the use of the old Psalms and ordering that the new Psalms be sung in all the churches." This error is repeated in the Introduction, p. ix.

of King David: translated by King James."¹ One objection to the new version was, that "the people hath beene so long acquainted with the old meeter, that some can sing all or at least many of the Psalmes without buik."² The popularity of the old version had been strikingly manifested by the huge crowd accompanying John Durie, on his return to Edinburgh, in September 1582, singing, from the Nether Bow to St Giles, in four parts the 124th Psalm—"Now Israel may say."³

Here are two entries from Laud's *Diary* (anno 1637): "Junii, 14. This day Jo. Bastwick, Dr of Physick, Hen. Burton, Batch. of Divinity, and Will. Prynne, Barrister-at-law were censured for their libells against the hierarchy of the Church, etc." "Junii 30. Friday, the above-named three libellers lost their ears."⁴ Besides having "their eares close cut off," each of the three was fined £5000, and Prynne was branded on both cheeks with a hot iron. They were kept close prisoners, and deprived of pen, ink, and paper. In Prynne's opinion, this star-chamber procedure was a moving cause of the Jenny Geddes tumult. "This transcendent new kinde of Prelaticall tyranny, wherewith Canterbury imagined to terrifie and appale the Scots, comming to their eares, wrought quite contrary effects, stirring them up with greater animosity to resist the prelates' encroachments both upon their consciences, lawes, liberties, and established discipline."⁵ According to Rushworth, the news of this brutal treatment of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne "flew quickly into Scotland," and the Scots expected that they too would be getting a star-chamber to strengthen the power of the bishops.⁶

On 24th July (the day after the tumult in St Giles), the Privy Council ordained the Lyon Herald to proclaim at the market-cross of Edinburgh that if any one tried to raise any tumult in the churches or churchyards, or railed and spoke against the Service-Book, the penalty of death would be executed upon them without favour or mercy.⁷ On the 27th and 28th, the Privy Council took steps to secure, through the provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, the "peaceable exercise of the Service-Booke, and securitie of the persons imployed or who sall be present and assist at the practise thair of."⁸ On the 29th, Spottiswoode reported that he and the other bishops thought that there should be "a surceasse of the Service-Book," until the King signified his pleasure as to the punish-

¹ Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 531.

² *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 243.

³ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. p. 647.

⁴ *History of Laud's Troubles and Tryal*, p. 54.

⁵ Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 26; Prynne's *Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie*, part ii. chap. vii. pp. 341, 342.

⁶ Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, 1680, part ii. p. 385. By a sentence of the star-chamber, Prynne's ears had been cut off in 1633; the stumps were now rather sawn off than cut off (*Ibid.*, p. 382). It vexed Laud that the victims were allowed to speak freely in the pillory, and thousands permitted to greet them on their way to prison (Strafford's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 99).

⁷ *Register of the Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 483.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 486, 487, 489.

ment of the authors of the tumult; and that the bishops had appointed that, in the interim, neither the old service nor the new should be used.¹ On 4th August, the Privy Council received the King's letter of 30th July ordering them to endeavour to discover and punish those who took part in the tumult; and to help the clergy in settling the service in Edinburgh and elsewhere when required. The majority of the bishops present at the Council, on 5th August, reported that the use of the Service-Book could not, until the 13th, be conveniently resumed in Edinburgh; but on the 9th the bailies declared that, even by the 13th, they could not provide competent clerks and readers. The Privy Council ordained that the magistrates, and their successors in office, should protect the bishop and ministers of Edinburgh and others officiating in the divine service now prescribed, by keeping them, their wives, servants, and families "harmlesse and skaithlesse" from all danger, peril, and trouble, at all times until the discontentment of the people was removed.²

Laud, whose connection with the Service-Book did not end with its publication, wrote, on 7th August, a lengthy letter to the Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer, expressing the King's displeasure, and criticising what had been done, not forgetting "the interdicting of all divine service" till his Majesty's pleasure was further known.³ He was somewhat mollified by the letter which the Edinburgh bailies sent to him on the 19th, lamenting the tumult "in our churches, that day of inbringing of the Service-Book"; telling him that "although the poverty of this city be great, . . . yet we have not been wanting to offer good means, above our power, to such as would undertake that service," and assuring him "of obedience upon our part."⁴

The Register of Privy Council shows who were present at its meeting on the afternoon of 23rd August; but gives no indication of the nature of the business before it. From a letter to the King, however, dated 25th August, and signed by nineteen of the members, it is learned that the meeting was expressly held to consider the best means of advancing the Service-Book. They explain that "wee found ourselves, farre by our expectation, surprised with the clamours and feares of your Majestie's subjects from almost all the partes and corners of the kingdome; and that even of these who otherwayes hes heretofore lived in obedience and conformitie to your Majestie's lawes, bothe in ecclesiastical and civile bussinesse." The "urging of the practice of the Service-Book" had caused such a general murmuring and grudging "in all sortes of

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 490.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 509-15.

³ Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, part ii. pp. 389, 390.

⁴ *Ibid.*, part ii. pp. 393, 394.

people" that the Council did not dare to hide it any longer from him, or to dive further either into the cause or the remedy, until he should "prescribe the way after hearing of all the particulars, either by calling some of your Majestie's Councill, bothe clergie and laitie, to your Majestie's owne presence," or otherwise.¹ In a letter of 27th August to the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Traquair recommended that, if the King wished to consult any of the clergy in this matter, the wisest and calmest should be selected, for "some of the leading men amongst them are so violent and forward, and many times without ground or true judgment, that their want of right understanding how to compass business of this nature and weight does often breed us many difficulties."²

It was at this afternoon meeting of the Privy Council, on 23rd August, that three Fife ministers—Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, George Hamilton of Newburn, and James Bruce of Kingsbarns—gave in their supplication. Each of the three had been willing to receive a copy of the Service-Book to see what it contained before promising to practise it; but had been charged by letters of horning to buy two. Their petition embodied five reasons why the charges should be suspended, and was accompanied by a paper of information.³ Although neither the petition nor the information is mentioned in the Register, the result is, for, on the 25th, the Council graciously explained that the letters, and the Act of Council on which they proceeded, extended "allanerlie to the buying of the saids bookes, and no farther."⁴ In other words, the petitioners were only bound to buy, not to practise.

Laud, in a letter of 4th September to Spottiswoode, criticises him for relying too much on his clerical brethren, ignoring the lay lords of the Privy Council; and conveys to him the King's permission to use the sharper measures he desired with non-compliant ministers. From his epistle of the 11th to Traquair, it is learned that it was the hated Bishop of Ross who proposed the temporary "interdiction" of the Service-Book; that Laud had shown the "very fair, discreet letter" of the Edinburgh bailies to the King, who bade him thank them very heartily; that his Majesty had "carefully looked over and approved every word in this

¹ Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. pp. 451, 452. The subscribers of this letter include Spottiswoode and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin; but Sir James Balfour omits the two last (*Historical Works*, vol. ii. p. 231).

² Burnet's *Memoires of the Dukes of Hamilton*, 1677, p. 31. Traquair was not singular in his estimate. "Some other lords spoke favourably in Council of the supplicants, and passionately rebuked the bishops" (Bishop Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 23).

³ *Rothes' Relation*, Ban. Club, pp. 5, 45-47.

⁴ *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 521, 694. There were other petitioners to the Council that day besides the three ministers from Fife (Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 19); and many noblemen by letters, and gentlemen orally, canvassed the members of Council (*Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 19, 20; *Rothes' Relation*, pp. 5, 6, 11).

Liturgy," and that, therefore, in Laud's opinion, "it would mightily dishonour the King" to amend it.¹

When the Privy Council met on 20th September, it derived little guidance from the King's reproachful letter of the 10th. It was not fit, he thought, to send for any of the Council, but it was his pleasure that each of the bishops should cause the Service-Book to be read in his own diocese, as Ross and Dunblane had already done; that the burghs should not choose magistrates for whose conformity they could not answer; and that a sufficient number of the Council should remain in or near Edinburgh during the vacation "till the Service-Book be settled."² The perplexed Council delayed giving an answer to the many petitions presented that day, until his Majesty signified "his gracious pleasure thereanent," and intreated the Duke of Lennox, who was repairing to Court, "to remonstrat to his Majestie the trew estat of the bussines with the manie pressing difficulteis."³ In the letter sent to the King, it is plainly stated that the general dislike has this day "beene more fullie evidenced by the numerous confluence of all degrees and ranks of persones," who, earnestly and humbly, in sixty-eight petitions, opposed the acceptance of the Service-Book. Copies of three were forwarded to the King; one from nobles, barons, and gentlemen; one from the ministers of the exercise of Auchterarder in the diocese of Dunblane, "where your Majestie is informed the service is practised"; and one from the city of Glasgow. A list of the other sixty-five was also sent.⁴ Of the supplicants present that day there were a score of nobles, a great many barons, commissioners from the West, and over eighty ministers.⁵ In an interview at this time with Rothes, Spottiswoode, banteringly no doubt, said: "What neidit this resistance? If the King wold turne Papist: we behoved to obey: who could resist princes?"⁶

On 23rd September, the Privy Council recommended the magistrates of Edinburgh to consult the Town Council "anent the most conduceable meanes for satling the Service-Booke within thair kirks in a peaceable way," and to report their resolution on Monday next. They did not report on Monday, and therefore the Lords recommended them "to

¹ Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, part ii. pp. 397-9. Later, the King proclaimed that there was nothing in the *Book of Common Prayer* that he had not seen and approved "before the same was either divulged or printed" (*Large Declaration*, p. 48). Cf. *Sale Catalogue of the Hamilton Library*, May 1884, lot 316.

² Laing's Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 452. The Lyon King described the King's letter as "perem-torey and bitter" (Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 231, 232).

³ *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 528, 529.

⁴ Laing's Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 453. For the three petitions sent to the King, see Rothes' *Relation*, pp. 47-9. In the first of the three, the phrase "a neidless noise" was borrowed from the King's letter of 10th September, and was probably suggested by Traquair (*Ibid.*, p. 9).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-10; Laing's Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 33.

⁶ Rothes' *Relation*, p. 10.

advise upon a dewtifull and satisfactorie answer." Next day (the 26th), impelled by the importunity of the citizens, they handed in a petition desiring that they should not be pressed to receive the Service-Book until his Majesty signified his pleasure. On the same day they wrote to Laud, excusing themselves and begging his "grace's favour and intercession with his Majestie."¹

When the Privy Council met on 17th October, it must have been sadly chagrined by the King's curt letter of the 9th. He thought it "not fitt to answer, at this time," either its letter or the petitions, and was "not resolved for the present when to doe it"; but commanded that this meeting of Council should be dissolved, in so far as it concerned that business; and that, by proclamation, all who had come to attend to that business should be commanded to return to their own dwellings under pain of horning, except those who could show "just caus of stay for their particular affaires." And the Council was to use its best endeavours to find out and punish the stirrers-up of the late tumults in Edinburgh and Glasgow. His Majesty also sent warrants for other two proclamations; one removing the meetings of Council and Session from Edinburgh, and the other ordering all those who had copies of the book entitled—"A Dispute against the English-Popish ceremonies obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland," to bring them in, in order to be publicly burned.²

The petitioners, having learned that this meeting of Council was to be held, hurried to Edinburgh in great numbers. "Beside the increase of noblemen, who had not been formerly there, there were few or no shires on the south of the Grampion Hills, from which came not gentlemen, burghers, ministers and commons."³ Wariston states that, on the 17th, he and Craig of Riccarton, as commissioners, gave in a supplication for Currie against the Service-Book, and that there was a "huge number of uthers."⁴ Baillie puts the number of commissioners of parishes who

¹ *Rothes' Relation*, p. 12; *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 532-4; *The King's Large Declaration*, pp. 29, 30, 32. The Edinburgh citizens did not rest long satisfied with this mild petition. On 18th October they mobbed Bishop Sydserf, who was believed to wear a crucifix, and successfully insisted on their magistrates petitioning for the restoration of their ordinary prayers (i.e. the *Book of Common Order*), and of their two ministers and reader who had been silenced. Sir Thomas Hope calls it "a greter tumult" (*Diary*, p. 66); Traquair says, "the like has never been seen in this kingdom" (*Hardwick's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 96). Cf. *Ancram and Lothian Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 95, 96; *Large Declaration*, pp. 34-8; *Rothes' Relation*, pp. 15, 19, 20. For the reader's ordinary service, see Bishop Cowper's *Workes*, 1626, p. 680.

² *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 536-8; Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, part ii. pp. 401, 402. It was much easier to burn than to answer this book of George Gillespie's, of which there are three editions, 1637, 1660, and 1844. "The effects of this proclamatione wer non other, as to the booke itself, but for to macke evry one the mor curieuse to know the contents therof, and consequently to macke the mercatt the better for the stationer" (*Gordon's History of Scots Affairs*, Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 20).

³ *Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 24.

⁴ *Wariston's Diary*, 1632-9, p. 270.

gave in supplications as "above two hundreth." The petitioners now proceeded to deliberate on the situation; the nobles in one house, the gentry in another, the ministers in a third. The ministers were asked one by one if they disapproved of the Service-Book. "All did, both for matter and manner of imposeing it." While thus engaged, they were informed that, by proclamation, they were commanded to leave the town within twenty-four hours.¹ Those who failed to comply were to be denounced as rebels, put to the horn, and all their movable goods escheated to the King's use.² The nobles resolved to meet this by drawing up "a formall complaint against the bishops, as authors of the Book and all the troubles that had and was like to follow on it." Lord Balmerino and Alexander Henderson were instructed to pen the complaint, and so were Lord Loudon and David Dickson. "That night," says Baillie, "these four did not sleep much." Next day, of the two forms, the nobles preferred the one by Loudon and Dickson, which was immediately subscribed "by some twenty-four earles and lords, some two three hundred gentlemen of quality," and in the afternoon was taken to the ministers, some of whom signed it without either reading it or hearing it read. Baillie would have had less difficulty in signing if its terms had been more general. He thought that "the panners were much more happie than wise."³

In the "Historicall Informatione" drawn up by Rothes and revised by Wariston, the formal complaint is designated the "supplication," and is said to have been drawn up by Mr David Dick[son] and only looked upon by Loudon. "It was done hastilie, and so could not be done ornatlíe and so advysedlie. They did draw up one copie in paper for the Counsell, and another in parchement to subscryve, that our hands being at it mycht testifie who joyned with that petitione. Ther was 500 hands at it that same nycht." A covering letter was drawn up by Loudon, showing that many of them had other business in the town, and referring to the supplication.⁴ In his *Diary*, Wariston puts it more briefly: "The nobilitie apairt, the gentrie apairt, the burroues apairt, the ministerie apairt, met, advysed, and consulted, and at the last subscryved every on[e] the supplication against the Service-Book, canons, and bischops themselves, and presented it to the Counseil."⁵

The Council read the letter "and gave twentie-four hours more for convenient dispatche of the petitioners out of toun"; but when they

¹ Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. pp. 34, 35.

² *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 537. Those were excepted who should make known to the Lords of Council "just caus of thair stay for thair particular affaires."

³ Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. pp. 35, 36.

⁴ Rothes' *Relation*, pp. 16-9. Dickson signed the supplication as "minister of Irwin."

⁵ Wariston's *Diary*, pp. 270-1.

opened the supplication and found that it concerned Kirk matters, they declined to read it. This was on the 18th October.¹ The text of the Supplication and the signatures follow:—

“For the glorie of Jesus Chryst and preservatioune of true religioune, for the honour of Kinge Charles, and the goode of this his native and ancient kingdome.

“This underwrittin is the just coppie of the Supplication and Complaint presentit in our names to the Lords of the Secreit Counsall, October 18, 1637; and becaus no particular persons compleneris ar named, and all who have enteres [*into the*—deleted] in the grevances conteind therin may not attend, bot must appoint some few of ther number to wait for ansuer; Therfor, least the Lords reject the Supplication and Complaint for the want of the supplicants' and compleners' names, We have subscrivit this present double, to be shawin to the Lords if they sall happin to call for the same.²

“My Lords of Secreit Counsall, Unto your Lordships humblie meanes and schawes We, undersubscriyvers, Noblemen, Barrons, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commouns,³ That, wheras we war, in all humilitie⁴ and quyit manner, attending a gracious ansuer of our former supplications against the Service Booke imposed upon us, and readie to schaw the great inconvenience which upon the introduction therof must insue, We ar, without any knowin desert far by our expectation, surpryzed and charged, by publict proclamation, to departe of the toune within tuentie four hours thereafter, under paine of rebellion. By which peremptorie and unusuall charge, our feares of a more sumnare and strict course of proceeding in thir maters is augmentit, and the course of our supplications interrupted. Quherfor, we ar constrained, out of the deap greef of our hearts, humblie to remonstrat that, wher the archbishops and bishops of this realme, being intrustit by his Majestie with the government of the affairs of the Kirk of Scotland, have drawin up and sett furth, or caused be drawin up and sett furth, and injoynd upon the subjects tuo bookes, in the one wherof, called *The Booke of Comoun Prayer*, not onlie ar sowne the seeds of divers superstitions, idolatrie and false doctrine, contrair to the true religion established in this realme by divers Acts of Parliament, bot also *The Service Booke of England* is so abused, especially in the matter of the communion, by additions, substractions, interchangeing of words and sentences, falsefeing of tittles, and misplacing of collects, to the disadvantage of reformation, as the

¹ Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 38; *Roth's Relation*, p. 17.

² In the Kirkcudbright copy (No. 333) this paragraph is omitted.

³ No. 333 has here the words—“of the Presbyterie of Kirkcudbright.”

⁴ For all *humilitie*, No. 333 has *almitie*.

Romish Masse is, in the mayne and substantiall points, made up therin (as we offer to instruct in tyme and place convenient), closs contrair unto and for ranversing of the gracious intention of the blessed Reformers of religion in England. In the uthur booke, called *Canons and Constitutions for the Government of the Kirk of Scotland*, they have ordeained that whosoevir sall affirme that the forme of worship conteand in *The Booke of Comoun Prayer* and administration of the sacraments (wherof heirtofore and now we must justlie compleane) doth conteane anie thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or ar corrupt, superstitious or unlaufull in the service and worship of God, sall be excommunicated, and not be restored bot by the bishop of the place, or archbishop of the province, efter his repentance and publict revocation of this his wickit error: beside an hundreth canons moe, manie of them tending to the reviveing and fostering of abolished superstitions and errors, and to the overthrow of our church discipline established by Acts of Parliament, opening a doore for what farder innovation of religion they pleis to mak, and stopping the way which law before did allow unto us for suppressing¹ of error and superstition; and ordaining that, wher in anie of the canons ther is no penaltie expreslie sett down, the punishment sall be arbitrarie as the bishops sall think fitest. All which canons wer nevir seen nor allowed in anie Generall Assemblie, bot ar imposed contrair to order of law appointed in this realme for establishing of maters ecclesiastick. Unto which tuo bookes the fairsaids prelates have, under trust, procured his Majestie's royall hand and letters patent for pressing the same upon us his loyall subjects, and yit ar they the contryvers and devysers of the same, as doth cleirly appeare by the frontispice of *The Booke of Comoun Prayer*, and ar begun to urge the acceptance of the same, not onlie by injunctions gevin in provinciall assemblies, bot also by opin proclamation and charges of horning, wherby we ar drivin in such straits as we must ather, by process of excommunication and horning, suffer the ruine² of our estates and fortunes, or els, by breach of our covenant³ with God and forsakeing the way of true religion, fall under the wrath of God which unto us is more grevous than death. Wherfor, WE, being perswaded that these ther proceedings ar contrair to our gracious soverane his pious intention, who, out of his zeale and princele

¹ For *suppressing*, No. 333 has *surpryseing*.

² For *ruine*, No. 333 has *rueing*.

³ The reference is to the band or covenant first sworn in January 1580-1, again in February 1587-8, and again in 1590. In that covenant, the Pope's "wicked hierarchie" is specially detested and refused; and the swearers promise, "by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this Kyrk, and shal defend the same, according to our vocation and pouer, all the dayes of our lyves under the panes conteyned in the law, and danger both of body and saule in the day of Godis fearfull judgement" (*National MSS. of Scotland*, part iii. No. 70).

cair of the preservation of true religion established in this his auncient kingdome, hes ratifeit the same in his Henes Parliament, i m. vi^c thretie three; and so his Majestie to be highlie wrongd by the saids prelats, who have so farr abused ther credite with so gude a King as thus to insnare his subjects, rent our Kirk, undermynde religion in doctrine, sacraments, and discipline, move discontent betuix the King and his subjects, and discord betuix subject and subject, contrair to severall Acts of Parliament, DOE (out of bundin dewtie to God, our King, and native countrie) compleane of the foirsaid prelats, humblie craveing that this mater may be put to tryall, and these our pairties takin order with according to the lawes of the realme; and that they be not suffered to sitt anie more as our judges untill this caus be tryed and decided according to justice. And if this sall seeme to your lordships a mater of higher importance then ze will condescend unto, before his Majestie be acquainted ther-with, then we humblie supplicat that this our grevance and complaint may be fullie representit to his Majestie, that, from the influence of his gracious government and justice, thir wrongs may be redressit, and we have the happines to injoy the religion as it hath bene reformed in this land.

"J. Southerland. Montrose. Rothes. Eglintoun. Lindesay. Cassillis. Home. Lothian. Dalhousie. H. L. Montgombrie. Flemyng. Elcho. Sinclair. Boyd. (? J. L.) Ogiluy.¹ Loudoun. Burghly. (? M.) Ogiluy. Wemyss. J. Drumlangrig.² A. Forbes. J. L. Coupar. Balmerino. Yester. J. Crans-toune. Forrester. Johnstoun. (? R.) Dalyell. Elphinstone.³ Ma. of Maderty. R. Arbuthnot of that ilk. George Douglas of Penzerie. James Dowglas, Mowsheld. Patrik . . . W. Caprintown. S. D. B. Cullerny. S. L. Hows-toun. Andrw Agnew. Dundas off that ilk. Sir Jamis Lokhairt of Ley. S. D. Sibbald. Arthur Ærsken. Patrik Hepburne of Wauchtune. James Melvill of Halhil. J. Aytoune of that ilk. (? S. A.) Kennedy. J. Liuingstone. Wm. Cokburne. (? S. J.) Murray. Erleshall. W. Scott. J. Wemyss. (? H.) Park. Fullartoun. J. Arnott of Ferny. Williame Cathcart of Wattirheid. Alexander Leslie. Edward Hamilton of Balgray. Keiris. Lundowe of that ilk. Blair of that ilk. R. Caldwell. Kersland. D. Home, Wedderburne. T. Craig of Rickartoun. Fergus M^cCubeine. John Cathcart. W. Riddell. (? J.) Ramsay. D. Blair (? of Adamtoune). Alex^r Levingtone. (? J. Renton.) Ma. Wallace. T. Gourlay. Ballinhard. Corsslayes. Achincorse. Robert Stewart of Barscube. R. Hamilton. S. A. Schaw of Sauchie. G. Hoome.

¹ In the list of nobles contributing voluntarily to the covenanting cause (2nd March 1638) there is an Ogilvie (Rothes' *Relation*, p. 81); but when James, Lord Ogilvie (afterwards first Earl of Airlie) was asked by Montrose, in February 1639, to sign the Covenant, he refused to do so (Spalding's *Memorials*, Spald. Club, vol. i. p. 135).

² James, Lord Drumlanrig, whose father, William Douglas, had been created Earl of Queensberry in 1633.

³ Some men of lesser note have crowded in their signatures in front of Elphinstone's.

Ch. Arnot. Murray of Touchadam. (? . . . Burton.) (? J. Corinall.) H. Sterling. John Fullartoun of Carloun. Wm. Broun of Dolphingtoun. Harie Elphinstoun of Caderhall. (? H.) Moncreif of Tibbermallo. J. Hepburne. Charles Ærskine. Williame Wallace of (? Johnston). Daud Kennedy of Balimor. Kirkmichaell, yonger. (? Al.) Bruce. R. M. Hessilheid. (? J.) Hepburne. Patrik Inglis. W. Frouch. Johne Eccles, yungar of Kildonan. Johne Quhytfuird. Sir Gilbert Kennedie of Ariowland. Al. Logane. Johne Fergusson of Corroghow. J. Garthland. J. S. Craigbarnatt. J. Kilbirny. J. Lockhartt off Bar. S. G. Baillie, Lochend. (? Arn)estone. Knok. J. Hamilton. J. Lowell of Canzeoqwhie. Alexander Gordowne of Erlistowne. Rot. Gordoun of Knokbrex. Johne Hammilton. Johne Gordoun. D. Makgill. J. Kingancleuche. Robert Colueill. H. Cesnok. Daud Craufurd of Kers. Daud Dunbar of Entirkin. Mr Wm. Adair. Millanderdail, zonger. (? W.) McAulay of Ardngcapple. Colgrane. Daud Wemyse. S. J. Kincaid. James Edmonstoun, tutor of Duntreath. Mr Williame Hamiltone. M. R. Pitcairne. Jhone Moncreiff. George Gordun in Garlurg. Gloratt. (? Hildoun.) Stretherli. A. Porterfeild of that ilk. Halpland. W. S. Foulud. W. Sempill, younger of Fowlud. William Menteth. T. (or J.) Dalzel. A. Douglas. Ramferlie. Geo. Douglas. (? M. Henry Home.) Auchinlek. J. C. Gaitgirth. M. (? D. or P.) Cunyngham. Langschaw. Neulistoun. Killmaheu. Pa: Hume. Jo. Hepburne. A. Coninghame. James Maxuell. W. Nobill of Ardarden. S. Alex. Touris. J. Hamilton of Preston. M. J. Scheuez of Kembak. William Forbes. Johne Hamiltoun. (? Cl)atto. W. Carbistoun. Pa. Congiltoun. Mr James (? Phin). Jo. Buchanan for Drymen. (? R. Macnair.) Robert Bruice. (? P.) Cokburne. Ro. Peblis of Maynshill. Tho: Dalzell of Byne. Daud Broun of Fynmunth. S. Johne Prestoun. Wairiston. Gilmiliscroft, zongar. Touch. Sir G. Keir. W. Cunynghamheid. (? S. P.) McKie off Larg. George Reid of Daldilling. William Cuninghame of Laigland. Rot. Gordoun, Gallouay. George Bell, Linlythgow. Robert Bruce. Mr And. Hammiltoun of Vtterwod. Tho. Bruce, proueast, for Sterling. Johne Williamsone for Kirkaldie. Mr James Campbell for Dumbartane. Walter Stirling for Glasgow. Sir J. Moncreif. Mongo Bosuall of Duncanzemur. Jo. (or T.) Durham, Peirh. R. Creichtoun, baillyie of Qhuthorne. J. Bonnar of Lumquhat. James Rige of Carberrie. John Kennedy for Ayr. M. R. Cuninghame for Kingorne. A. Menzeis of Comries. Robert Pitersone for Cuper. George Bruce for Culrose. G. Gourlay for Culrose. D. Symson for Dysert. Mr Jo. Corsane for Drumfres. J. Cochrane for Edinburgh. J. Smith for Edinburgh. James Fletcher, Dondie. Walter Lyell for Montrois. George Gairdin for Bruntiland. Villiame Meikiljone, Brintiland. W. Lyoun for Breichine. Walter Airthe for Pettinwem. James Andersoune. W. Michelhill, Selkirk. Johne Daudisone. J. Bethone off Creich. P. Campbell of Edinampill. Lamingtoun. James Blair for Jrwing. W. Glendonyng for Kirkcudbryt. J. Reid for Dumfer[l]ing. Williame Walker for Dunfermlinge. Alexr. Strang. Alexr. McKie for Wigtoun. Gedion Jack for Lanerk. Ja. Andersone for Hadingtone. Robert Symson for Jedburgh. Wam. Cokbvrrne for Dvnbar. George Home for

Norberwik. Johne Myln for Forfar. Thomas Patersone. Pa. Thomsone for Peblis. D. Hunter, prouest.¹ P. Forbes for Banfe. Mr A. Home for Lauder. J. Somervell for Ranfrew. S. J. Murray. Robert Hamilton of Binning. Ro^t Drummond, Anstruther Wester. M. A. Ramsay, minister at Edinburgh. Mr Adam Colt, minister at Inueresk. M. Robert Murray, minister at Methven. M. W. Row, minister at Forgunde.² M. Will. Arthure, minister. Mr Johne Dunlop, minister at Ratho. M. W. Colvill, minister at Cramund. M. A. Neutoun, minister at Duddiston. Mr Johne Reid, minister at Muirkirk. M. B. Sandersone at Keir. M. Gilbert Power, minister at Stanykirk. M. David Dickson, minister of Irwin. M. A. Blakhall, minister at Aberladye. M. Richard Dickson, minister at Kinneill. Mr Johne Aird, preicher at Newbotle. M. Rob. Knox, minister at Kelsoo. Mr Robert Roche, minister at Inuerkething. M. W. Justice, minister at Gargunnok. Mr James Edmonstone, minister at S^t Ninians. J. Symson, minister at Bathgait. Mr Joh. Cragingelt, minister at Alloway.³ H. Guthrie, minister at Sterline. M. E. Wright, minister at Clakmannan. Mr Thomas Strahan, minister at Dollor. Mr Ro^t Brounlie, minister at Kirktown. Mr Jhon Duncan, minister at Culros. M. (? D.) Dik, minister off (? Crumal).⁴ Mr James Symson, minister of Kirkcaldi. Mr William Jamesone, minister at Langnewtoun. M. Birsbane, minister at Killellen.⁵ Mr George Hamiltone, minister at Newbirne. Mr James Robertson, minister at Cranstoun. Mr James Ker, minister at Abbatrroull. (? M.) A. Duncansone, minister at Lessudden.⁶ Mr Thomas Wilkie, minister at Crailling. M. W. Edmondstoun, minister at Kilmadoke. Mr James Porteous, minister at Lessvade. Mr William Dalgleish, minister at Kirkm^bbrek. Mr Johne Fergushil, minister at Ochiltrie. M. J. Knox, minister, Carington. Mr Alexr. Anderson, minister at Carnweth. M. Robert Bruce, minister of Aberbdoure. Jo. Ker, minister at Saltprestoun.⁷ M. R. Watson, Cardrose. M. Ja: Row, minister at Muithil. W. Castellaw, minister at Ste[warton]. Mr John Charteris, minister at Currie. Mr Harie Livingstone, minister att Kippene. Mr James Kirk, minister of Abirfoyll. P. Davisone of Aird. M. Robert Bell, minister at Dalry. Mr Jhone Cornwall, at Linlithgow. Hew Mackaile, minister at Perstoune.⁸ Maister Robert Tran, Eglisname. M. Ja. Bruce at K[ings]barnes. M. O. Colt, minister at Inverask. Mr Ja. Sharpe, minister at Govan. M. A. Douglas, minister at Quhittingham. M. R. Montgomery, minister at Symontoun. Mr Williame Weir, minister at Hopkirk. Mr Androw Auchinlek, minister at Largo. Mr Walter Swintoun, minister at Swintoun. M. J. Cuninghame, Cumnok. Mr Thomas Suyntoune, minister att St Bathanes.⁹ Entirkin, zownger. Mr David Home, minister at Ladykirk. M. Jo: Knox, minister at Bowdone. R. Hammiltoun, minister, Moonkton. Mr J. Moncreiff at Cullessie. M. R. Cuningham

¹ David Hunter, provost of Forfar, was a member of the Glasgow General Assembly in 1638 (Peterkin's *Records*, p. 110).

² Forgandenny.

³ Alloa.

⁴ At this time David Dick was minister of Cromdale.

⁵ Matthew Birsbane, M.A. The words "at Killellen" are in a different hand.

⁶ Lessudden is now St Boswells.

⁷ Prestonpans.

⁸ Percietown.

⁹ Abbey St Bathans.

at Hawik. Mr Thomas Abernethy, minister at Eckfuid. Johnne Dicksone, minister at Kells. M. Jo. Home, minister at Eymouth. M. A. Keir, minister at Cariddin. Mr Robert Balcan[qual,] Tranent. M. A. Hamilton, minister at Hadinton. Mr T. Melvill, minister at Kinglassie. Mr Johnne Moray, minister at Stramiglo. M. J. Forsythe, minister at Leinzie. Mr Alexr. Somer(uil), minister at Dolphngton. M. Ro. Wilkie, Glasgw. M. A. Forbes, Campsey. M. H. Wilkie, minister, Portmook. M. Gilbt. Ross, minister, Calmonell. J. Gaitts, minister at Boncle. Mr Tho. Ramsay at Drimfreis. Mr Georg Young, minister at Mauchlin. Mr Robert Montgomery, minister at Sanct Kevox.¹ Mr W^m Russell, minister at Kilbirnie. M. D. Elphinstoun, minister at Dunbarton. M. R. Baylie,² minister of Kilwinning. M. F. Carmichael, minister at Keniquhy.³ Mr James Fleming, minister at Bothanns.⁴ J. Daliell, minister at Hauch.⁵ M. J. Smith, minister at Leslie. Mr Robert Douglas, minister at Kirkaldie. M. Johnne Osuald, minister at Pencaitland. Mr Mongo Law, minister at Dysert. J. Bonar, minister at Mayboill. Mr Harie Makgill, minister of Dunfermline. Mr William Lindsay at Dreghorne. Mr Jhone Schaw at Auchinlek. . . . Maner.

[On the back.]

“WE UNDERSUBSCRIBERS ASSENTS AND ADHERES TO THE WITHIN WRITTEN PETITION.

“Lyone. A. Erskine off Dun. Tho: Fothringham of Powrie. Frederik Lyone. J. C. Ruthvns. Jhone Neway, fear of that ilk. Da. Lindesay. George Symmer. J. Carnegy, Ethie. Bonytoun. A. Lindesay, fiar off Edzell. William Durham of Grainge. W^m Sterling off Ardoche. Larence Oliphant. J. Guthrie. (?S. L.) Carnegy. Hercules Cramond, elder. S. A. Carnegy, Balamone. D. Grahame of Fyntrie. Robert Arbuthnott. J. Grahame of Orchill. J. Grahame. Alexr. Murray of Strowan. S. G. Muschet. S. J. O. Inuercharitie. (?D.) Ogiluy of Glasuall. Johnn Ramsay. David Lyndsay, Balgays. Jhone Ogiluy of (?Galie). David Ogiluy of Persie. R. Grame of Morphie. Balthyok. S. A. Moray of Balvaird. William Fergusone of Craigdarro. S. D. Campbell. J. Campbell of Ardehatten. Mr Harie Rollok, minister at Edinburgh. M. Alexr. Henderson, minister at Leuchars. Mr Andrew Cant, minister at Pet-sligo. (?J.) Wyshart. T. Ogiluie. Thomas Lyon, fier of Cossins.⁶ D. Bethun of Balfowr. Thomas Myrtone of Cambo. (?Rires.) D. Carmichall, Balmedie. Johnne Martyne of Lathonis. (?D.) Pitcairne R. Patersone of Dunmure. James Lyndesay of Kilquhis. W. Moncreif of Randerstoun. David Moncreiff

¹ St Quivox.

² Author of *Letters and Journals*, edited by David Laing. Of his works published in his own lifetime only two need be mentioned here—*Ladensium*, third edition augmented, 1641; and *A Parallel, or Briefe Comparison of the Liturgie with the Masse-Book*, 1641.

³ Kennoway.

⁴ Bothans is now Yester.

⁵ Hauch is now Prestonkirk.

⁶ A *fiar* (or *fier*, or *feir*, or *fear*) is one who has the reversion of a property. He whose property is burdened by a liferent “is, in our law-language, called the *fiar*” (Erskine’s *Institute*, 1812, p. 374). I am not responsible for the explanation *feuar* introduced into the selected list which I made of these signatures.

of Cragy. D. Lyndesay, Kirkforther. G. Hamiltoune. James Stewart. Ja. Logane of Couston. S. Dudingstoun of S[an]dfurd. J. Setoun, feir of Lathrisk. Michael Balfour of Grange. Jhon Leslie. S. J. Monupenne. R. Borthuik. S. J. Moncreif. Henrie Maule. D. Clepheane. Robert Innes. Mr J. Wemyss, minister at Kynnaird. Mr Richard Melwine, minister at M[aryton]. M. A. Bisset, minister at Brechin. Mr James Lichtone, minister at Dune. Mr Androu Allan, minister at Finewin.¹ M. T. Couper, minister at Menmuir.² Mr Ja. Lyon, minister at Inchbrayok. M. David Campbell, minister at Carraldstowne. Mr George Fogow, minister at Edzell. Mr Thomas Montgomerie, minister at Logy-Montrois and Perte. M. Laurence Skinner, minister at Navarr. Mr George Symmer, minister at Ferne. (? . . .)³ of Kilmound, commissioner for Cowall. M. E. Camerone, minister at Dunoone, commissioner for the ministrie of Cowall. Mr Nicoll M'Calman, minister at Kilmore⁴ and commissioner for the ministers of Lorne. M. Dug: Campbell, persone of Knapdail, commissioner for the ministrie of Argyle. Mr Tho: Meluill, minister of Tereglis. A. Wedderburne. Johne Ærskine. T. R. of Freiland. Mr Jo: Adamson, principall of Edinbrugh College. M. Andrew Stevensone, regent of Edinburghe Colledge. Francis Durhame of Duntarwie. Lag. Jo: Cheisholme, Cromleis. Alexr. Hwme. George Hoome. Williame Hume. James Lenton, portioner of Kinkepill. George Leslie of that ilk. J. McLeod of Dunvegane. S. J. Wauchope. S. T. Burnett of Leyis. Alexr. Straquhin of Glenkindie. Simon Fraser of Inverlochtie. J. Couper off Gogar. S. J. Hamilton. S. J. Rollok. M. J. Campbell. S. Ja. Nicolsoune of Colbrandspeth. (?S. J. Home.) John Home. Alexr. Setoune. H. Nisbett. Williame Home. S. J. Hamilton, Ridhous. W. Riccartoune. Sir G. Ramsay. Robert Drummounde. S. D. Crietoune. Robert Maitland of Eckiles. Jo: Rollok of Bannokburn. D. Grahame. S. J. Campbell. G. Grame off Inchebrekie. David Alexander for Ansteruther Ester. Alexander Bruce of Alvy. S. J. Sterling of Gardein. Thomas Dalyell.⁵ Sir (? Williame) Fyff. A. Bruice of Bangowr. G. Dundas of Dudingstone. J. Cochrane of Burbuthlaw. J. Hamiltoun of Vdstoun. A. Redhuche off Culti-bragane. George Dowglas. Androw Toshoch of Munyuaird."

¹ Finhaven.

² In the old edition of Scott's *Fasti* (vol. iii. p. 841), Thomas Couper is said to have been admitted to Menmuir "prior to 22nd August" 1639; and in the new edition (vol. v. p. 407), "before 2nd April 1639." This signature shows that he was there earlier.

³ One would expect to find here the name Archibald Campbell (cf. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1634-1651, Nos. 132 and 1523; Peterkin's *Records*, p. 110); but there is little more than a puzzling monogram.

⁴ In the old edition of Scott's *Fasti* (vol. iii. p. 61), Nicol M'Calman is said to have been "removed to Kilmore before Nov. 1638"; and in the new edition (vol. iv. p. 94) "before 21st Nov. 1638."

⁵ This was the future General and notorious persecutor of the Covenanters. His father signs on the front as "Tho: Dalyell of Byne." Both of them signed the Linlithgowshire copy of the National Covenant (now in St Giles). On the Covenant, the son's signature, immediately underneath his father's, is "Thomas Dalyell, younger of Binnes." A comparison of the two signatures on the Covenant with the two on the Supplication makes it absolutely certain that they were written by the same two men. The younger Dalyell was one of the witnesses to an important protestation of the supplicants, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the 22nd February 1638 (Roth's *Relation*, p. 89).

In all there are only 482 signatures, and so the statement in *Rothes' Relation* that there were "500 hands at it that same nycht" is inaccurate. That estimate was probably the result of a wild guess, for all the signatures were not adhibited on 18th October. That evening, after supper, it was resolved "that the petitione shall be subscryved on both syds; and, when it is full, another copie to be drawin, to receave subscriptions, in parchement; and sum paper copies to be made, wherto far *different* presbtries may put their hand for the present."¹ As the back is only about half full that other parchment copy did not require to be made. According to the memorandum at the end of the copy in the Wigton Papers, the nobles, barons, and gentlemen who signed numbered 400, the burghs 21, and the ministers 120, making a total of 541. Only 19 of the nobles are named in that memorandum.² In a letter written at intervals, Baillie says of the petition: "There are at it now above 38 nobles, gentlemen without number. . . . All the townes have subscryved except Aberdeen, whom they suspect."³ According to the Earl of Lothian, on the 18th of October "there were at least

¹ *Rothes' Relation*, p. 21. Perhaps the word *different* is a printer's error for *distant*. Among the Miscellaneous Papers relating to the *Register of Privy Council*, 1635-7, preserved in the Register House, there are forty-seven petitions against the Service-Book. One of these, No. 333, is on parchment measuring 31½ by 25 inches. It is from the "noblemen, barrons, burgesses, ministeris and commounes of the presbyterie of Kirkcudbright." It is practically the same as the one of 18th October printed above, and in my footnotes to which the chief variations are pointed out. Of the 452 persons who signed, many, including twenty of the parishioners of Anwoth, did so by notaries. The text and the names of the subscribers are printed in the *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 709-15. The forty-six which are on paper petition against the Service-Book only, not against the *Book of Canons* nor the prelates. No. 289 is the supplication of 20th September 1637, and in the Introduction (p. xii) is wrongly assigned to December (*cf. Rothes' Relation*, p. 47). Two of them (Nos. 313 and 321) point out that the Service-Book was printed long after the proclamation of December 1636, and the consequent uncertainty whether it is the same, in whole or in part, as the one authorised. No. 297 refers to the Privy Council as "this honorable tabill," and Nos. 299, 306, 308, 312, and 316 refer to it as this honorable "table." The supplicants had not then chosen those commissioners, or committees, subsequently known as "the tables" (*Rothes' Relation*, pp. 17, 23, 24, 34; *Peterkin's Records*, pp. 142, 145; *Row's History*, p. 486). This use of the word "table" in those six petitions is rather earlier than any Scottish example given in the *Oxford New English Dictionary*. The petition from the Presbytery of Stirling (No. 335) was signed by H. Guthrie, not J. Guthrie as in the printed *Register* (p. 716). Of the 47, only 15 have signatures; only 1 (No. 326) is dated.

² *Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 413. Some of the burghs, as will be noticed, had two representatives. Nearly all the ministers were masters of arts. The following do not describe themselves as ministers: William Arthur of West Kirk or St Cuthbert's, Bernard Sanderson of Keir, Robert Tran of Eaglesham, James Bruce of Kingsbarns, Robert Cunningham of Hawick, Alexander Forbes of Campsey, Thomas Ramsay of Dumfries, and several others.

³ *Laing's Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 37. Writing on the 31st October 1637, Gavin Young says that 800 had subscribed a supplication to the Council against the Service Book (*Laing Manuscripts*, vol. i. p. 198). Young was not a man of keen convictions. He was minister of Ruthwell from 1617 to 1671. When asked how he reconciled himself to live under the different forms of church-government, he replied: "Wha wad quarrel wi' their brose for a mote in them?" (*Scott's Fasti*, vol. i. p. 625). On 2nd March 1638 there were thirty-four in the list of voluntarily contributing nobles to the covenanting cause (*Rothes' Relation*, p. 81).

200 supplications against this [Service] Booke from presbyteries and parishes and shires, and as many the day before."¹

The signatures are all autograph. It will be noticed that many of the subscribing lairds merely put down their territorial designation, as, for example, Bruce of Earlshall simply signs "Erleshall," and Grierson of Lag only writes "Lag." Others put their initials before the name of their lands, and so William Sempill of Foulwood signs "W. S. Fouluod"; Sir William Cunninghame of Caprington signs "W. Caprintown." Knights and baronets usually put "Sir" or "S." before their initials, and so Sir David Barclay of Collairney signs "S. D. B. Cullerny," and Sir John Ogilvie of Inverquharity signs "S. J. O. Inuercharitie." Ministers who were masters of arts, instead of writing "M.A." after their names, wrote "Mr" or "M" before them. There was a custom in those days of working the "S" or the "M" and the initials into a monogram, and these are frequently very difficult to decipher. Where there is uncertainty I have queried the reading. In making out many of the most puzzling ones, I have been greatly indebted to Mr Henry M. Paton. Five have completely and four partially baffled us. The sides of the parchment are not straight. Its greatest width is 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and greatest depth 21 inches.

Montrose, apparently, was not one of the noblemen who signed the Supplication on 18th October. He was not one of the twenty who were present at the meeting on 20th September;² nor is he one of the nineteen subscribing nobles named in the Wigton Papers. In *Rothes' Relation* he first appears as one of the twenty-two who met on the 15th November.³ And Bishop Guthrie (who signed the Supplication as "H. Guthrie, minister at Sterline"), in referring to that day, says "among other nobles (who had not been formerly there) came at that diet the Earl of Montross, which was most taken notice of."⁴ He sat as an elder in the Glasgow Assembly.⁵

The Supplication not only marks a crisis in the long struggle between the Crown and the Church, but it reveals the strength of the Church in the hold which it had on the community as it had never been revealed before. Baillie characterises it as the "magna charta" of the nobility.⁶

No prelates were at the meeting of Privy Council on 21st December, when Loudon, after "ane eloquent speache," presented copies of the Supplications of 20th September (No. 289) and 18th October. The Council agreed to submit them "to his Majestei's royall consideration."⁷ The Supplication of 18th October had, however, been previously sent to the

¹ *Ancram and Lothian Correspondence*, Roxburghe Club, vol. i. p. 97.

² *Rothes' Relation*, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴ Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 27.

⁵ Peterkin's *Records*, p. 110.

⁶ Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 38.

⁷ Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 240-9; *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 554; Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. pp. 455-8.

King by the Council. He, finding in it "no signe of repentance for, or disavowing of, their late tumults," decided "to delay the answering of their petition, but in the meanetime commanded" the Council "to signifie to all our good subjects our aversnesse from Poperie, and detestation of superstition." Hence the proclamation of 7th December.¹

"Upon the 1st March 1638, they being all assembled in the Gray-Friers Church and church-yard, the Covenant (having been prepared beforehand) was publickly read, and subscribed² by them all with much joy and shouting. The Archbishop of St Andrews being then returned from Sterling to Edinburgh, when he heard what was done said: *Now all that we have been doing³ these 30 years past is thrown down at once*; and, fearing violence, he presently fled away to London (where the next year he died), so did also such other of the bishops as knew themselves most ungracious to the people; only four of them stayed at home, whereof three delivered their persons and fortunes from sufferings by their solemn recantations."⁴ In a letter, written from St Andrews on 26th January 1646, it is related that, a few years before, the Archbishop's "coach (himself then being in England) was brought from his castle thorow the whole city, with the hangman sitting in it, to the same very place of the market crosse, and rent all in pieces."⁵

His Majesty was so displeased with the citizens of Edinburgh that nearly three months before the Covenant was sworn, the Earl of Traquair, the Lord High Treasurer, thought that "the keyes of the toun and charter of their liberties [should be] delyvered to the King, and six commissioners from the toun [should] publictly prostrate themselves befor the King as he was goeing to the chappell at Whytehall tuo severall dayes; and upone the thrid day, upone the Scots Counsellers that wer at court their prostrating themselves with the commissioners befor the King, the King

¹ *Large Declaration*, pp. 42-6; *Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 546-7.

² The subscribing of the National Covenant is discussed in the eighth chapter of Moir Bryce's *History of the Old Greyfriars Church*. The subscribing began in the church on 28th February.

³ In two MS. copies of Guthrie's *Memoirs* in my possession, both of which are older than the earliest printed edition, the word *building* is used instead of *doing*. In other two MS. copies which I have examined the word is also *building*.

⁴ Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 30. The Marquis of Hamilton informed the King that, of the prelates, Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, was "the most hated of all, and generally by all" (Hardwick's *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 114). This hatred is said to have been due to his zeal for the Service-Book. In retreating from his see, when "crossing the Firth of Ardirsheer, which partes Rosse from Murreye, in despiht to ther bishopp, the people tore in peeces such coppys of the Service-Booke as he had established for publicke use in the Chanrye church of Rosse, and threw the leaves therof into the sea, which, by the wynde, flotted after the passage boate (wher the bishopp was) upon the topp of the water" (Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs*, Spalding Club, vol. i. pp. 60, 61). Instead of attending the meeting of Privy Council on 1st March 1638, as he had promised, Spottiswoode sent an excuse; but he appears in the sederunts of 6th June and 12th June (*Register of Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. vii. pp. 7, 20, 21).

⁵ *Treason and Rebellion justly Rewarded*, 1646.

would redelyver their keyes and charter of their liberties and pardon them."¹ Edinburgh was not in a mood to undergo such an abject humiliation.

On 4th July 1638, by a proclamation at the market-cross of Edinburgh, the King assured all men that: "We will neither now nor hereafter presse the practice of the foresaid Canons and Service Book, nor anything of that nature, but in such a faire and legall way as shall satisfie all our loving subjects that we neither intend innovation in religion or lawes. And to this effect have given order to discharge all Acts of Councel made thereanent. And for the High Commission, we shall so rectifie it, with the help of advice of our Privie Councel, that it shall never impugne the lawes, nor bee a just grievance to our loyall subjects. And what is farder fitting to be agitate in Generall Assemblies and Parliament, for the good and peace of the Kirk, and peaceable government of the same, in establishing of the religion presently profest, shall likewise be taken into our royall consideration, in a free Assembly and Parliament, which shall be indicted and called with our best convenience."²

This proclamation in other two forms was signed by the King. One of these was penned by Traquair, the other by the Marquis of Hamilton. In neither is there the slightest reference to a General Assembly or to Parliament.³ But, through Laud, the King instructed Hamilton to add "some general words giving hopes of an Assembly and Parliament."⁴ In a letter of 11th June to Hamilton, the King had given him "leave to flatter them [*i.e.* the Covenanters] with what hopes you please, so you engage not me against my grounds (and in particular that you consent neither to the calling of Parliament nor General Assembly untill the Covenant be disavowed and given up); your chief end being now to win time. . . . I will rather die than yield to those impertinent and damnable demands (as you rightly call them); for it is all one as to yield to be no king in a very short time. . . . As the affairs are now, I do not expect that you should declare the adherers to the Covenant traitors, until (as I have already said) you have heard from me that my fleet hath set sail for Scotland."⁵

Immediately after the proclamation had been read at the market-cross on 4th July, a protestation was read in name and on behalf of the Covenanters, which made it sufficiently clear that, as the Court of High Commission had been erected without the consent of Parliament, it must be abolished, not merely rectified; and while it reiterated the desire for

¹ *Rothes' Relation*, pp. 43, 44.

² *Large Declaration*, pp. 96, 97.

³ *Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, 1677, pp. 43, 44. A third form, penned by Spottiswoode, was put aside (*Ibid.*, pp. 45, 46).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 56.

"the present indiction of a free General Assembly and Parliament," it claimed that "it is and shall be leasome unto us to appoint, hold and use . . . Assemblies of the Church."¹

Greatly against his will the King was constrained to climb down. On 22nd September, three proclamations were made by his authority. One rescinded all acts and proclamations for establishing "the Service Booke, Booke of Canons, and High Commission"; dispensed with the practice of the Five Articles of Perth, "notwithstanding of any thing contained in the Acts of Parliament or General Assembly to the contrary"; and commanded all his subjects to subscribe and renew the Band or Covenant of 1580-1, with the General Band of 1589-90. Another of the proclamations indicted "a free General Assembly" to be held at Glasgow on 21st November; and the third appointed a Parliament to be held in Edinburgh on 15th May 1639.²

The Assembly duly met in Glasgow Cathedral on the appointed day. A week later the Royal Commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, in his Majesty's name, discharged it to sit any longer; but under the guidance of the Moderator, Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, it continued its sessions until it had condemned and annulled the Assemblies of 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, and 1618 as "pretended Assemblies"; condemned the Service-Book, Book of Canons, Book of Ordination, and the High Commission; deposed and excommunicated both archbishops and six bishops, and deposed the other six bishops, respectively described as "pretended" archbishops and bishops; declared Episcopacy to have been abjured in the Band or Covenant of 1580-1; declared the Five Articles of Perth to have been abjured and to be removed; restored the judicatories of the Kirk; condemned the civil places and power of kirkmen; and ordained a humble supplication to be sent to the King. In closing the Assembly, on 20th December, the Moderator said: "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho: let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."³

Hamilton informed the King that some members of this Assembly could "neather wrytt nor read, the most part being totallie voyd of learning."⁴ Principal Lee, who went thoroughly into the matter, formed

¹ *Large Declaration*, pp. 98-106. Emphatic language was not monopolised by the King and Hamilton. Wariston characterised the proclamation as a "damnable peice"; and, in the afternoon, with David Dickson's help, he drew up twenty-four animadversions of its "damnable points." Next morning he re-wrote "the protestation conforme to the proclamation" to his own satisfaction "and contentment of uthers" (Wariston's *Diary*, p. 360). This re-writing was doubtless for the press, and it may perhaps be inferred that he improved the phraseology.

² *Large Declaration*, pp. 137-47. For the protestation in reply, see *Ibid.*, pp. 157-73.

³ *Principall Acts of the Generall Assembly at Glasgow*, pp. 7-51; Peterkin's *Records*, pp. 109-93; Laing's Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. pp. 118-76.

⁴ *Hamilton Papers*, Camden Society, p. 59.

ERRATA.

P. 331, note 1, *for* “Dunlop’s *Confessions*, vol. iii. pp. 759–805;” *read* “Dunlop’s *Confessions*, vol. ii. pp. 759–805;”

P. 383, note 6, *for* “at least years afterwards,” *read* “at least six years afterwards.”

a very different opinion.¹ Interest in the proceedings was such that the Cathedral was so crowded with people, keen to see and hear, that the members had great difficulty in reaching their seats. Baillie refers to these people as "the multitude" and "rascals," and says that they "without shame, in great numbers, maks such dinne and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they minted to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I could not be content till they were down the stairs."² Dr John Buchan, who quotes this inaccurately (probably at second-hand), applies it to the members of Assembly!³ The Bishop of Ross and Dean Balcanquhal (the reputed author of the King's *Large Declaration*) sent accounts of the Assembly to Laud.⁴ Heylyn alleges that Laud had such confidence in Traquair that he ordered "the archbishops and bishops of Scotland not to do any thing without his privity and direction."⁵ Nine days after the Assembly closed Laud wrote: "I am confident all had gone well enough, if Traquair had done his duty: but he thought he had all in a string, and out of a desire to disgrace some bishops, did not only suffer, but certainly underhand do, some things, which let all loose. . . . I have been as careful of this business as possibly I could to the utmost of that poor understanding which God hath given me."⁶

Although Charles the Second had, on two occasions, sworn and subscribed both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, he re-erected Prelacy in 1662; but while he and his obsequious Parliaments acted very arbitrarily in various matters, they did not attempt to introduce the Service-Book. Nor did the primate, James Sharp, venture to ride the ford where his predecessor had been drowned.

¹ Peterkin's *Records*, pp. 111, 112.

² Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. pp. 123, 124.

³ *The Marquis of Montrose*, 1913, pp. 33, 34. Professor Terry has fallen into the same error (*History of Scotland*, 1920, p. 340).

⁴ *Hamilton Papers*, pp. 61, 63.

⁵ *Life and Death of Laud*, 1719, part ii. p. 65.

⁶ *Strafford's Letters and Dispatches*, vol. ii. pp. 264, 265. Laud certainly did his utmost in the cause he had so much at heart. In a letter of 28th February 1634, he says that he had shown his Majesty the paper of those of the Session as did not conform at the communion (*Rushworth's Collections*, part ii. pp. 205, 206). This probably relates to the Lords of Session (*supra*, p. 361, n. 1). King James had ordered every member of Privy Council to communicate kneeling, in "the Heich Kirk of Edinburgh," at Easter 1619, under pain of deposition from the Council (*Maitland Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 400). It is no wonder that men of spirit resented such methods of introducing changes in religious matters. The intensity of feeling in 1637 was re-expressed, at least years afterwards, in Montrose's Remonstrance:—"Our nation was reduced to almost irreparable evil by the perverse practices of the sometime pretended prelates; who, having abused lawful authority, did not only usurp to be lords over God's inheritance, but also intruded themselves in the prime places of civil government; and, by their Court of High Commission, did so abandon themselves, to the prejudice of the Gospel, that the very quintessence of Popery was publicly preached by Arminians, and the life of the Gospel stollen away by enforcing on the Kirk a dead Service-Book, the brood of the bowels of the Whore of Babel; as also, to the prejudice of the country, fining and confining at their pleasure, in such sort that, trampling upon the necks of all whose conscience could not condescend to be of their coin, none were sure of life nor estate" (*Memorials of Montrose and his Times*, Maitland Club, vol. i. pp. 216, 217).

III.

UNRECORDED SCOTTISH WOOD CARVINGS. BY JAMES S.
RICHARDSON, F.S.A. SCOT., CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM.

Few examples of the art of the mediæval wood carver survive in Scotland. Not one of them appears to be of an earlier period than that of King James IV., and all show indications of French or Flemish influence. All that remain of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical work are the screen and stalls in King's College Chapel, Old Aberdeen; the stalls in Dunblane Cathedral; the remains of the stalls in the Parish Kirk, St Andrews, and those from Lincluden College Kirk, now in the Queir, Terregles, Dumfriesshire; the Rood screen in the Parish Kirk of Foulis Easter, near Dundee, and the "Beaton Panels," originally from Arbroath Abbey, exhibited in the Royal Scottish Museum. Of secular work little remains of importance beyond the "Panter Panels" and door of Gothic character from Montrose,¹ and the boldly carved portrait medallions in the Early Renaissance style, formerly in the ceiling of the Presence Chamber, Stirling Castle, thirty-eight of which are in existence, twenty-seven of these being in the Smith Institute, Stirling,² and two in the National Museum of Antiquities.

The object of this communication is to record some minor examples of the wood carver's art. All are in oak, with the exception of the first to be described. The Gothic panels Nos. 4 and 5 and the group of four from Dumfriesshire are distinctly French in character. They belong to the same class as four catalogued as Scottish in the Royal Scottish Museum, and their period coincides with that of the *clair-voie* panels in the Ethie aumbrie doors.³

A later style of Gothic, of Fife and Forfarshire provenance and mostly dating from the first quarter of the sixteenth century, is represented by the "Lermonth" door panels from St Andrews, Nos. 13 to 18; the panels from the Abbot's House, Arbroath, Nos. 11 and 12; from St Andrews, Nos. 22 and 23, and the St Andrews aumbrie. To this class belong the Montrose examples, the door probably from Fife in the Noel Paton Collection, the Royal Scottish Museum, the detached panels found in "Cardinal Beaton's" Chapel, Ethie House, Forfarshire,⁴ and also the aumbrie doors from Prestonpans, Nos. 25 and 26.

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xvi, p. 61. The panels are now at 25 Moray Place, Edinburgh, and belong to J. D. B. Campbell, Esq., W.S., F.S.A. Scot. The door is in the possession of R. C. Reid, Esq., Cleughbrae, Dumfriesshire.

² *Stirling Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 1924-25, p. 166.

³ *Proceedings*, vol. li, pp. 217-22.

⁴ *Ibid.*

The Early Renaissance is represented by the fifteen panels from Stirling Castle, No. 29, and panels Nos. 30 to 36. Further examples of this style are as follows: Bishop William Stewart's pulpit (*circa* 1535) from the Cathedral of St Machar, now in King's College Chapel, Old Aberdeen; the door from an old house in Edinburgh preserved at Darnick Tower, Melrose, and the Drummond of Innerpeffry panels from Perthshire, the two doors from the houses associated with Mary of Guise, one at the Water Gate, Leith, and the other in Blyth's Close, The Castle Hill, and the door stated to have come from the Priory, Pittenweem, Fife, all of which are in the National Museum of Antiquities.

In the Kinnairdy aumbrie No. 28 we have an example of the transition between the Gothic and the Renaissance. The date of this carving is *circa* 1520.

The heraldic panels Nos. 38 to 40 belong to a class represented by those bearing the arms of the Earl of Sinclair, Patrick Smith of Braco, Perthshire, Sir Hew Halcro, and Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, which are in St Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall,¹ and the panels in St Mary's Crypt, St Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen. But the heraldic motif is more elaborately displayed in the carved enrichments on the oak ceiling of the "Audience Chamber" of Queen Mary in Holyrood Palace² and on the roof of the nave of Old Machar Cathedral, Old Aberdeen;³ these, however, belong to an earlier period—the first half of the sixteenth century.

GOthic CHARACTER.

No. 1. Carved panel of the Virgin and Child said to have come from Mary of Guise's house, Blyth's Close, The Castle Hill, Edinburgh⁴ (fig. 1). Period: early sixteenth century.

The Virgin is seated with her hands in an attitude of prayer: the Infant with arms folded rests on her knees. She wears a gown and mantle, the latter is drawn over the head and falls in ample folds concealing, except for one end, the bench on which she sits. The figure is placed in a round-headed recess, the sides of which are formed by panels of Gothic-pierced fenestration, set at an angle and supporting acanthus ornamented capitals. From these rise the arch ornamented on the soffit forming the head of the recess. On either side is a carved strap laid on the framework. These are similar in design, the lower parts

¹ Heraldic Exhibition, 1891, Catalogue Nos. 192 to 196 inclusive.

² *Proceedings*, vol. vii. p. 381, pl. xlvii.

³ New Spalding Club, *The Heraldic Ceiling of the Cathedral of St Machar, Old Aberdeen*, p. 15.

⁴ This building was demolished in 1845 to provide a site for the Free Church New College Buildings.

containing a shallow niche with a head of shell formation, surmounted by a flat canopy with crockets and a finial of foliaceous design. The upper part consists of Gothic fenestrations, separated by a continuation of the acanthus ornament of the capitals. The whole is supported on a richly ornamented plinth, terminating in ends that form pedestals for the flanking ornamentations. Between these is a pierced panel of flamboyant character laid on the framework. The base of the plinth is enriched by a range of Gothic-pointed arches.



Fig. 1. Carved Figure of Virgin and Child.

The back of the recess and the part to which the framework is affixed is formed by two boards, rough on the back, and the whole is contained within a simple frame of later date.

Considerable trace of polychromy remains; the Child and the face and hands of the Virgin are flesh-colour, the upper part of the gown is red, and the blue mantle shows trace of a diaper pattern. The niches have a blue

ground powdered over with small metal flakes.

It is interesting to note that the back is of Scots pine, and that the under-side of the plinth has been burnt in two places by candles. H. 18 inches; W. 13½ inches. *In the possession of the author.*

No. 2. Misericord carving from a choir stall from the south of Scotland (fig. 2, No. 2). Period: late fifteenth century.

The seat or projecting support is shaped and moulded and has been partly restored. The underlying support is carved with a representation of the Adoration of the Magi, the principal figure being the Virgin seated with the Infant on her lap and holding Him with the right hand. The hair is long and falls in curling tresses down the back and over the shoulders. She is dressed in a full garment disposed in well-defined folds. Behind her is the head and shoulders of the Ox, with a truss of hay or straw beside it, and over her left shoulder appears the head

of the Ass. One of the Wise Men kneels before her, holding out in his right hand a cup, and removing the lid with the assistance of the Child. The figure wears a gown, girdled at the waist and falling in pleasing folds. The head appears to be covered with a hood and on the shoulders is a hooded tippet, round the hem of which is a band ornamented with small punch-marks and a fringe of flat broad tabs.



Fig. 2. Carved Figure of St Joseph from Linlithgowshire, and Misericord from the South of Scotland.

Behind, is a figure of a young man holding a tall and moulded cup in the left hand, and grasping the top of the lid with the right. His hair falls to the shoulders in short ringlets, and on his head is a round low-crowned hat ornamented with a chevron pattern. He is dressed in a tunic, girdled at the waist and falling in folds to the knees; over this is a short surcoat and tippet.

The group is well arranged; the principal figures are supported by a moulded base with cant sides. The details and undercutting are well executed. No doubt the features on either side of this bracket would

be representations of St Joseph and one of the Three Kings. H. 8½ inches over seat; W. 12 inches over seat; D. 2 inches. *In the possession of the author.*

No. 3. Figure of St Joseph (fig. 2, No. 1).

This carving is broad and simple in treatment and represents the Saint seated on a bench, raising with the right hand the lid of a desk, while the left hand, resting on the moulded edge, is outstretched over the interior. The figure is dressed in a gown belted at the waist, with a tippet covering the shoulders. Upon the head is a round fur cap with turned-up edge. The face is full of character and the carving of the hair and beard is well defined. The desk is supported on legs, rising from a base above which appear the heads of the Ox and the Ass carved in high relief.

This is probably an example of late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century work. The representation of St Joseph in this attitude appears to be unusual. It came from Linlithgowshire. H. 1 foot 6 inches; W. 11½ inches; D. 3 inches. *In the possession of the author.*

Nos. 4 and 5. Panels from the front of a chest (figs. 3 and 4, No. 1).



Fig. 3. Carved Panel from Stirling.

These panels, carved by the same craftsman, have been two of a set of five in the façade of a coffer of the late fifteenth-century period. In design they represent the elements of a flamboyant window, termed by the French mediæval craftsmen *orbe-voies*. They are similar in width, but one is shorter than the other, owing to it having been the centre panel and allowing for the lock-plate above it. The main feature of the design is an ogival arch furnished at the shoulders with crockets of expanded vine-leaf ornament, terminating in the smaller panel with a fleur-de-lys, and in the other with folded vine leaves. The space under the arch bears an heraldic shield supported by a composition of *soufflets* and *mouchettes*. The shield on the larger panel is crowned and bears the sacred cypher $\frac{A}{M}$ (Ave Maria), and on the other shield is a fish resembling a dolphin. These emblems occur frequently as heraldic designs in fenestrations of this period.

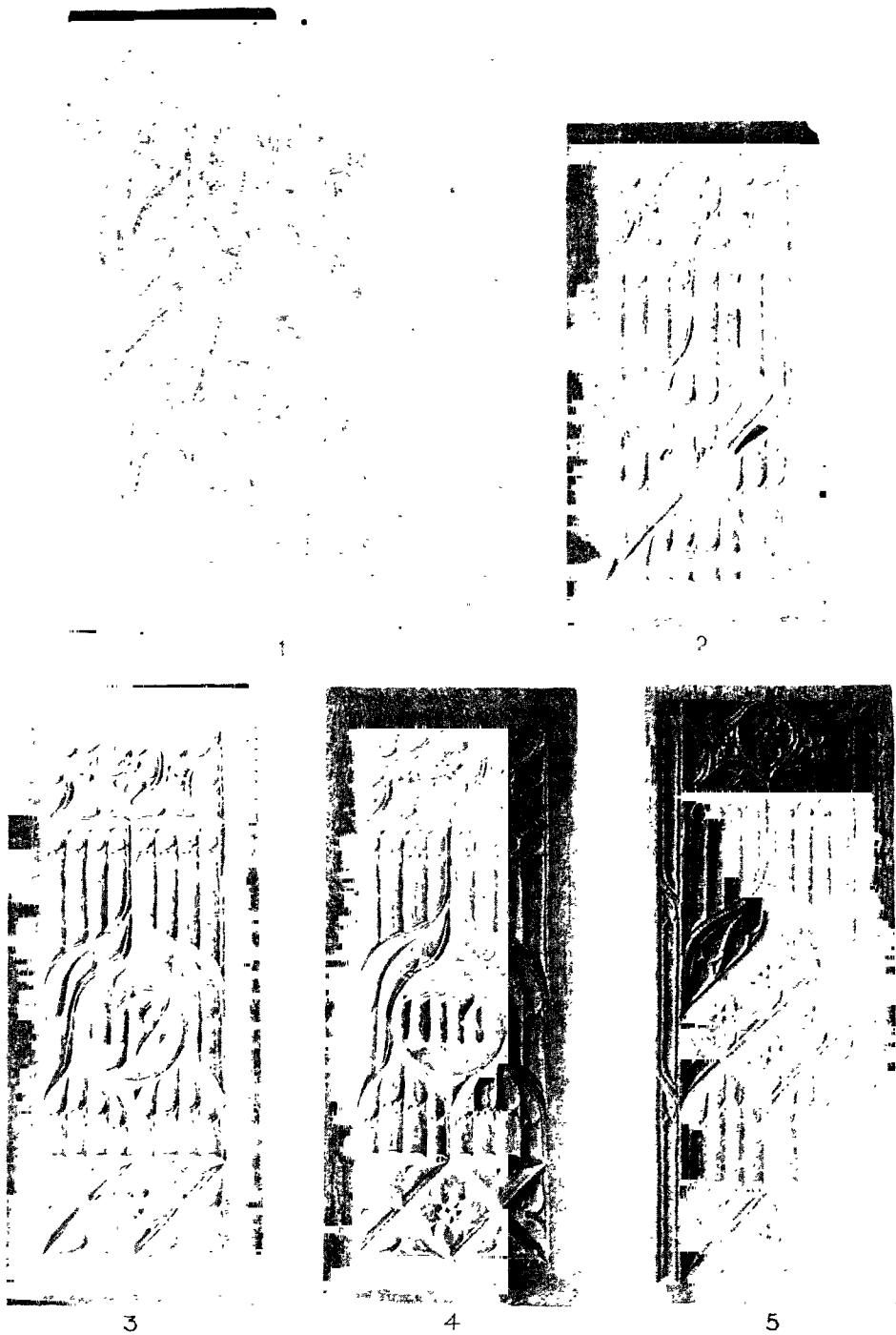


Fig. 4. Carved Panel from Stirling, and four Panels from Dumfriesshire.

The panels are French in character and were purchased in Edinburgh seventeen years ago, when the remainder of the set were to be seen in a Lady Lawson Street shop. They are supposed to have come from Stirling. H. 16 inches; W. $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; H. 12 inches; W. $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. *In the possession of the author.*

Nos. 6 to 9. Four panels from Dumfriesshire (fig. 4, Nos. 2 to 5).

These panels are from a furnishing which may have been part of the framework of a stall of the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century period. They are all carved with fenestrations of a similar character. No. 6 (fig. 4, No. 2) contains in the lower part a human heart over two arrows placed saltirewise with points downwards. H. 17 inches; W. $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Nos. 7 and 8 (fig. 4, Nos. 3 and 4) are similar in design, the only difference being in the sacred monograms forming the central features—the one has $\overline{ih̄s}$ and the other $\overline{mā}$. H. 20 inches; W. $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. No. 9 (fig. 4, No. 5) differs slightly from the latter, the central feature being a lozenge comprising four quatrefoil compartments, and on each side is a narrow-panelled border. It was originally wider and higher, but has been cut down in recent times, and the quality of carving on it is better than that on the others, which appear to have been all by the same craftsman. H. 22 inches; W. $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The heart and arrow design is unusual and may possibly suggest some connection with Sweetheart Abbey. *In the possession of the author.*

No. 10. Fragment of a canopy (fig. 5, No. 3).

This example represents part of a pierced and carved pendant frieze of Gothic character. One of the panels contains the remains of lettering which may possibly have been S. AND. (St Andrew). It is supposed to have come from the Douglas Room, Stirling Castle. L. 1 foot 5 inches. *Smith Institute, Stirling.*

Nos. 11 and 12. Panels from the Abbot's House, Arbroath Abbey (fig. 5, Nos. 1 and 2).

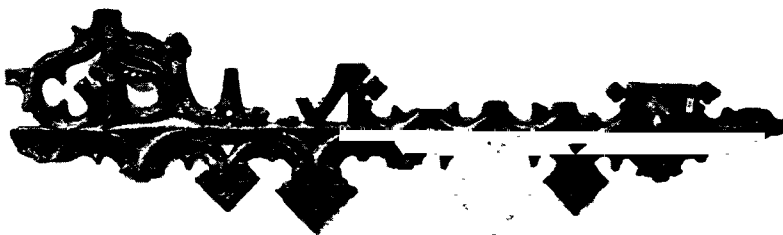
The first panel has been one of two carvings representing the Annunciation. In the upper part is the figure of the Archangel Gabriel kneeling on a tiled pavement, the whole being framed by an arch supported on two side pillars. The figure is gowned in an alb, gathered at the waist and having a soft amice. The left hand is raised in the act of blessing, while the extended right hand is holding the sceptre to which is attached the scroll. The sceptre-head is of an unusual form, the arms are foliaceous in treatment, and the central feature appears to be a representation of God the Father with the right hand raised



1



2



3

Fig. 5. Two Carved Panels from the Abbot's House, Arbroath, and part of a Canopy from Stirling Castle.

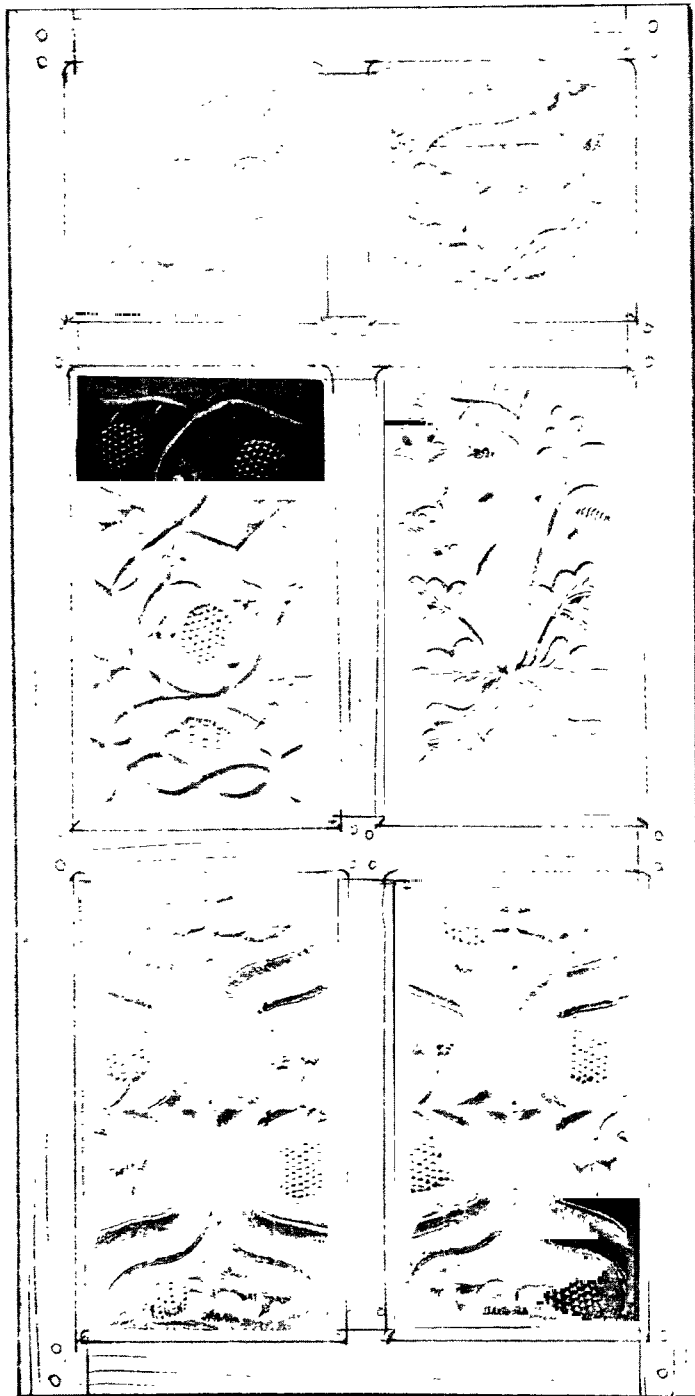


Fig. 6. The Lermonth Door Panels from St Andrews.

in blessing. On the head of the Angel is a fillet supporting a patriarchal cross, surrounded by a nimbus. Above the sceptre is a representation of the Holy Ghost in the form of a descending dove. This emblem is placed in a star of twelve points, within a circle, from the upper part of which springs a streamer resembling the tail of a comet.

The whole subject is supported on a pedestal of curious design, which occupies the lower part of the panel, and is enclosed by a moulded border. The spandrels at the top are carved with a similar foliaceous design. The carving is crude in execution, and was probably coloured at one time. The design is debased, and indicates a period just prior to the Reformation. H. 3 feet; W. 1 foot $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The design of the second panel consists of a central stem, terminating at the top in a thistle-head of conventional design. From either side spring lozenge-shaped leaves, varying in character as regards detail. At the bottom of the stem are two inverted thistle-heads. The whole is set within a moulded border and like No. 11 enclosed in a modern oak frame. H. 4 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; W. 1 foot $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. *In the possession of the Town Council of Arbroath.*

Nos. 13 to 18. Door panels from St Andrews (fig. 6).

These six panels originally formed the features of a door in an old house in St Andrews. The backs are carved with a linen-fold pattern similar on all panels (fig. 7) and the fronts cut in relief.

No. 13. The panel is square and the central feature is the monogram of David Lermouth of Clatto, Provost of St Andrews.¹ This is set within a wreath composed of two sprays of columbine,² springing from a pruned branch and crossed at the top. The flower is treated in a conventional manner. H. $11\frac{5}{8}$ inches; W. $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches. No. 14 is the same shape and size as the preceding one. In the centre is an heraldic shield bearing the arms of Provost Lermouth. The floral wreath in this case springs from a single-pruned branch; the leaves are of the conventional vine type; the fruit, oval in shape, resembles a close cluster of berries enclosed in a calyx. No. 15 is carved with a conventional design of two interlaced



Fig. 7. Back of Panels in Lermouth Door.

¹ Provost of St Andrews, 1506, 1512, 1518.

² The columbine appears as a pattern engraved on the Rod of the Mace of St Salvator's College, St Andrews (*Proceedings*, vol. xxvi. p. 460).

branches of vine. H. $20\frac{3}{4}$ inches; W. $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches. No. 16. The design on this panel is a clustered pattern of foliage, with three upright stems



bearing leaves and flowers of a conventional type. Size similar to the above. Nos. 17 and 18 form a pair, the design consisting of two curved ribs set back to back, the four outer spaces being each filled with a stiff spray of conventional grapes and leaves; this motif also occurs in panels in St Mary's Crypt, Aberdeen, and in the stalls, King's College Chapel. Nos. 13 to 16 resemble the examples from Montrose known as the "Panter Panels." *In the possession of D. Hay Fleming, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.*

No. 19. Door, St Salvator's College, St Andrews (fig. 8).

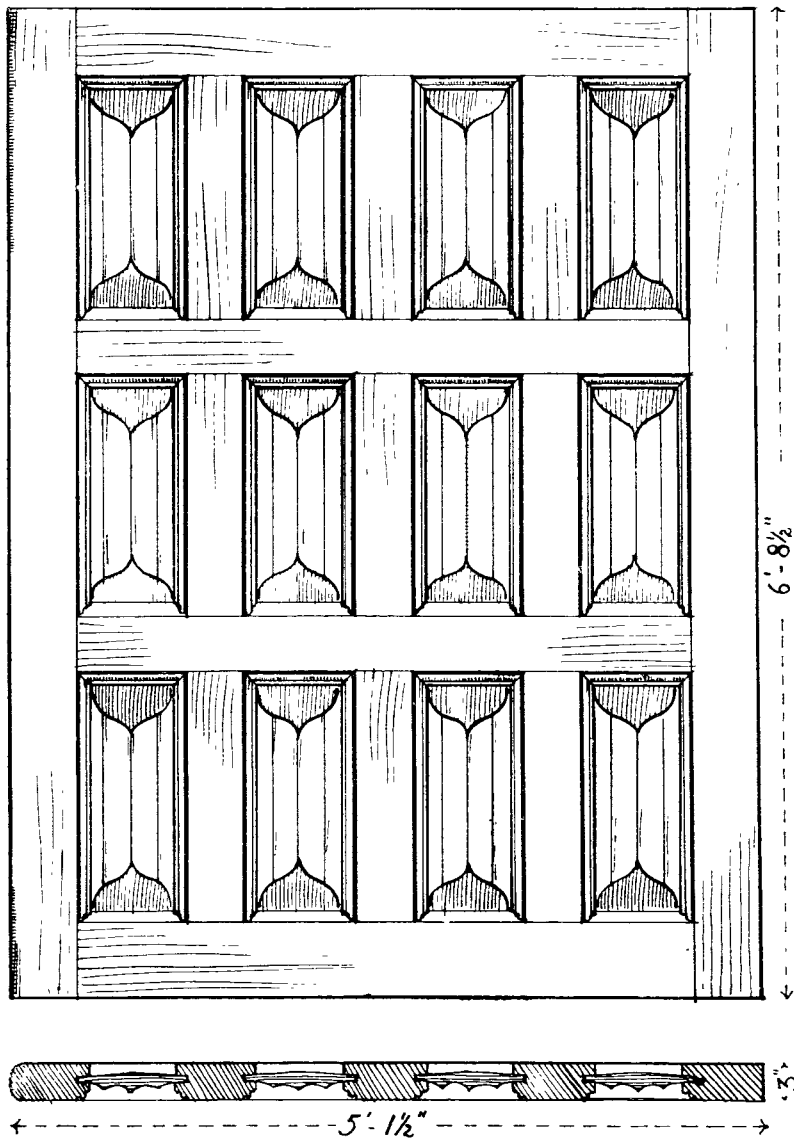
This is now the door of a press in a room on the first floor of the house on the east side of St Salvator's Kirk. It has four linen-fold panels of a type similar to those of the door above described. Size of panels, H. 1 foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; W. $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches. *In the possession of the University of St Andrews.*

No. 20. Remains of a large door from old Common Hall, St Salvator's College, St Andrews (figs. 9 and 10).

Fig. 8. Door at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.

A large and massive oak door of twelve simple linen-fold panels (fig. 9), with moulded stiles and muntins, and with rails splayed, on the upper side and moulded on the under. It measured 6 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, and was recently taken to pieces. Part of it re-used in a door of nine panels (fig. 10) now in the lately opened-out Sacristy doorway in the north wall of St Salvator's Kirk.¹ Size of panels, H. 1 foot $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; W. $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches. *In the possession of the University of St Andrews.*

¹ The remaining parts of the door, including three panels, are now in the National Museum of Antiquities.



FROM A DRAWING BY JAMES YOUNG

Fig. 9. Door from old Common Hall, St Salvator's, St Andrews.

No. 21. Aumbrie, St Mary's College, St Andrews (fig. 11).

This fine example of furniture of the late mediæval period, was for many years at St Salvator's College. It is 6 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 5 feet



Fig. 10. Reconstructed Door in St Salvator's Kirk, St Andrews.

$1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, and 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, and has two compartments, the upper, fitted with double doors of two panels each, the lower, with two

single-panelled doors separated by a meeting stile. The doors retain the original iron hinges and drop-handles. The front of the aumbrie has twelve panels carved in relief, and the sides have each six of a linen-fold pattern.

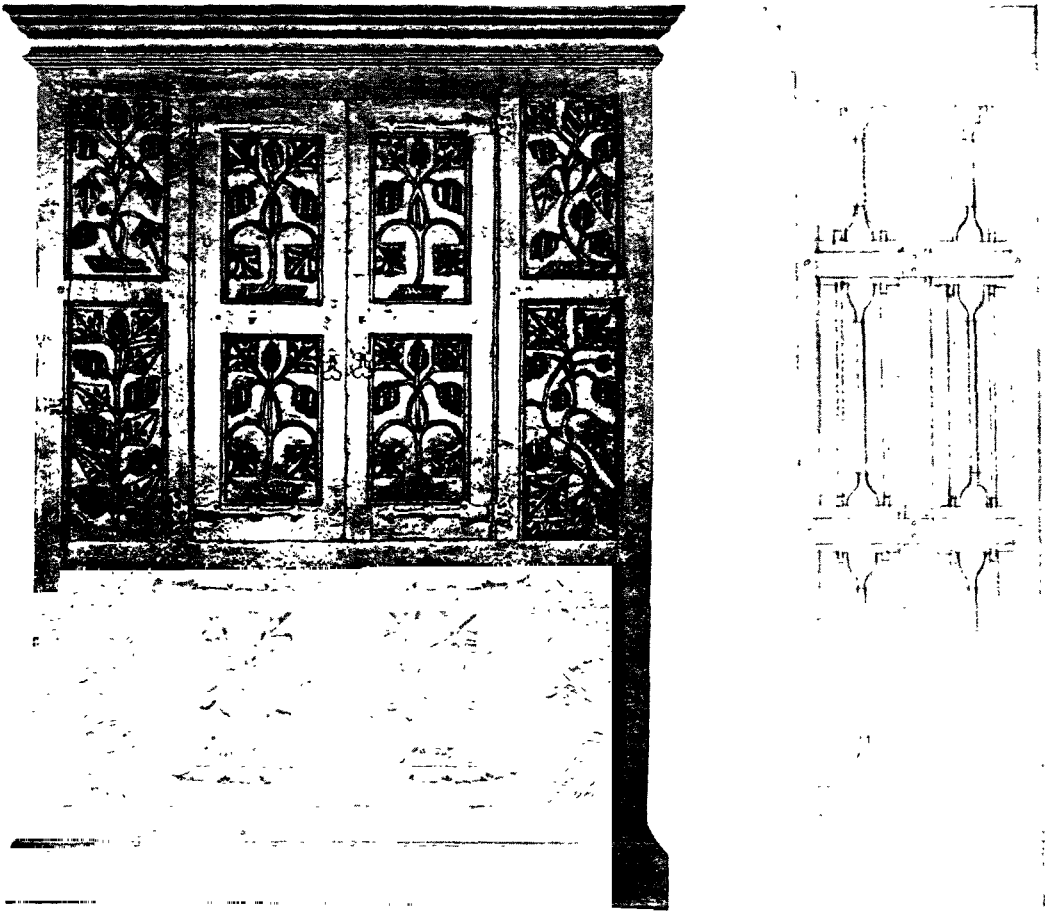


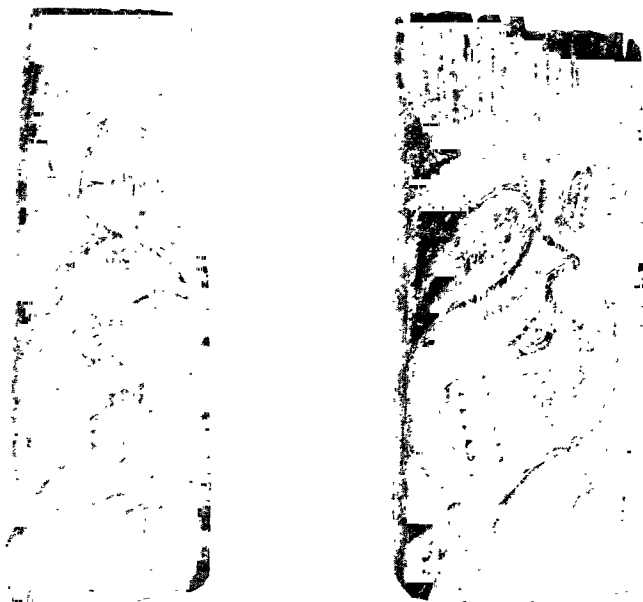
Fig. 11. Aumbrie at St Mary's College, St Andrews.

All four panels of the double doors are similar; the design is a conventional vine spray, rising from the section of a stem, and bearing leaves and fruit. The panels of the lower doors resemble the above, but the bottom leaves are pointed. The six remaining panels are set in the framework. Five of them are more flowing in design than those already described, and in two a conventional rose appears. The sixth

panel shows a stiff upright stem bearing alternate leaves and fruit, and in the lower right-hand corner, a thistle-head is introduced. It is to be noted that this panel bears a marked resemblance in treatment of design to one from the Abbot's House, Arbroath, No. 12. The cornice and the base of the aumbrie are modern. *In the possession of the University of St Andrews.*

Nos. 22 and 23. Two panels from St Andrews (figs. 12 and 13).

These panels, which differ slightly the one from the other, are carved



Figs. 12 and 13. Carved Panels from St Andrews.

in bas-relief with trailing vines interlaced. The leaves are pointed and the fruit treated in a conventional manner. In type, the design resembles that of the lower panels of the St Andrews aumbrie (fig. 11). They are imperfect. H. 1 foot 8½ inches; W. 9 inches and 7 inches. *National Museum of Antiquities. Given by D. Hay Fleming, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., 1926.*

No. 24. Panel from Stirling (fig. 14).

This is carved with an unusual pattern consisting of two straps placed saltirewise, and interlaced with two curved straps which meet at their ends in points. The whole is bordered by a moulding; the intervening

spaces are filled with the Gothic leaf pattern.¹ H. 1 foot 4 inches; W. 9 inches. *Smith Institute, Stirling.*

Nos. 25 and 26. Aumbrie doors from Prestonpans, East Lothian (fig. 15).

These once formed the upper part of a double door. The stiles and the top rail are moulded, the mid rail chamfered on the upper side and moulded on the under. The panels measure $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by 10 inches



Fig. 14. Carved Panel from Stirling.



Fig. 15. Aumbrie Door from Prestonpans.

wide and are carved in relief with two curved ribs set back to back and having the inner cord tightly twisted. In each of the four spaces are vine tendrils with leaf and bunch of grapes. On one of the doors the iron hinge still remains. The pattern is of a similar type to that on the door panels from St Andrews (Nos. 17 and 18) and is of Flemish origin. They were discovered in taking down an old house in Prestonpans. *No. 25 is in the possession of the author, and No. 26 has been presented by him to the National Museum of Antiquities.*

¹ One of the Panter panels and one from Dysart belong to this type; the latter is illustrated in the *Edinburgh Arch. Assoc. Sketch Book*, 1878-9, Pl. No. 31.

No. 27. Fragment of a carved rail from St Andrews (fig. 16).

This is about 3 feet long, and is carved with a "running" design of grapes and leaves of a pattern frequently seen in mediæval woodwork.

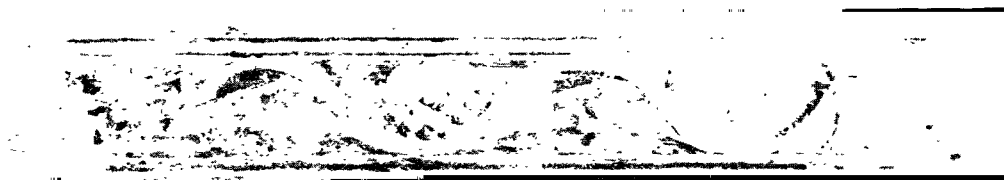


Fig. 16. Carved Rail from St Andrews.

Examples are to be noted in the stalls, King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, and the Beaton panels. The above was found in an old house in Baker Lane, St Andrews. *In the possession of Mr R. Lumsden, Prior Muir, near St Andrews.*

RENAISSANCE CHARACTER.

No. 28. Aumbrie doors, Kinnairdy Castle, Banffshire (fig. 17).

The twin doors of the upper compartment of this fitment are each made up of two panels. In each upper one is carved the head of a man in profile, set within a sunken lozenge-shaped frame, surrounded by a moulding and facing inwards. The one is wearing a helmet and the other is bareheaded. The background is ornamented with a pierced design. In the centre of the under panels is a circle formed by a sunk moulding, and enclosing a dolphinesque design, set in a pierced background. The original hinges still remain. The door of the under compartment contains a square filled with pierced Gothic geometric pattern. The height of the twin doors is 4 feet 2½ inches, and the width 3 feet 2 inches.

Mr Innes states that "This aumbrie must have been set up by Alexander Innes, thirteenth of that ilk, who was laird from 1491-1537. His father Sir James Innes, twelfth of that ilk, was Esquire of the Body to James III., and no doubt a friend of the unfortunate architect Cochrane.

"Alexander was set up at Kinnairdy in 1487, when he had a Great Seal Charter of the Superiority of Aberchirder. He married Christian, daughter of Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock, by contract dated 4th December 1493 (Hemprigg's Charter Chest). On 27th January 1522-3. Alexander complained to the Lords of Council that he had been for some time kept shut up in Girnigoe Castle by the Earl of Caithness, to whom his relations had consigned him. 'The Lords understandis that the said

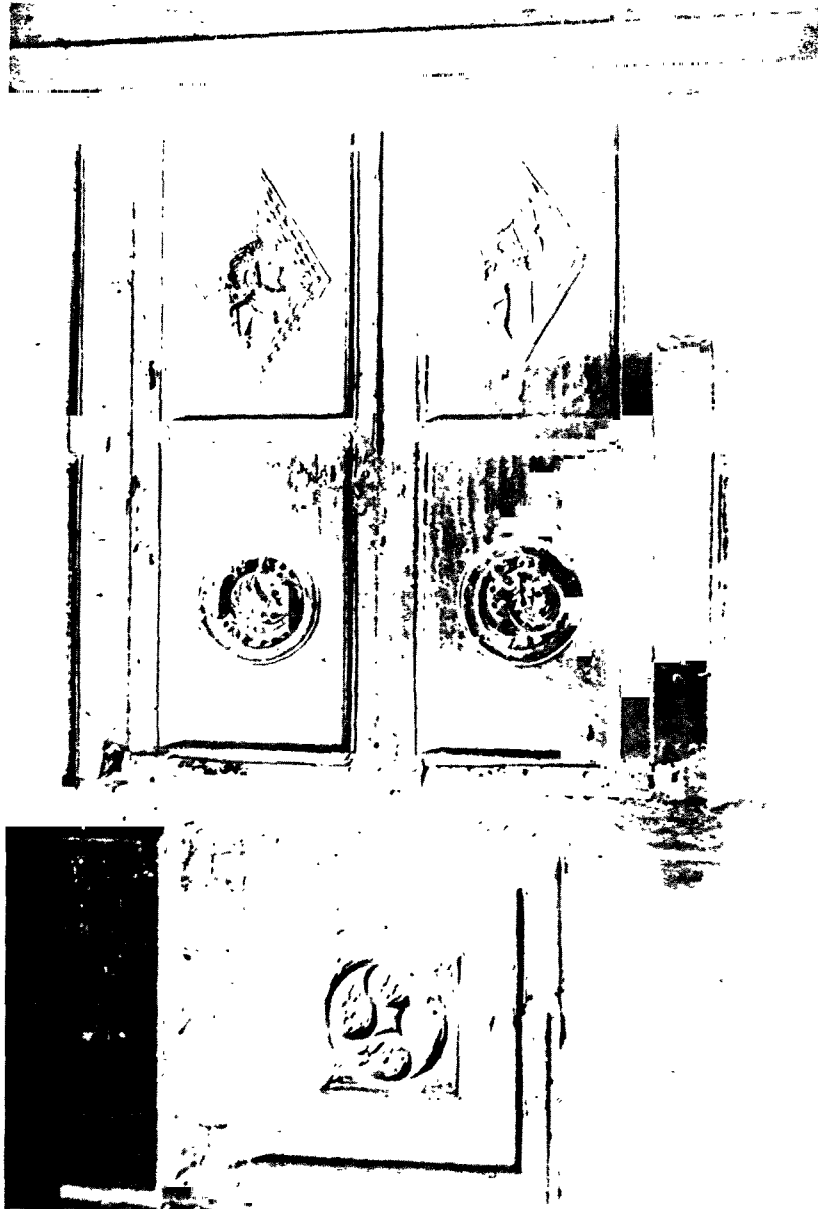


Fig. 17. Aumbrie Doors at Kinnairdy Castle.

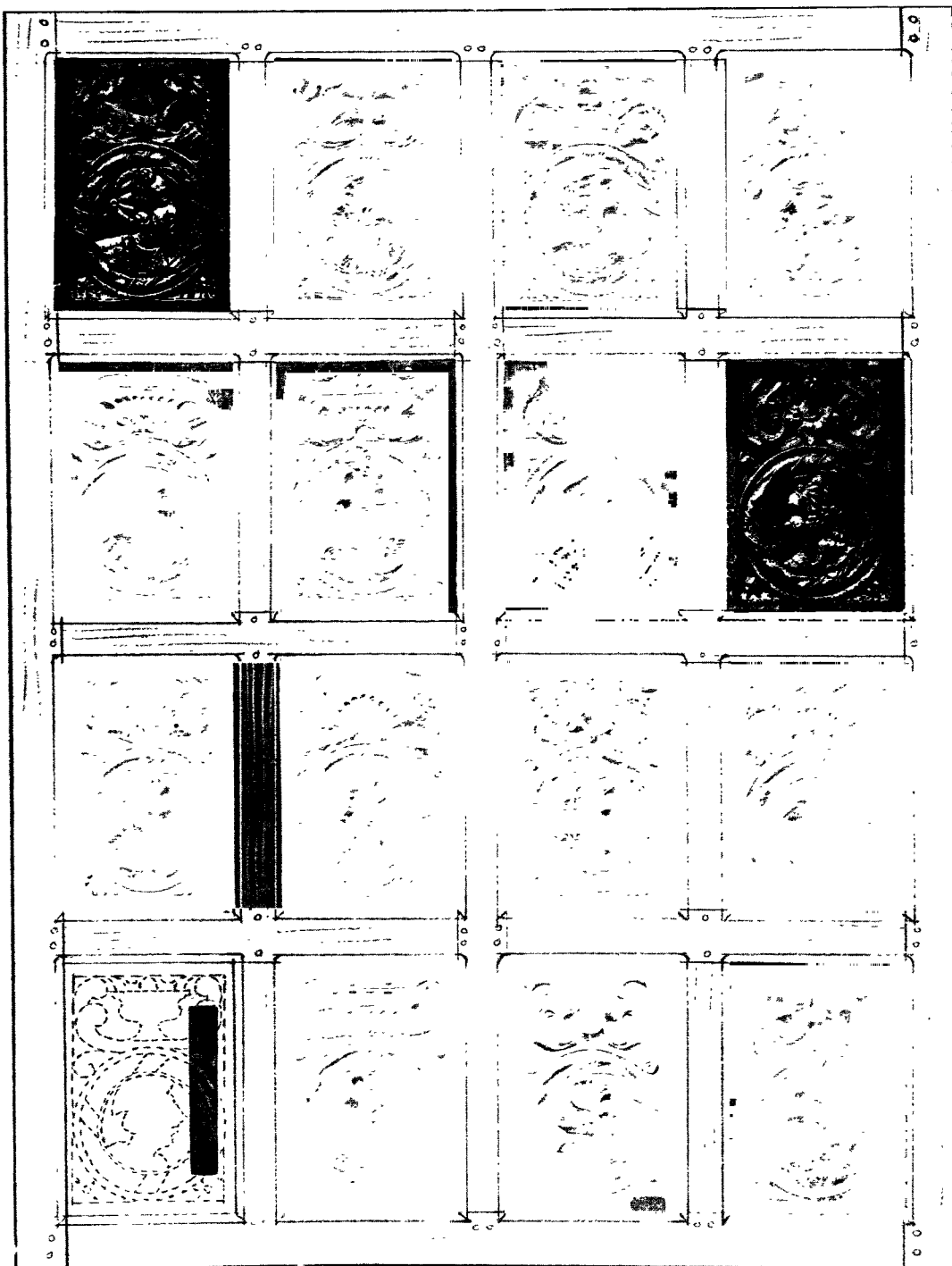


Fig. 18. Medallion Panels from Stirling Castle.

Alexander has been ane misguidit man and has wastit his lands and gudis,' so they pronounced decree of interdiction against him." *In the possession of Thomas Innes, Esq., of Learney.*

No. 29. Period c. 1540. Panels from Stirling Castle (fig. 18).

These consist of a series of fifteen medallion portrait panels and one fragment, stated to have been part of the wainscoting in Stirling Castle. They were purchased in 1876, at the sale of effects of the late Miss Lucas, Stirling, and when in her possession were still set in their frame.¹ In design and carving the panels are all very similar, the main feature of each being a portrait bust set within a strapped and carved circle which occupies the lower part; above this is a double dolphin, bird, or a scroll design. Seven of the portraits are of men, four of which are of the heroic type, and the faces are bearded; of the remaining three which wear French bonnets, two are bearded, and the other is a young man. The eight women portrayed wear elaborate head-dresses of various styles, all typically French.

These panels may have been executed by a French craftsman, and they resemble very closely in style and execution those in an oak court cupboard in Kent.² Size of panels, H. 14 inches; W. 10½ inches. *Smith Institute, Stirling.*

No. 30. Medallion panel (fig. 19).

This panel bears a striking resemblance in design and carving to the set previously described. The head within the laurel wreath is that of a young woman wearing a French hood, a reticulated bag covering the hair. The upper part of the panel is ornamented with a foliaceous development of the double dolphin device. The panel is stated to have come from Stirling. H. 15 inches; W. 10 inches. *In the possession of the author.*

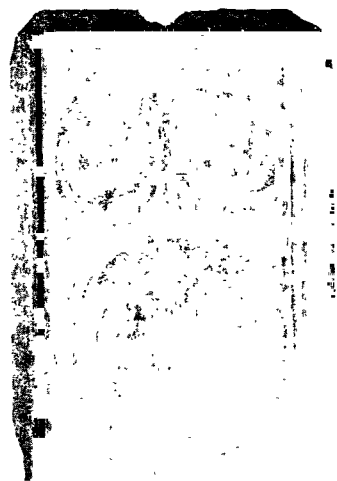


Fig. 19. Medallion Panel from Stirling.

¹ *Stirling Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 1921-22, p. 14; and 1924-25, p. 168.

² Macquoid, *A History of English Furniture: The Age of Oak*, p. 40, fig. 40.

No. 31. Medallion panel (fig. 20).

The portrait is in profile and appears to represent a young person. It is set within a strapped circle with a foliaceous outer edge. Above the circle are two S straps, set back to back, and below it, between two ribbons, a pendant leaf. The carving is in bold relief and vigorous in execution. The panel is imperfect on the one side, and is believed to have come from Stirling. H. 18 inches; W. 11 inches. *National Museum of Antiquities. Given by Col. J. F. Mackay, F.S.A.Scot., 1926.*



Fig. 20. Medallion Panel from Stirling.

Nos. 32 and 33. Aumbrie doors (fig. 21, Nos. 1 and 2).

Each door is formed by a board, out of which the moulded mock stiles and carved panels are cut. The rails are mock with mitred joints and are planted on with oak pegs. The carving is similar in each case and represents the head of a young man set within a circular strap, enclosed in an expanded leaf pattern. The carving is crude in execution. The doors are stated to have come from Stirling. H. 14 inches; W. 14½ inches. *In the possession of the author.*

No. 34. Medallion panel (fig. 22).

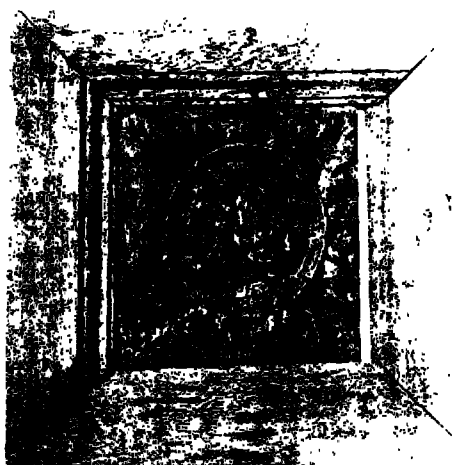
Carved in relief with a profile bust within a circular moulded strap resting on a scroll. The upper spandrels are ornamented with fleur-de-lys. The head is that of a bearded man wearing a plumed casque. The carving is crude, and the figure badly drawn, the trunk and arms being completely out of scale with the head. This panel was with the set of fifteen from Stirling Castle, and the fragment belonging to the set was affixed to one side of it. H. 10¾ inches; W. 9¼ inches. *Smith Institute, Stirling.*

ing is crude, and the figure badly drawn, the trunk and arms being completely out of scale with the head. This panel was with the set of fifteen from Stirling Castle, and the fragment belonging to the set was affixed to one side of it. H. 10¾ inches; W. 9¼ inches. *Smith Institute, Stirling.*

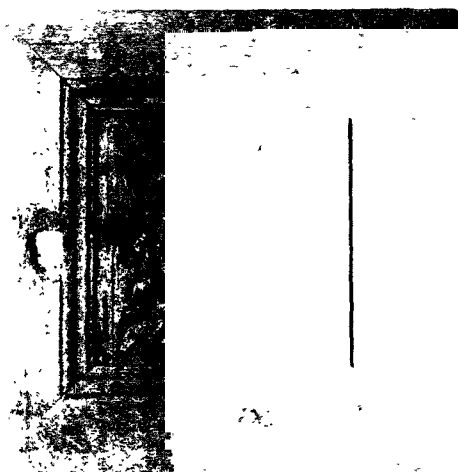
No. 35. Panel from St Salvator's College, St Andrews (fig. 23).

This panel is carved in high relief. The design is composed of an heraldic shield bearing an Imperial orb. Below the shield are two

foliaceous scrolls terminating in human heads, one of the faces being bearded.



1



2

Fig. 21. Aumbrie Doors from Stirling.



Fig. 22. Medallion Panel from Stirling Castle.

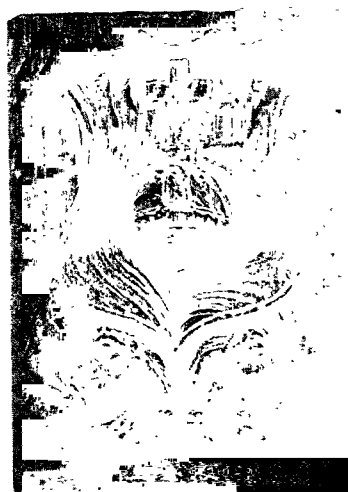


Fig. 23. Carved Panel from St Salvator's, St Andrews

A somewhat similar shield is engraved on the College mace, given by the founder, Bishop Kennedy,¹ and the orb device terminates the

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xxvi. p. 461.

inscription on the late seventeenth-century bell, given by Dr George Pattullo to the College. H. 12 inches; W. 8½ inches. *In the possession of D. Hay Fleming, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.*

No. 36. Aumbrie door from St Andrews (fig. 24).

The stiles and rails are moulded. The carving is crude in design and execution, and consists of a circular floral wreath bound with four



Fig. 24. Aumbrie Door from St Andrews.

narrow straps; within is a tradesman's mark. Above and below the wreath is a double dolphin device. The whole is set within a moulded frame.

The door came from an old house in Baker Lane, St Andrews. *Recently in the possession of the late Mr James Carstairs, St Andrews.*

No. 37. Panels from Dundee (fig. 25).

Three panels, all similar in design, carved in low flat relief. The pattern is unusual and of a debased character; the execution is crude.

They were found behind the plaster in an old house in St Mary's Close, Dundee, when it was demolished in 1882, and appear to be of early

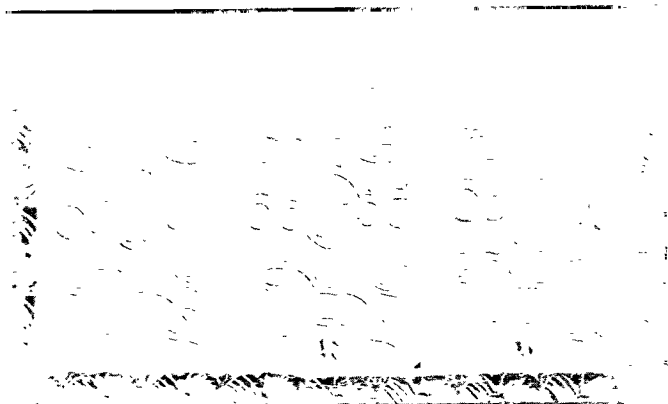


Fig. 25. Carved Panels from Dundee.

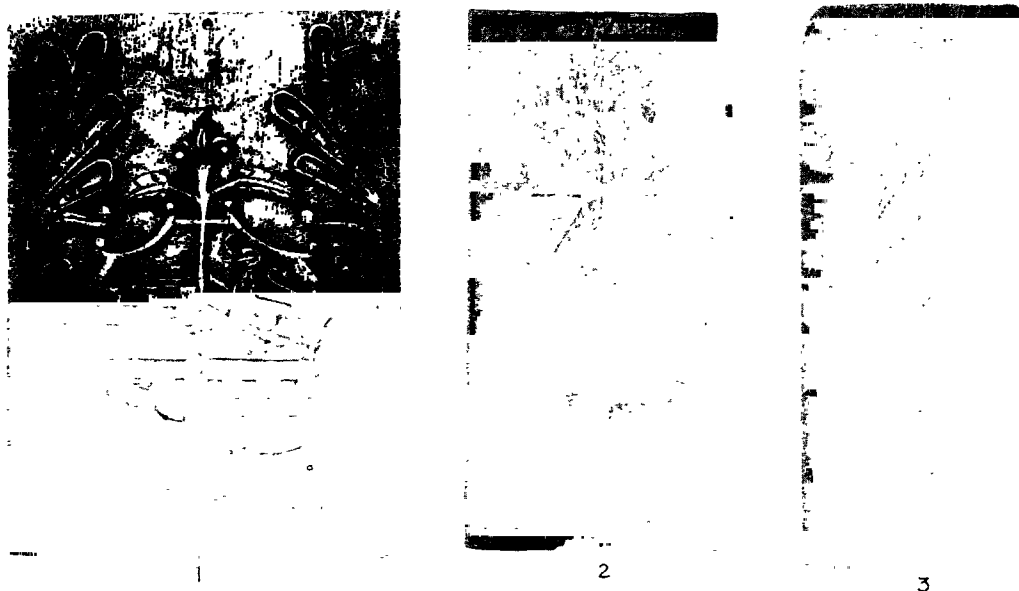


Fig. 26. Seventeenth-century Heraldic Panels.

seventeenth-century date. *In the possession of Miss E. G. Hutcheson, F.S.A.Scot., Broughty Ferry.*

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HERALDIC PANELS.

No. 38. A carving of the arms of Lindsay of Abernethy, dated 1621 (fig. 26, No. 1). The design is stiff and the carving crude. H. 1 foot 4 inches; W. 1 foot. *National Museum of Antiquities, exhibited by A. Francis Steuart, Esq.*

No. 39. A carving of the arms of John Cunningham of Geise, impaling those of his wife Elizabeth Sinclair, daughter of Sir John Sinclair of Greenland (fig. 26, No. 2).

Above the shield is a cypher composed of their initial letters, and below it the date 1637. The panel is well designed and carved in low flat relief. H. 18½ inches; W. 9½ inches. *National Museum of Antiquities.*

No. 40. An Orkney panel containing in the upper part the arms of John Elphinstone of Lopnes and his initials, and in the lower the initials of his wife Jean Cock (daughter of the Rev. James Cock, parish minister of Sanday) and the Cock arms (fig. 26, No. 3). The date 1676 appears at the foot, and is incised and filled with red wax. This wax has also been used to accentuate the details of the features of the arms. H. 16 inches; W. 6½ inches. *In the possession of the author.*

I am indebted to Dr Hay Fleming for bringing to my notice the St Andrews examples, and I thank all those who have in various ways given assistance.

IV.

THE GUTHRIE BELL AND ITS SHRINE. BY FRANCIS C. EELES,
F.S.A.Scot.

The Guthrie Bell is one of the most remarkable of the quadrangular bells of the Celtic period, and its recent acquisition for the National Museum adds a treasure of first-class importance to our collection. As the late Dr Joseph Anderson pointed out in the short notice he gave of the bell and its shrine in *Scotland in Early Christian Times*,¹ it is one of the only two enshrined bells that have survived in Scotland, the other being that of Kilmichael-Glassary, also in the National Museum. It is now proposed to give it a much more minute examination than has hitherto been possible, and the present writer believes that recent research has enabled a little more of its history to be unravelled than was possible when Dr Anderson wrote in 1881.

It may be worth while to recall the fact that there are two types of the quadrangular bell so characteristic of the Celtic tradition. The earlier type is made of a sheet of iron bent into a form roughly quadrangular, riveted up either one or two sides, and then dipped in copper or bronze, the handle being riveted into the top. The later type follows the same general outline, but is a complete casting in bronze or bell metal, tending to be distinctly more bell-shaped. As with most things Celtic, the home of these bells and the place where most of them exist is Ireland: there it is believed that the earlier type may go back to the fifth century, for among the greatest treasures in Dublin is the reputed bell of St Patrick himself. The later type is considered to date from after the Danish invasions and to belong to the tenth century. In Ireland some bells of this group are inscribed or slightly ornamented. About that time or a little later there appears to have arisen the custom of making rich shrines for such of these bells as had become venerated for their association with important Celtic saints to whom they belonged, and they were jealously guarded by hereditary keepers called Dewars, like the croziers or the books which had been used by these saints.

The Guthrie bell is an iron bell of the earlier type. It is enshrined. Therefore we may conclude (1) that it belonged to one of the great saints of the Celtic church, and (2) that it very likely dates from the eighth century or earlier.

The exact use of these bells is still a matter of conjecture, but the fact

¹ Pp. 208 *sq.*

of their being placed in costly shrines bears witness to the great value that was set upon them as personal relics of the Celtic saints whose names they frequently bear. Did these saints carry them round villages and gather people to attend services with their aid? or did they stand at the door of the church or cell ringing them? We know from St Adamnan that St Columba had one in his monastery. Or can they have been used in the service in any way? Their personal connection with the saint is clear; we cannot think they were merely church property handled only by some assistant like the bells of later days. If used in the service it must have been in some other way than the sacring bells of mediæval days, rung to warn the faithful to look up at the elevation of the Host, because that ceremony, for long so characteristic of the Latin rites, was only introduced in the thirteenth century, or the twelfth at the earliest. Perhaps some of these Celtic bells were so used in mediæval times,¹ but only as an afterthought. There is evidence that they were used in solemn cursings, but this is probably only one of their uses. That they were subsequently used in the taking of oaths, and regarded as even more sacred in this connection than the Book of the Gospels itself, is probably due to their association with great and holy saints. It is just possible that they may have been used in the service of the Eucharist to call people to receive communion, but this is a mere guess. We can only say at present that we do not really know the chief or original purpose of these bells.

The Guthrie bell is so called because of its having long been preserved at Guthrie Castle in Forfarshire, but when we examine the ornaments and figures in detail we shall find reason to believe that the shrine was in the Highlands in mediæval times, and that the bell is probably that of some western or possibly northern saint unconnected with Angus or the East of Scotland. How or when it came to Guthrie does not appear to be known.

The bell itself is of iron, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high including the handle, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at mouth in one direction and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the other. It belongs to the type of Celtic bell which is riveted up both sides, or rather up both ends.² There is an iron handle at the top. The shrine completely covers the four sides of the bell and is made of four plates, one covering each side. The plates overlap slightly at the corners. The front and back plates curve over the top but do not meet, being about $\frac{7}{16}$ inch apart at the nearest. The bow of the handle is encased in bronze except where the latter is worn away. Both shoulders of the iron bell adjoining the ends of the bow come outside the bronze plates of the shrine. The bell is riveted

¹ We have no evidence of this.

² Another early bell riveted up both ends was recently found near Lindores, in Fife.

to the shrine on all sides and is also fixed to it by corrosion. The shrine appears to have been reconstructed at least twice, and several holes testify to the loss of ornaments which at one time existed but are now lost.

On one side the shrine is plain except for a small horizontal handle near the top at the right side, evidently for attaching a chain, as in the



Fig. 1. The Guthrie Bell, front of Shrine.

case of the Kilmichael-Glassary shrine, though probably a later addition. There seems to have been a second handle aligning with the remaining one on its left side.¹ The rivet-holes and the traces of the fishtail ends can still be seen.

¹ Mr Richardson suggests that two fingers might have been inserted through these two loops and that the bell could be carried, say, about the height of the bearer's head, in processions.

The opposite side (fig. 1) is loaded with ornament. At the top is a seated figure, now mutilated, but projecting above the top of the shrine and resembling our Lord in Majesty: below this is a figure of our Lord on the Cross: on either side where one would expect St Mary and St John are two bishops, each in chasuble and mitre. Only the second of these figures is a casting in relief, the others being hammered; all are separate additions. On the surface of the metal plate other ornaments are embossed of strangely varying kinds. Near the top is a horizontal row of four-leaved ornaments, each composed of four *fleurs-de-lys* radiating from a centre. The middle part of this row of ornaments is covered by the seated figure. A similar row occurs again a little lower down, just above the arms of the cross. Here the outer ornament at each end is covered by a later piece of decoration in the form of a small separate plate with settings for stones which have disappeared. These medallions are composed of sexfoils with blunt angular projections between each cusp, enclosing settings for seven stones each, one in the centre, the others round it. Below the arms of the cross, on either side of the figure, are embossed vertical strips of floral ornament resembling that on the gold fillet found at the Nunnery, Iona.¹ Two of these are between the crucifix and the bishops, the other two are behind the bishops.

Below the crucifix, at the base of the shrine, is a small rectangular plate, fixed upside down, engraved and inlaid with niello, with the inscription in black letter:

Iohannes alexan
dri me fieri feisit.

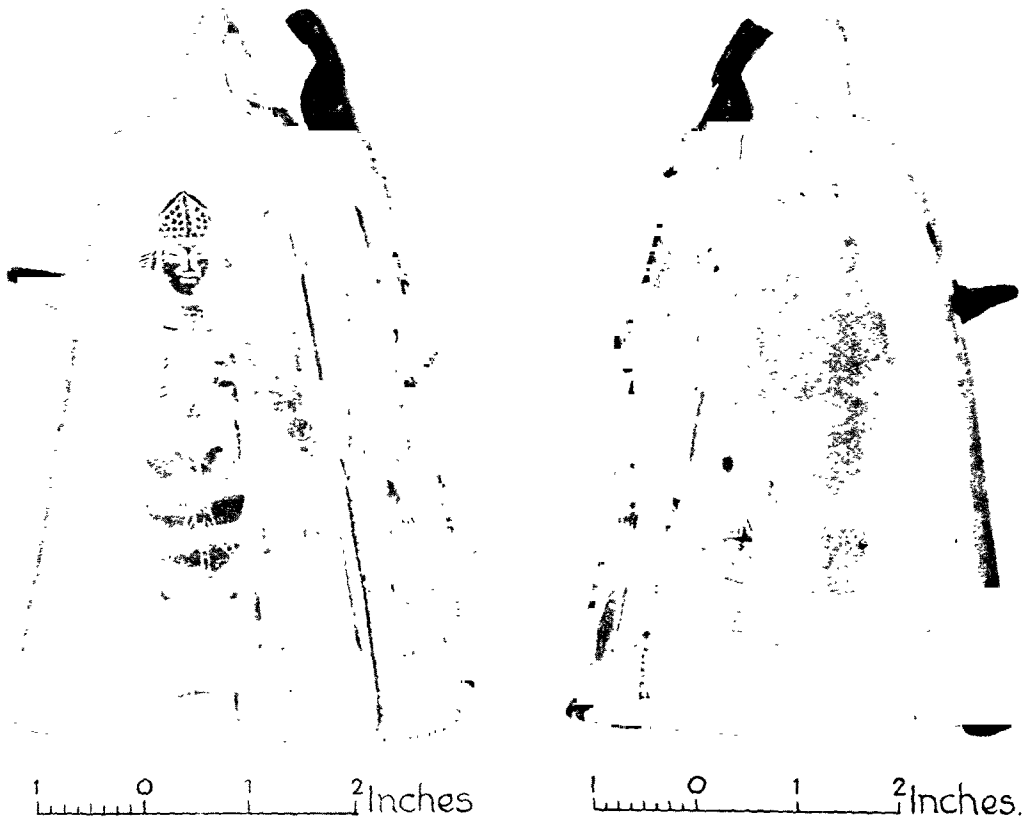
Outside the figure on the right of the crucifix and close to the edge is a vertical strip of engraved interlaced ornament, of a different character from anything else on the bell, at first sight apparently of an earlier type than the rest of the decoration, but debased in character and probably not earlier in date.

On one of the end plates is a hammered bronze statuette of a bishop somewhat larger than those on the side (fig. 2). The plate itself is plain. On the other end of the shrine is fixed a very small cast statuette, smaller than any of the others, apparently representing an apostle, perhaps the St John originally belonging to the Crucifixion scene (fig. 3). Beside it to the right are two rivet-holes which suggest that there may have been a second figure here.

We must now examine these ornamental features more closely. We notice first that the plate or side of the shrine which now contains the figures was not intended to have all the figures which are there at

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xviii. p. 109, fig. 3.

present, but only the Crucifixion scene. A cross is indicated by embossed lines slightly widening at the ends: above the arms are the two horizontal rows of embossed ornaments already described. Below the arms of the cross are the pair of vertical bands of floral decoration, with room



Figs. 2 and 3. The Guthrie Bell, ends of Shrine.

between them for small figures of St Mary and St John. We thus find a fairly consistent scheme of embossed decoration for one side of the shrine.

Originally it would seem as if the bell, when enshrined, was simply encased in four plates of bronze, that on the front side bearing a large cross with its outline embossed. Attached to it was the crucifix, with, perhaps, the *Manus Dei* above and the figures of St Mary and St John below, these attachments being of cast bronze. The case and the mounts were all gilded.

The first reconstruction probably consisted of removing the mounts from the front, applying a thin plate of silver embossed with various



J.S. RICHARDSON. 26.



Fig. 4. Plate of Silver applied to front of Shrine at first reconstruction.

designs, and replacing the figures which had been removed (fig. 4). The large cross slightly widening at the ends of the arms on the silver plate, and the shaft, embossed in outline in the centre, are similar to the one on the original bronze shrine.

Let us now examine the statuettes. These are quite clearly of two distinct dates at least. The figure of the Crucified and the small apostle now on one end are of a much earlier period than the seated figure and the three bishops. The figure of our Lord is roughly of the type that preceded the bent-kneel figures of the thirteenth century. The arms are straight and the legs are straight. The head is fairly erect and only slightly inclined to the right. A short and curly beard and whiskers are indicated by circular punch marks. The head is covered with hair arranged like a circular flat cap with lines radiating from the centre of the top of the head. The loin cloth hangs very close to the body. All these are early features. The feet are over one another and fastened by a single nail: this is not a very early treatment. And the head is not crowned. Had the feet been separate, or the head crowned, we might have been inclined to ascribe the figure to the later days of the Celtic church. Taking the evidence together, the most probable date would seem to be about the beginning of the twelfth century. Originally no doubt the *Manus Dei* or hand of God in blessing was represented above the Crucifixion, as in the Kilmichael-Glassary shrine.

The figure on the cross on the Kilmichael-Glassary shrine is crowned, but it is probably a little later notwithstanding: it is less stiff and archaic, and the loin cloth is disposed in an entirely different manner. The Kilmichael figure probably dates from towards the end of the twelfth century. The whole of the Kilmichael shrine is a more refined piece of work than the shrine must have been to which these earlier Guthrie figures belonged.

The small apostle, which is very probably the St John belonging to this Crucifixion group, is represented in the pallium over the tunica in the traditional manner, but very crudely, and the close-fitting arrangement and the straight folds agree with the treatment of the figure of our Lord. The figure holds a book.

While the figure of our Lord on the Cross is in full relief, and in the round, the later figures are so flattened as to be in almost half-relief. They are in silver, but are more clumsily modelled and belong to a much later period. The seated figure and the two bishops, now on the same side as the Crucifixion, are not in their original position, and may have come from some other object.

The seated figure, already referred to as resembling one of our Lord in Majesty or enthroned, is bearded and has very prominent hair on either side of the head, which has a low crown. The beard is formed by lines like that of the left-hand bishop below, not made by little round punch marks like that of the figure of our Lord crucified. The pallium is disposed in a curious way, leaving an almost equal amount on each shoulder,

and there is what appears to be the girdle of a smooth undergarment, the pallium being draped over the knees. The right arm is gone: it was probably raised in blessing, but there are some remains of the left arm, now outstretched in a rather meaningless way. Mr Richardson suggests, no doubt rightly, that this figure is really that of the eternal Father, from a Trinity of the type in which the second Person is represented on the cross, held by the first with the shaft of the cross between the knees, the holy Spirit being in the form of a Dove higher up. Such *imagines Trinitatis* became very frequent in the later mediæval period, and were much disliked by theologians of the Reformation movement. This might, perhaps, account for the mutilation.

From this examination we gather that we still possess the original shrine itself, but that the figures of our Lord and St John are the only survivals of its decorations, re-used when further reconstructions were made, first perhaps in the fourteenth century, then again a hundred or a hundred and fifty years later. The inscription *Iohannes alexandri me fieri feisit* bears witness to the extent of the second reconstruction. This was very likely carried out late in the fifteenth century or early in the sixteenth, perhaps after there had been some mutilation. It was then determined to concentrate the decorative features as far as possible on one side: probably the *Manus Dei* had gone; they took St Mary and St John away and placed them on one end which had apparently lost its figures; they placed the Trinity above the Crucifixion in spite of its being far too big and overlapping the top, and they put two bishops where St Mary and St John had been, on either side of the figure of our Lord.

The chasubles in which the bishops are represented hang very straight and flat without folds: they are narrow, they are not pointed, and they only just cover the shoulders. The whole of the forearms are free of the chasuble, and there is no indication of any folding back of the vestment or of its being creased by the elbows. Each chasuble has a narrow orphrey of the Ψ form, branching at the top over the shoulders, and also branching like an inverted Δ on the lower part of the vestment. The field or ground is diapered or powdered with *fleurs-de-lys* and spots in varying proportions. Each figure holds up the right hand in blessing and has probably held a crozier in the left hand; in the case of the right-hand bishop on the side of the shrine a little depression can be seen at the bottom of the chasuble where the crozier crossed diagonally. The two bishops on the side of the shrine appear to have apparels in the skirts of their albes, but there is no attempt to represent the maniple.

If we now compare the vestments in which the little figures of bishops are depicted with other mediæval representations, we shall find that they

exhibit some of the peculiar characteristics of those on the stone figures in low relief of West-Highland ecclesiastics peculiar to the mediæval grave slabs of that district, and not apparently found elsewhere. The investigation of their date and place of execution raises the whole problem of these West-Highland vestments. This has been to some extent dealt with by the present writer in former volumes of our *Proceedings* when discussing vestments represented on monuments at Oathlaw, Forfarshire,¹ and Parton, Kircudbrightshire.²

The figures are mitred and are in the eucharistic vestments of bishops with chasubles over albe and amice. To what extent the rest of the vestments may at one time have been indicated it is hard to say: there has been some engraving but it is now much worn.

The rest of the vestments would of course be girdle, fanon or maniple, stole, tunicle, and dalmatic, with buskins, sandals, and gloves. The common forms taken by these vestments in the different centuries and in most countries is well known to students, but the chasubles on West-Highland figures are very puzzling. In the North of France, in England, and in the mainland of Scotland, the large full chasuble of the mediæval period was ornamented with what is known as the Y cross or Ψ cross, viz. narrow bands of another material, no doubt originally covering seams, but customarily crystallising into forms like these letters. At the end of the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the fifteenth embroidery began to get stiffer, the chasuble came to be made rather less full, and the orphreys were differently arranged. They were made wider, and they took the form of a large Latin cross on the back of the vestment and a broad stripe up the front. All the English fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chasubles at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, are ornamented in this way, and we gather from Scottish inventories that the same was the case here. In France and the Low Countries a wider form of Ψ cross also became prevalent. Now in the sixteenth century embroidery became still stiffer and the chasuble began to be made still smaller, the sides being more or less reduced. With the Renaissance this process went much further, producing the more or less sandwichboard-like forms of the vestment common on the Continent to-day. Of these stiff Renaissance chasubles there are several clearly defined forms, characteristic, *e.g.*, of French, Italian, or Spanish practice. Most of the mediæval vestments which have survived have been cut down and re-made in Renaissance times so as to assimilate them to the forms which had then become customary. The Department of Textiles at South Kensington exhibits notices beside the vestments warning the public that this went on and that most of the older vestments are not

¹ Vol. xliii. pp. 311 *sq.*

² Vol. xliv. pp. 364 *sq.*

in their original shape. It is exceedingly difficult to know how far the cutting down of the chasuble was carried in this country or in England before the Reformation or what was the exact form that it took. That it went on to some extent is certain, for in an Inventory of Aberdeen Cathedral, 1549, more than one old set of vestments is described as *veterum more ampla et lata*.¹ A contrast with current usage is here implied, but it cannot be assumed that the more recent vestments had necessarily taken the forms that are familiar in continental vestments after the end of the sixteenth century. A thirteenth-century chasuble might be *ampla et lata* when compared with the still full-sided chasuble of the fifteenth century. We know that Flemish vestments were imported into Scotland at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and we know fairly well what these were like at that time; as in the case of the contemporary English vestments, they were wide, and of the definitely Gothic tradition, though somewhat curtailed in size.

Now the West-Highland effigies show a chasuble that is cut away at the sides almost as drastically as seventeenth-century chasubles on the Continent, though the rest of the vestment is by no means the same shape. The stones, moreover, which show these vestments are uncontestedly mediæval; they are not archaic survivals in general design made in the seventeenth century. These West-Highland chasubles retain the pointed base and the narrow Ψ cross orphreys of the chasubles of the earlier Gothic tradition. Further, they often show a form of this orphrey with an additional inverted ∇ cross below which is seldom found elsewhere after the fourteenth century. The assigning of a date to West-Highland slabs is notoriously difficult because of the late survivals of older forms of ornament. But even making such allowance there are slabs which can hardly be later than the middle of the fifteenth century, and are probably earlier, which show a form of chasuble with the sides cut back almost to the shoulders, a front lying flat without folds, but with the narrow Ψ cross orphreys of a period earlier rather than contemporary with the probable date of the stones.

We gather from this evidence that there actually began in the West Highlands in mediæval times much the same cutting down and stiffening of the chasuble as went on one hundred and fifty to two hundred years later on the Continent, but with the difference that the earlier forms of orphreys and decoration and that the pointed ends of the vestment still remained, the result being to produce a form of the vestment peculiar to the district. If we ask the reason we shall probably find that a stiff form of embroidery or ornamentation of the fabric developed in the West Highlands, or survived from the days of Celtic art, which made

¹ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Edinburgh, 1845, vol. ii. p. 189.

the vestment so stiff that the introduction of the elevation of the chalice made the cutting away of the sides of the vestment a matter of practical necessity. For we must remember that the elevation of the chalice came in after the elevation of the Host, and it would quite probably be late in the fourteenth century before it reached the Western Isles. We know little or nothing of the ornamentation of Celtic ecclesiastical textiles, but if masses of interlaced work or of its later derivatives, or any kind of similar massing of heavy pattern was customary in embroidery or applique, the results of stiffening the fabric would be much the same as the heavy work of the early Renaissance abroad.

On the whole it seems that we cannot connect the contrast connoted by the "*veterum more ampla et lata*" of the Aberdeen Inventory of 1549 as indicating the use in the East of Scotland of anything but the rather more abridged form of chasuble commonly used at the time. It cannot be read as proving that West-Highland chasubles were used in Aberdeen, any more than the architectural detail of the sixteenth-century work of the north-east of Scotland is at all like the contemporary sculpture of Argyllshire monuments.

It remains therefore that, as far as we can deduce from the evidence at present available, these figures may be taken as representing a West-Highland tradition and not as representing the early sixteenth-century practice of the East of Scotland.

Further evidence pointing in the same direction results from a study of the mitres. They are of a comparatively early shape, characteristic of the last part of the thirteenth century or the first part of the fourteenth. They are small and low but rather sharply pointed and not elongated or bulbous. The later tradition is well exemplified in Scotland by a fine head of a fairly late episcopal effigy at St Andrews, by the effigy of Henry de Lychtone, bishop of Aberdeen 1422-1440, in the north transept of his cathedral church (a remarkably high mitre for his time), and above all by the sixteenth-century mitres in the contemporary portraits of the great bishops of Aberdeen, William Elphinstone, 1485-1509, and Gavin Dunbar, 1518-32, in the possession of the University there. These exhibit a good deal of variety, but not the survival of the earlier form shown in these little figures.

There is another noteworthy characteristic in the amices of these statuettes. Here again we find something unusual, and not a peculiarity of treatment that might be due to carelessness in execution. The apparels are very prominent and stand up with peculiar stiffness. This again is to be paralleled in West-Highland figures, although it is not so pronounced: the West-Highland figures at times show the amice apparel in such a way that it appears to rise above the amice as if fastened to

it in such a way as to project above it. The amice is a rectangular piece of linen tied over the head like a hood; when not used as a head covering it is pushed back and encircles the neck; in the early days of its existence it became customary to ornament it with an oblong piece of coloured silk or stuff fastened to it more or less like a collar. In Italy at Milan¹ at the present day it is only attached at one edge so that it falls flat over the shoulders. In Spain it has long been altogether detached and is fastened with cords. But in the north of Europe of old, as also in England to-day, *e.g.* at Westminster Abbey, it was tacked on to the amice all round, and therefore would stand more erect. If it were made much deeper and were allowed to project above the amice, the West-Highland effect would be produced.

To sum up.

The bell itself is probably the relic of some important saint whose fame came down till late in the mediæval period. It may well date from before the ninth century.

It was probably enshrined early in the twelfth century, to which period the figure of our Lord crucified and the small apostle, probably St John, belong.

In the fourteenth century the silver plate with its embossed decoration was made and the crucifix and attendant figures were remounted upon it.

Late in the fifteenth century or early in the sixteenth, John the son of Alexander made a second reconstruction, changing the position of some of the figures and adding others.

In the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries the loss of some figures may have occasioned a further re-arrangement of the rest in the manner in which they now exist, including the refixing of the inscription plate upside down.

The vestments of the bishops present peculiarities which it is difficult to explain save on the hypothesis that the figures were made in the West Highlands. Such evidence as they afford also points to the fifteenth century as their date.

While their form is broadly that which we know in the West Highlands, there are certain slight differences between them and the vestments as shown on the Argyllshire stones. It may therefore be found that the bell and its shrine come from elsewhere in the definitely Highland area.

In conclusion I wish to express my great indebtedness to Mr J. S. Richardson for the large amount of time and trouble given towards helping to elucidate the difficult problems connected with the different reconstructions of this bell shrine, and for the drawing which is reproduced in fig. 2.

¹ In Rome and in the Roman use generally apparels have disappeared.

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